

THE MODERN REVIEW

VOL. CX. No. 1.

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WHOLE No. 655

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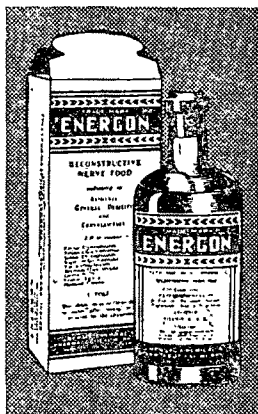
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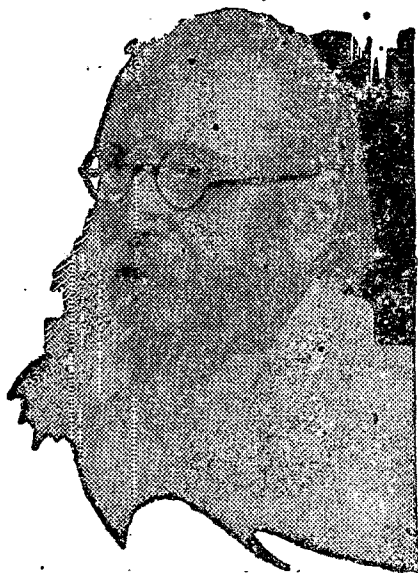
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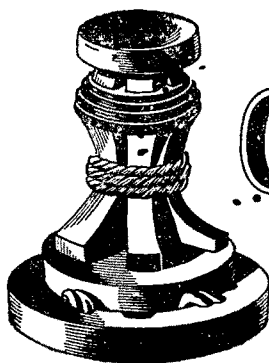
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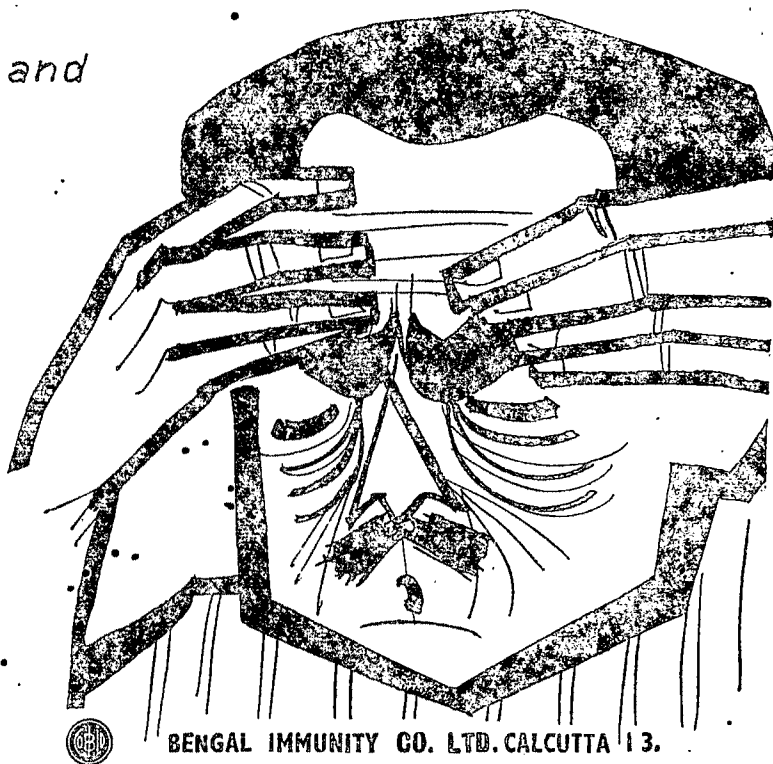
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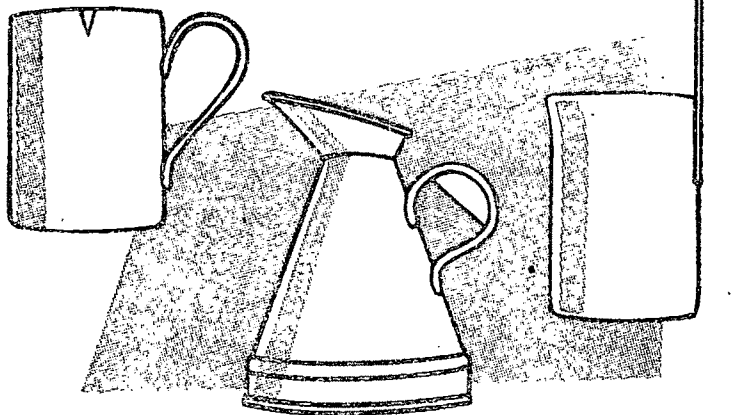
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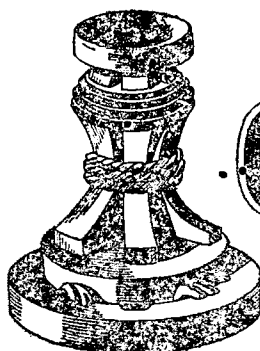
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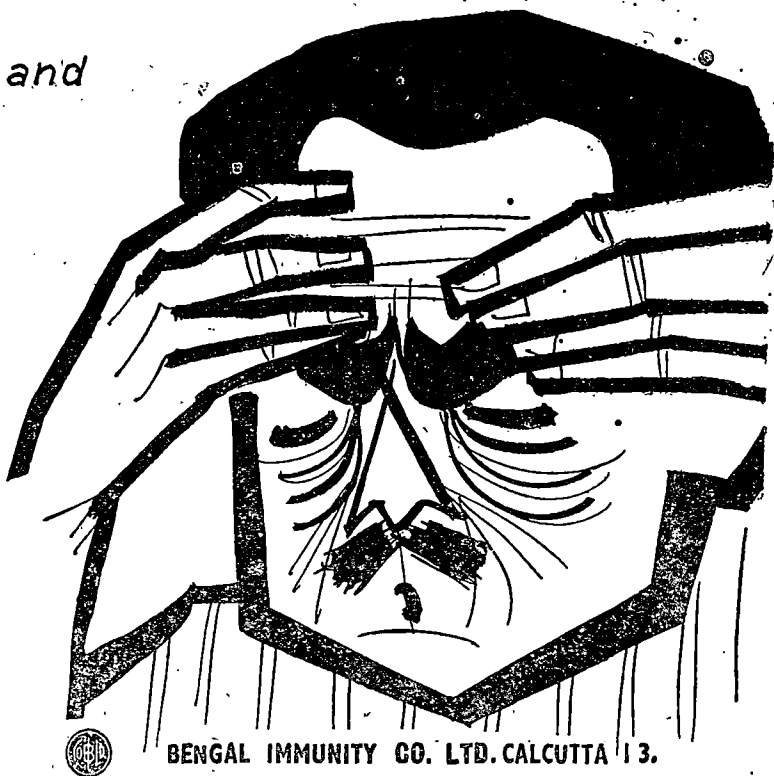
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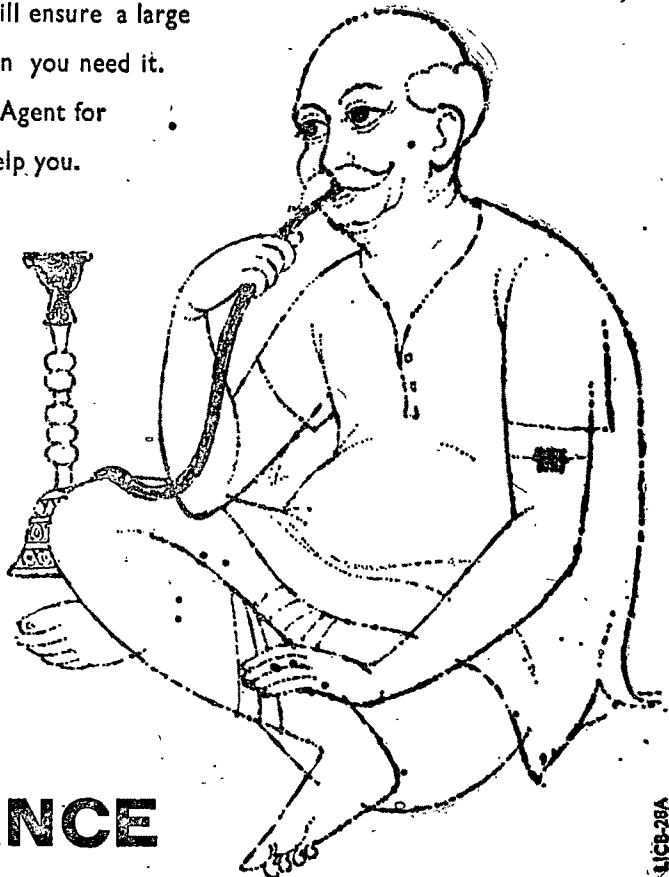
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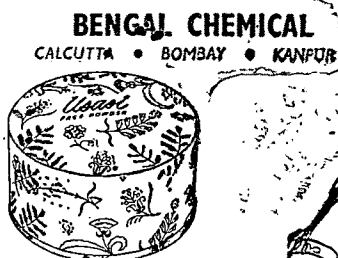
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JULY



1961

VOL. CX, No. 1

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NOTES

The World

The "News of the Month," in the international sphere, is of course the meeting between President Kennedy of the U.S.A. and Premier Khrushchev of the U.S.S.R., at Vienna. The talks were held in two sessions and lasted for, approximately, eight and a half hours. As was only to be expected, strict secrecy was observed during the course of the talks, and despite efforts by almost all the ace reporters of the world press at large, very little could be given as authentic news about the discussions between the "Big Two" as they are called by the U.S. Press. The world came to know when the principals themselves reported to their own peoples about the talks, and their estimates about the future effects of exchanges of thoughts and opinions directly and at close quarters.

President Kennedy spoke to his nation from the White House on the 6th of June. He used the word "sombre" in describing the prospects and his estimate regarding the attitude of the Soviets on the points at issue was summed up in the following terms :

"For the facts of the matter are that the Soviets and ourselves give wholly different meanings to the same words : war, peace, democracy and popular will. We have different views of right and wrong, of what is an internal affair and what is aggression. And above all, we have wholly different concepts of where the world is and where it is going."

Premier Khrushchev, on his part, told his people in a radio and TV broadcast about his

reactions to the talks with President Kennedy. According to him the crux of the matter could be summed up in the following way :

"It emerged from our talks with President Kennedy that we understand the peaceful co-existence of states differently. The President's idea is to build up something like a dam against the People's Movement to establish in their countries social systems which the ruling circles of the Western powers deem unsuitable."

All the same Premier Khrushchev called the Vienna meetings "worthwhile" and "necessary."

The three major issues that were discussed in Vienna were those of Berlin, the nuclear tests and Laos. The *New York Times* of June 18, summed up the 'basic differences' and the prospects in an editorial of which the most significant portion was as follows :

"The statements made by the two men about the Vienna meeting defined not only the fundamental differences between the Communist and Western goals and values. They spelled out, too, the conflicting positions each had taken on the three major issues at Vienna—the issues of Berlin, nuclear tests and Laos."

On Berlin, the conflict centers on Premier Khrushchev's longstanding threat to sign a peace treaty with East Germany and thus place in jeopardy Allied military access to West Berlin, which lies deep inside East German territory. President Kennedy said, the West would take any 'risk' to maintain its rights in Berlin. Premier Khrushchev warned of Soviet counter-action and set a new six-month deadline for a Berlin settlement.

"On *nuclear tests*, a seemingly unbreakable impasse has been created by Soviet insistence on unanimous three-man (troika) control of the inspection machinery. In a message yesterday to the Soviet Union, the United States called the proposal 'unworkable' and said Russia would bear sole responsibility for a breakdown of the Geneva negotiations on a test treaty.

"On *Laos*, the President and Premier at Vienna both endorsed the concept of a 'neutral and independent' Laos. But Premier Khrushchev raised fresh doubts last week about whether he was willing to accept international guarantees against subversion in Laos—guarantees the U.S. regards as vital.

"In sum, the prospect for productive negotiations in the foreseeable future on major East-West issues appears dim. The question is: What then?

"The nuclear test impasse is not likely in itself to precipitate a major crisis. Tests may be resumed and there will be increased likelihood of the spread of nuclear weapons to other countries. But East and West have been negotiating fruitlessly on disarmament for almost fifteen years; there is recognition that the arms race is more a symptom than a cause of international tensions.

"Nor is Laos any longer likely to produce a military collision. The Communists clearly believe they are now in a position to achieve their goals there by political means, and they may do so. But neither side appears to regard the stakes in Laos as worth a military showdown.

"The Berlin issue, however, is another matter. The conflict there clearly holds the danger of war. Premier Khrushchev, in the past, has used Berlin as a pressure point to try obtain concessions from the West, such as a summit meeting. But he has also demonstrated a capacity to keep the crisis within bounds."

The issues are still there, and there has not been any appreciable improvement in the international position since the meetings that took place in Vienna over the week-end on June 4. The only thing that possibly can explain Premier Khrushchev calling the meetings worthwhile and necessary, is that each side now has a clearer idea about the other. Whether that will help in easing the critical situation is another matter altogether.

In other parts of the world there have not

been any significant developments. Regarding Laos, the only ray of hope came from the meeting at Zurich between the three princes of Laos on a week-end about the middle of last month. It was reported that the discussions were held in a friendly atmosphere and that a "broad-based coalition government" with King Savang Vattana as the head of the state, was agreed upon. The position in Laos, however, remains very confused and the "cease-fire" not quite effective. It is not at all certain that the International Control Commission representatives are either able to fully assess the implications or to bring about an effective "cease-fire."

On June 27, Congo entered into its second year of independence. The country has calmed down a lot since the departure of the foreign mercenaries and advisors that helped Mr. Tshombe in his programme of secession and independence. Tshombe has been released, it was reported at the end of the month, and he has come to an agreement with the plans put forward by President Kasavubu and his advisors, at Leopoldville.

The talks on Algeria between the representatives of France and the F.L.N. rebels, which were going on at Evian were brought to a halt, by President De Gaulle's orders to his Minister for Algerian affairs, M. Louis Joxe, and a "recess for reflection" given for two weeks. The main points at issue are, a military cease-fire, the status of the European settlers in Algeria and, most crucial of all, the question of control over the Sahara.

The Sahara is the world's largest desert, about three million sq. miles in area, populated by 1,200,000 people, mostly nomad Berber tribesmen. France took possession of the Western Sahara sometime about the beginning of this century, and divided up that area amongst seven of her north African colonies. About half of it, over 700,000 sq. miles, was attached to Algeria and the rest was divided between Morocco, Mauretania, Sudan, (Mali) Niger, Chad and Tunisia. Of these colonies only Algeria is still part of the French possessions, the rest are now independent. At that time the Sahara had very little value beyond being *terra incognita* mostly, and a field for romantic tales of legendary tribesmen and their equally fabled opponents.

But explorations which were started less than a decade ago, showed that the desert sand covered untold wealth as well. Immense reserves of oil and natural gas, the world's fifth largest

iron ore field and substantial deposits of copper, uranium and other minerals were discovered by the middle of the "Nineteen-Fifties." When in 1957, these resources were beginning to be exploited, France separated the Sahara administration from Mediterranean Algeria. The F.L.N. denounces this separation as an artificial partition. Their negotiators in the Evian talks, which started in May 20, have repeatedly insisted that France must recognize both Algeria's independence and its sovereignty over Sahara before there is any discussion about the cultural and economic association between "new Algeria" and France.

France has suggested a condominium, by which Western Sahara would be under multinational control, exercised by France, Algeria and the other adjoining states. This has met with the approval of the Presidents of Tunisia and Mali, both of whom have issued a joint statement describing the Sahara as being "African" rather than Algerian.

The questions of a military cease-fire, and that of the states of the European settlers in Algeria have also raised many points of disagreement. The French believe that they have fully presented their case and that they must deliberate over the other side's views before they would proceed any further. The F.L.N. was not willing to stop the talks for the reasons given by France. Both sides, however, are deliberating over the issues and conferring with their own negotiators. But liaison men have been kept at Geneva and Evian to arrange for the next round of talks.

At the time of writing these notes, there is news from Paris indicating an impending resumption of talks with the F.L.N. rebel negotiators. It is reported that in three major policy statements the French leaders have clearly expressed their determination to solve the Algerian problem. General De Gaulle has stated that starting with the withdrawal of an Army division from the colony, French troops in Algeria are to be progressively released.

It is reported that General De Gaulle had declared on the same occasion, which was a garden party held in honour of French parliamentarians, that peace talks would be resumed: "If they come to nothing, well, we shall carry out a partition. It will be necessary to put some people on one side and the rest on the other, perhaps temporarily." He had clearly stated that he would not

let these talks with the rebels go on indefinitely, without some concrete agreement being reached, especially about the future status of the European minority.

M. Debre, the French Prime Minister, also told the French National Assembly that Algeria will have to be partitioned, if reasonable roads to settlement are closed by the rebel negotiators, in order to safeguard the lives and interests of the Europeans, Jews and pro-French Muslim populations. He also indicated that French troops would be kept in Algeria "for a long time yet" as the guardians of security there.

He also stated that the future of the Sahara could not be determined by talks with the F.L.N. alone.

The decision to withdraw an Army division from Algeria was confirmed by M. Louis Terrenoire. He said that this decision to reduce the number of troops in Algeria had three aspects, namely: (1) real improvement in the military situation in Algeria, (2) it is in accordance with the appeasement policy of the French Government, (3) and lastly the troops brought back from Algeria would enable France to "fulfil her role in Europe, within the N.A.T.O. framework."

It seems to be plain, therefore, that President De Gaulle is determined to put an end to this nine-year old war of attrition, with partition as a last resort.

The question of Portuguese repression in Angola, the Portuguese colony in West Africa, was again raised in the U.N. through an Afro-Asian resolution, presented before the Security Council at the beginning of the 2nd week of June. It called upon the Portuguese to end its repressive measures, which have cost the lives of 8,000 Angolans already. The U.S. tried to eliminate the direct reference to Portugal, which is a N.A.T.O. ally, contained in the resolution and to replace it with a mild appeal to both sides to lay down arms, but without success. A Chilean compromise was accepted, which retained the phrase "repressive measures" but called for a peaceful solution of the dispute.

Portugal's spokesman, as usual, stated that his country was "being made the victim of international subversion" and called the charges of repression "fabrications of malevolent minds." Britain indirectly opposed the resolution by warning the Council that the resolution will, in actual

effect, only increase unrest and provoke further violence by encouraging "Angolan extremists."

The issue came to a vote on the 9th of June. Britain and France abstained. The U.S. voted in favour of the resolution, along with the other eight members of the Security Council. After the vote, Portugal made it clear that it would reject "intervention" by the U.N. in what it regards as an "internal affair".

This issue and the voting in the Security Council has indicated again that the Kennedy administration does not view colonialism in the same light as France or Britain, both of which seek what they call an "orderly transition" towards independence for their own colonies, in order that there be no repetition of experiences like that in the Congo. They both choose to forget that the initiative for the preliminaries for such a transition must come from the rulers, as they themselves learnt after bitter experiences following their own attempts at retaining colonial possessions.

The U.S. policy now indicates a definite shift towards the active support of anti-colonial forces.

The Portuguese colonies on the mainland of Africa are, Portuguese Guinea and Angola on the west coast and Mozambique on the east. Of these, Guinea is 13,848 sq. miles in area, with a population of about 560,000. The chief exports are wax, oils, ivory and hides. Angola has an area of 481,351 sq. miles and a population of over 4,550,000, inclusive of 120,000 Europeans. Oilfields have been found within the territory and large deposits of copper, iron, manganese and mica are also known. It also produces diamonds, coffee, sisal, cotton, tobacco and rubber. Mozambique is 297,731 sq. miles in area and has a population of over 6,000,000. The chief products are agricultural, but coal deposits are known and samarskite, gold, silver, uranium and asbestos deposits have been discovered.

Portugal is the most backward among European states, and is under an autocrat with mediaeval ideas about the colonial empire. These colonies are called "provinces" of Portugal, in a blatant attempt to pass off a lie for the reality. Ruthless exploitation of the colonial people, for the sole gain of the Portuguese is the reality. The literacy index in the African colonies is below 3 per cent and what little welfare arrangements there are, exist only for the European colonists and a handful of Africans, who are known as "assimilados" or the assimilated Africans and are about

½ per cent of the native population. Forced labour is rampant and the Portuguese officials have unrestricted powers.

A new focus for international tension has recently appeared in Kuwait, the oil-rich little state of the Arabian Peninsula. Kuwait is only 5,800 sq. miles in area, with a population of 206,000, but it has one of the biggest known petroleum deposits. The oil production is about 60,000,000 tons, from which the ruler, Sheikh Adullah as-Salim as-Sabah, gets a revenue of about £150,000,000. It is on the Persian Gulf.

Recently General Kassem, the ruler of Iraq, has laid claims to this little principality. The other Arab states, however, do not agree with Iraq, and have promised support to the Sheikh of Kuwait, as has also been promised by Britain, which has ordered some naval forces to the Persian Gulf.

The Verdict in Orissa Elections

The political set-up in Orissa after independence was a curious medley of emergent democratic trends coupled with totally backward feudalism, after the Eastern States of the Orissa and Ganjam areas had been integrated into the main province—as it was then termed—of Orissa. The Congress, and to a certain extent the C.P.I. in the guise of Kisan Sabhas, had been active in the districts that were directly under the administration of British India. As a result of which in the urban areas, and to a great extent in the more accessible areas of the rural village sites, political consciousness was awakening fast, particularly under the influence of the selfless workers of the type that was led by the late Gopabandhu Das of revered memory, who strove for an all-round scheme of uplift for the masses.

In the feudal areas of the Eastern States, on the other hand, mediaevalism persisted right up to the end of the British rule. The Raja was the absolute lord of the region under him, and his will was law, no matter how blind he was to the welfare of his people or how retrograde he was in his outlook on life. He was answerable only to the Governor-General in Council, under the terms of the treaties and sanads and that omniscient being only perceived what was put forward before him by the Political Agent appointed by him. This latter was neither approachable by the common people of the native states and in majority of cases he cared not a hoot as to how those poor people

fared under the all-powerful lords and masters that the British had placed over them.

After the British administration had to accept a modified system of democratic rule, under the pressure of Congress agitation, a Princes' Chamber was set-up under British tutelage, apparently to keep pace with the measures of political progress that were slowly obtaining in the country. This set-up was primarily organised to safeguard the interests of the Native Princes, *vis-a-vis* the Paramount power, and likewise to correlate the relations of those Princes with the British India, so that they could take the measure of the meagre political concessions that the British were perforce obliged to grant. There was no question of the Princely states keeping pace with the political progress in India, although some few states, notably Baroda, Mysore and Travancore, voluntarily instituted certain progressive measures regarding education, public health and other welfare items. The majority of the states remained in the feudal darkness that had prevailed since the mediaeval times, though some of the more ambitious, who wanted to go up in precedence and rank, made some changes in judicial systems, etc.,—which were more for show than for actual usage.

In the Eastern States only Mayurbhanj initiated progressive measures and a little later two or three others followed suit, but to a much more restricted extent. The rest remained in the same state, the Raja being the supreme lord with all rights over his subjects. This was the condition that prevailed when the Eastern States of Orissa, were merged in the main province. And as a consequence Congress, or for that any other existing political party, had little hold over the people in those feudal areas. When the "Ganatantra Parishad" was formed under the aegis of the ex-rulers of those states, it had therefore naturally a very great advantage over the other parties. And, besides, they had plenty of funds for election campaigns.

Then came a serious deterioration of the Congress organization in Orissa, which brought in its train dissensions and warring factions within the body-politic of the Orissa Pradesh Congress Committee. The Ganatantra Parishad was vastly strengthened by this wave in the influence of the Congress between the first and second general elections and as a result the Congress was forced into a coalition with the Ganatantra Parishad in order to maintain the necessary majority in the

legislature. The coalition proved futile and resulted in the voluntary liquidation of the Mahatab Ministry, after the progressive sections, who were chafing under the frustrations imposed by this curious alliance between the feudal and the democratic politicians, chose Shri Bijoyanand Patnaik as the Chief of the Pradesh Congress Committee. Shri Patnaik represented the younger element who were convinced that a determined effort was called for to retrieve the position, and it was under their drive, under the leadership of Shri Patnaik, that an election was decided on.

The outlook at the start was very bleak, according to the forecasts made by all competent authorities, as no party seemed to have any prospect for winning a clear majority. The outlook was for some kind of a coalition, which meant instability and retardation of progressive measures, if not actual retrogression and President's rule till the next election.

The results have taken the country by surprise, to say the least. And the younger group has fully justified their confidence in the organizing ability of their chosen leader Shri Bijoyanand Patnaik. Much has been said about the power of money by some of the rival party leaders, but all that might be dismissed as mere jealous aspersions. The fact remains that Orissa has got stability in politics for the first time since independence and if the new Ministry can show definite signs of initiative by setting in motion progressive measures within the short period at its command before the next general elections, then there is no reason against its discontinuance. It is rumoured that the older leaders of the Congress in Orissa have been alarmed by this unexpected and decisive victory and they are likely to challenge the Patnaik group at the next elections. We hope good sense will prevail and that the Congress in Orissa will be able to set an example to the rest of the country. In any case that problem ought to be tackled firmly by the A.I.C.C., while there is time.

The Congress has won 82 seats in a legislature consisting of 140 seats. The Ganatantra Parishad has retained 37 as against the 51 it had in the old Assembly, the Praja Socialist 10 in place of 11, the C.P.I. 4, as against 9, and Independents have secured 7 seats which would give the opposition a total strength of 58, if all of them combined.

For the present the younger generation is in charge of the State. There is lack of experience and political immaturity, without doubt, in their

case. But if no hasty decisions are made, then there should not be any major errors made, that would involve the administration. In any case, judging by what is happening in some other states, there is no greater risk in trusting the reins of power to the younger people, than it has been by putting old intriguers and maladministrators in power. There is already a cleavage between the young and the old in Orissa. Let the young justify their claims to power and position, now that they have attained it.

The Muslim Convention and After

The two-day sessions of the National Muslim Convention, which ended late on the night of June 11, indicate another phase in the transition period of Indian Nationalism. As yet the results of the discussions and deliberations that took place off the convention platform have not been made fully public, but broadly speaking, the convention has given a clear lead to the Muslim community to align itself along with the forces of secularism.

To a certain extent this convention was the result of the apprehensions generated in the minds of the leaders of this community by the unfortunate and reprehensible failures on the part of the administration and the executive to halt the communal riots at Jabalpur and elsewhere right at the start. The Jamiat-i-Islami was provided with an opportunity, through those developments, to rally the Muslim community around it. The better-known, Jamiat-ul-Ulema had to join in the call, as otherwise the field would have been monopolised by the other organisation. The other factor that led to this convention being held was that of frustration, which was evident in some of the speeches, and the reactions to them, delivered during the five-hour concluding session on the 11th June.

The carefully drafted main resolution which was adopted by the convention, called upon the members of the Muslim community to lend their unqualified support to the cause of national integration. The leaders gave the right lead to their community in recommending an alignment with the forces of secularism.

But the trouble with such conventions

is that once they are over, all the effects of the deliberations and discussions with the better informed and the more sober amongst the leaders, tend to vanish, and the mass agitator holds forth in his own area, without being halted, by the counsel of those who are far-sighted and realistic enough to decry communalism.

The H.A.L. Supersonic Fighter

A significant step forward was marked when the supersonic fighter HF-24 made its inaugural flight at Bangalore on June 24. We have to go a long way as yet before we are really self-sufficient in the matter of modern weapons and accessories requisite for the defence of our country and nation. We have many handicaps not the least of which has been the lack of realism and confusion of thought on the subject of defence. This supersonic fighter is but just one step in the right direction and considering the total ignorance of almost all of us regarding the extremely complicated science and machinery of modern warfare, it is undoubtedly a memorable day in more than one sense.

The **Hindu** gave the following report on June 25 :

"A large gathering, including the Defence Minister, Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, witnessed the flight at the Hindustan Airport. The aircraft is powered by Bristol-Siddley Orpheus turbo-jet engines."

"Thousands of workers of the Hindustan Aircraft Factory and villagers from the surrounding areas witnessed this supersonic aircraft going up the air and Wing Commander, Suranjan Das, the 40-year-old test pilot who made this flight, was lustily cheered as he came down from cockpit, after electrifying the huge gathering below with his acrobatics and 'roll down' on a couple of occasions."

H.F. 24 marks a turning point in the history of aircraft industry in India. It is the first supersonic aircraft to have been designed and built in India. The technicians, workers and management of Hindustan Aircraft who have had a hand in the building of this supersonic aircraft can take pride in the magnificent task they have achieved, as India today came into the band of the few countries in the world who have attempted this kind of venture.

"To mark the occasion of the successful flight of India's supersonic aircraft, the Board of Management of the H.A.L. announced through the Defence Minister a payment of Rs. 20 per head to all employees of the Hindustan Aircraft, drawing a salary of less than Rs. 500. The thousand and odd men—engineers, technicians and skilled workers and others, who had been directly associated with the H.F. 24 project, are to be given a special payment of Rs. 50."

"Wing Commander Suranjan Das, son of Mr. S. R. Das, former Chief Justice of India, joined the Indian Air Force in 1943 and was trained in Canada under the Empire Training Scheme. In 1951 he was posted to H.A.L. as test pilot when he carried out development flying and type testing of H.T.-2 aircraft. Recently he flew the Gnat trainer and Super Mystere. He joined as chief test pilot on May 18, 1961, for the H.F. 24 project. He has to his credit a total of about 2,700 hours of flying, involving about 35 different types of aircraft, including two Mach 2, interceptor fighters."

"After the inaugural flight, Wing Commander, S. Das, was accorded a warm welcome by the huge gathering."

"Addressing the gathering of over fifty thousand people assembled along the new runway of the Hindustan Airport, Mr. Krishna Menon described the event as a 'memorable day' in the history of the aircraft industry in the country as well as their national life (adds *PTI*).

The Defence Minister hoped that the new aircraft would join the squadron service of the Air Force in the near future."

But aircraft alone will not serve as the ultimate answer to expansionist and aggressive neighbours like China. The only answer lies in missiles—however much that word be abhorred by our super-brahmins.

The Housing Problem

Those of our countrymen who have to stay in the big cities in India, and are not the fortunate possessors of houses of their own, know how increasingly difficult it is becoming for middle-class people, with fixed incomes to find proper—or for that any—accommodation. With this problem is linked that of the laws that are supposed to safeguard the tenants' interests as opposed to that of the landlord. To such people the

following extract from *The Bulletin* of the West German Government, for May 16, would be interesting:

Things are looking up for people in search of flats in West Germany. A report just published by the association of rental agents indicates that while the shortage of housing is far from being over, the stage has been reached where exorbitant demands are being successfully resisted by prospective tenants.

For instance, it has become increasingly difficult to find takers for flats where an excessively high advance payment of rent is required. This is particularly true in North Rhine-Westphalia and Bavaria, where the housing situation is showing a steady improvement.

According to one agent, the days are past when a home-hunter was ready to accept any offer, sight-unseen.

"Key money"—a special charge over and above the rent—is now being asked for only in Hanover, Dusseldorf, Hamburg, and Frankfurt, according to reports. The agents note a growing demand for larger flats. Four-room dwelling units are the most popular today, while interest in two- and one-room accommodations is falling off.

If our authorities were anywhere as wide awake as the Federal Government of West Germany, then the problem would have had some chance of solutions. As things stand, there is little hope for that.

THE EDITOR

Bagjola Firing

In the non-violent Congress raj, there are numerous cases of the use of brute force, causing loss of life and grave injury to persons, mostly on very flimsy grounds and by reason of easily preventable developments leading to such use of violence. This is one of the paradoxical features of Pandit Nehru's administration of India and of the state administrations which very often excel the Central Government in their toughness of outlook. One may have found some logic, born of a steadfast policy of enforcement of law and order and defence of the Constitution, in these sporadic acts of inhuman cruelty, had there not been cases of meek surrender of Indian territory occupied by force by foreigners; toleration of

foreign persecution of Indians in India as in Goa, parleying with rebels, as in Nagaland and condoning offences against large groups of Indian nationals by other groups supported by state police and officials as in the case of the Bengali speaking people of Assam. One has perforce to come to the conclusion that the Indian administration is run on the same principles as guide the conduct of cowards and bullies, who kowtow to the strong and the ferocious and act violently towards the weak and the peace-loving. We would ask Pandit Nehru whether he is not putting a premium on violence and inviting all Indians to act violently in order to express any grievance and to place a case before the government by this steady policy of weakness to the tough and toughness to the weak? The Bagjola firing is the latest in which the police used force to take hunger-strikers to hospital and when the people resisted, a situation was created in which firing upon and killing of some refugees occurred. If the Indian police cannot control any situation without killing people who are agitated, excited or unreasonable, the police force must be manned by persons who are better fitted to do police work. We have seen policemen of other countries where the criminals are tougher and better organised than Indian criminals. In those countries the police maintain law and order and control crimes much more effectively than the Indian police. And they do not go about in platoons, carrying modern fire arms to do their job. In India the police firstly do not do their primary work of protecting the citizens against the criminals and, secondly, they use brute force on the slightest pretext. This will have to change, if we are to call ourselves a civilized nation. The government also have a habit of harassing, persecuting and oppressing the people in many other ways. They give infinite trouble to people over every little thing, launch prosecutions on any pretext, arrest or detain people who have done no wrong (as will be proved by the number of acquittals in court cases) and so on and so forth. The administration is supposed to be democratically organised. We see the ancient spectres of

imperialism, autocracy and **Quazi-Shahi** in every branch of government. Pandit Nehru thinks he is a great socialist and encourages bazar tradesmen and money-lenders to exploit the people of India. He also thinks he is a democrat; but his people are worse oppressed now by bureaucrats, **Peshkars, Sipahis, Subedars** and others than they had been under the British imperialists.

A.C.

The Traitors of Assam

Some Assamese leaders are fools on top of being knaves. Yet other Assamese leaders who are in secret sympathy and probably in collusion too, with Pakistan, are traitors and enemies of India. These people have been organising and employing Pakistani Muslims, whom they have allowed to enter Assam or have even imported illicitly into Assam, to join the Assamese Muslims and Hindus against the Bengali speaking Hindus of Assam. The recent gain in the number of Assamese speaking persons in Assam is also explained by the presence of about a million and a half of Pakistani Muslims who have come into Assam with the help of the traitors, the knaves and the fools and have declared themselves to be Indian nationals with Assamese as their mother tongue. These Pakistanis are the advance guards and the Fifth Column of the enemies of India and the manner in which they have been allowed to come into India or have been deliberately brought in, proves that the Assamese speaking Hindus and Muslims of Assam cannot be trusted by Indians to remain in charge of the border districts of Assam through which the Pakistanis are entering India. The Hindus of the Assamese speaking variety are such fools that they will cut their nose to spite their face and will end up by handing over their state to Pakistan. The Indian Government should take immediate steps to make Assam a President's province and deprive the traitors, the knaves and the fools of all power to act anti-nationally and as enemy agents. The number of Muslim ministers and officials in Assam is also a source of danger to India and these people should be watched closely. All

Bengali speaking Muslims found in Assam should be first removed to concentration camps and made to divulge the methods adopted by them to enter India. A little pressure will reveal a lot of secrets and may involve the highest in Assam in a case of high treason. But will Pandit Nehru have the courage to do this? He has so many friends in the U.S.A., Great Britain and Pakistan, who may be heart-broken if he took action against their secret agents in India! Pandit Nehru seems to be the unconscious apex of the triangle of which the base is Pakistan and the other two arms, Great Britain and the United States. He may not be aware of his own dangerousness to the security of India; but his large-hearted outlook towards the enemies of India and his narrowness of vision as affecting the non-Hindi speaking Indians, particularly, Bengalis, expose our frontiers and weaken our defences gravely.

A. C.

Beware Patnaik!

From all reports and by reference to his past achievements and background, Mr. Patnaik, the new leader of the Congress in Orissa, is not like the professional politicians of the Congress, who put expediency and success above everything else in their plan of life and conduct. Mr. Patnaik is a true patriot who has risked his life for his cause and not merely talked about suffering and sacrifice like many other congressmen who used to go to jail from time to time when it was patriotic fashion to do so. They were not tortured in jail by the secret service police as were the terrorists; nor were they locked up in infected cells as was Subhas Chandra Bose. Most of them had a fairly easy time and came out of jail in better shape than they went in. Dr. B. C. Roy had been in jail once by sheer accident. Mr. Chaliha, we do not know much about; but the way he falls ill every time there is any trouble in Assam will point to as easy outlook and not to any reckless disregard for personal danger or discomfort. Mr. Patnaik risked his life and personal comforts many times and he had been an idealist and a fighter who knew no fear, cared for no compromise and gave no

quarters to the forces of evil at anytime. For a man of his type it has been quite easy to fire the imagination of the people of Orissa who had been surrounded by bunches of decadent politicians for the last several years. But he is intensely moral and is no friend of the low down types who sell permits, make backhanded profits, ally themselves with murderers, dacoits and woman hunters and generally talk sanctimoniously with their tongue in their cheek and double cross all honest men. So, Mr. Patnaik will find it difficult to keep his sword keen and bright if he were to probe for advantage with it in every garbage dump; as he would have to do if he stayed long in Pandit Nehru's camp in intimate proximity of the congress stalwarts who thought nothing of what Gandhiji taught but gloated on the juicy possibilities of a VIP existence. If Mr. Patnaik could remain what he is and retain the fire that burns in him, he would then be a new force in the congress. We hope that he will succeed in maintaining the purity of his outlook and to keep clear of the evils of the congress; but he will have to be watchful and extremely cautious.

A. C.

Plans and Achievements

The **Commerce** of Bombay in their June 10th, 1961, number drew attention to Mr. Colin Clark's recent monograph on "Growthmanship" which he has called "A study in the mythology of investment." In this Mr. Clark has examined the question of economic growth, which so obsesses the political mind of various countries, including that of India, during the present phase of world economic development. Mr. Clark, who is an authority on matters economic and has been economic consultant to the Government of India at one time has not been kind to those who engage in economic planning as a matter of political policy. He has examined how far economic growth can be arranged by sacrificing stability in the value of money. Economic growth is a complex outcome of economic forces and one cannot always foretell or control the developments that take place by using simple devices. Statistics, which can be

carefully prepared to interpret anything in any manner that will prove one's contention; cannot be relied upon either as a guide to economic planning or as a measure of actual growth. And politicians have an elastic sense of social ethics and no compunction about individual losses and sufferings and can gaily order currency-watering, in order to create funds for their economic planning. The result is "persistently rising prices" which is, in fact, "plundering the savings of the poor and other groups who cannot help themselves." The "principal sufferers" in such conditions of planned price inflation are all those who have provident funds, savings deposits, life insurance and other cash investments, whose stocks of potential purchasing power are progressively reduced by a disproportionate rise in the quantum of currency compared to the sum-total of substantive trade. One may compare the purchasing power saved by the individuals as tokens of value belonging to the saving public. The state can quietly take away some of these tokens by "borrowing theoretically" what has not been saved nor lent to the state by anyone. The state "borrows" the cash which it creates by selling its own IOUs to the banks and by leading cash, which the state coins or prints, against the same IOUs. Then the state buys up goods and services with this artificially created borrowings and thus depletes the stock of values available in society. And when the actual saving public try to convert their savings to goods and services, they find that the goods and services are not so plentiful compared to their savings and they get fewer commodities for their money. In other words, saved money is brought up against created money and finds the "false" tokens are competing as equals with their real tokens of value. This is a subtle way of dipping into the social kitty which is economically approved of by planners and war financiers; but which is immoral and contrary to social justice. If there is any truth in the fundamental right to property; this invisible method of stealing social savings is definitely a violation of that right; for, it

is neither borrowing nor is it taxation by legal sanction. Plundering is the right word to describe this sneaky method of deficit financing and no honest government should engage in it. Moreover, all these doubtful methods of achieving economic growth are not even really successful ways of increasing the national income. Mr. Colin Clark has shown that the assumption that an X per cent increase in investment will lead to a proportionate increase in the national dividend is not based on facts. Some investment may not yield any dividend at all and some may yield something of which the size will never be the same as foretold by the economic prophets. There is also no truth in the assumption that a period of rising prices is very favourable to economic growth. Japan and Great Britain saw their greatest period of economic growth when prices remained very steady. And no one has counted how often and in how many countries a period of rising prices has preceded total economic collapse. In India, we are going through a period of rising prices. Our investments are not always visible and, very often, if the investments have proper dimensions, the returns are not there; at least not to any extent comparable to the size of the investments. The **Commerce** quotes Prof. J. K. Galbraith to prove how dependable statistics can be in measuring or planning economic growth. He has described statistics as a bogus use of figures—"to prove that countries with political and economic system which you favour have made exceptionally good economic growth and that countries administered by your political opponents have made exceptionally poor economic growth." Our government is always proving their own achievements by statistics and we are not at all convinced that they have achieved anything sizable. We can, however, clearly see and feel all that we are losing and suffering from.

A. C.

Privilege

In ancient times religion and priestcraft created privileges all along the line and hallowed the name of any kind of cheap self-gratification indulged in by priests or their "nephews" in the

name of the gods or those other occult forces which, the people believed, governed the destinies of mankind. Thus, the priests and their "nephews" could live in palaces without having any property of their own and they could ride in bejewelled elephants, carriages, etc., or order great banquets, music, dancing performances and acquire costly robes, jewellery and objects of great value without earning, owning or handling any wealth of their own. It was a subtle and highly organised system of exploitation which could be compared with the sovereignty of monarchs who ascended their thrones by divine right. Today, after a few hundred years of "progress," science, establishment of human rights and clarification of social virtues, the ancient sins are still masquerading as "public purposes" and numerous representatives of the people are exploiting the people in the name of the people in order to gratify their private desires. It will be extremely difficult to prepare a detailed blue print of this social exploitation for the reason that it is widespread, extensive and very far-reaching. In modern society one has to take into account so many institutions and individuals that it is impossible to follow up the acts of exploitation from their sources to their ultimate and remotest perpetrators. The great political parties from their central organisations to their remotest agents in the villages are engaged in creating and enjoying special "rights" of their own making. The widespread structure known as government, starting from kings or presidents and ending in constables, chowkidars, peons and tax-collectors have limbs everywhere with which they grab and acquire all that the various members of government wish to possess and enjoy. The legislatures also have their own demands for privilege and then there are committees, delegations, councils, commissions and what not; all of which serve a public and social purpose and all the members of which have their demands for special rights which they acquire with or without the sanction of law. There are extra-territorial and outside organisations which have the approval and support of those in power within the country and they also enjoy rights and privileges which are not available to the ordinary citizens and taxpayers.

On analysis one will find that the "unearned

incomes" in cash or kind enjoyed by the privileged classes who exist for a "public or social purpose" are quite extensive. In a country like India, there must be over a million persons who have very small incomes "officially", but who live in large houses, are served by many attendants, ride about in many cars, live and travel in style in big hotels and in air-conditioned coaches, cars and planes and partake of all the joys of life which are normally available only to millionaires. These persons can help others to obtain licences, permits, etc., and can make some extra money or gain advantages of a wide variety for services rendered. Some of them obtain permits for steel, cement, transport, foreign exchange, etc., and cash in on those by illicit transfers to others. We have heard of a Labour Front M.L.A. who got a large quantity of cement for the construction of a hospital or some such thing and sold the supplies obtained to others at double the price. It is well-known that ordinary citizens find it almost impossible to go abroad even for urgent medical reasons; but VIPs can go anywhere at any time to have their ingrowing toe nails removed by a Viennese Surgeon or get their distant relations psycho-analysed in Washington. It is impossible now-a-days in India for a person to educate his children abroad as he likes; but perfectly illiterate or semi-literate delegations move around the world at the expense of the State to make on the spot enquiries into abstruse problems of which they do not even know the meaning. In India all boys and girls have to go to schools in which everything is taught through the medium of Hindi or Assamese; but many are the top-ranking politicians in whose families children are sent to British or American schools only so that they can be educated in a different manner. Even in gaining admission in local universities, technical institutions and schools of good standing VIPs can work wonders where ordinary folk cannot achieve much. The seats in hospitals and sanitariums have a tendency to be given to "recommended" people as are railway or airline reservations. Not very long ago an entire flight had to be delayed by many hours, so that the plane could be given to a Minister. Houses in big cities are indiscriminately taken up by the big shots of the political world and ordinary people pay through their nose to get very ordinary accommodation. In short, the controlled economy of India is controlled only for the creation of privilege for

the political world. The ordinary people who pay the taxes, work for the operation and management of the economy, put their savings in new ventures and donate funds to the public benefit institutions, have no rights and none of the ordinary facilities for a fuller life and the freedoms which go with modern governments. A social system in which the alleged well-wishers and the "self-denying" servers of the public obtain all the loaves and fishes and the public are left in the lurch, cannot be a very good system. We must put a curb on the activities of the VIPs and prevent them from exploiting society freely and shamelessly.

A. C.

The Implications of Privilege-Raj

In a land where privilege reigns supreme and everything from buying a seer of sugar, a bag of cement or a square yard of chicken wire, to setting up a large factory depends on how much you have of "influence" and can use it effectively to achieve your objective; things generally degenerate into a wide medley of illicit transactions. The law ceases to exist and soon people seek the path of influence, bribery and corruption to get things done. In India today if a crime is committed people rush to influence persons in power to get the criminal acquitted or punished as the case may be. They say no one can be convicted of murder in certain regions of India. For, beginning with the police and the witnesses and ending in the juries, all are open to corruption or intimidation. Nothing can be done, procured, purchased, supplied, transported or managed without influence and legal procedure has ceased to exist. The unfortunate and dangerous element in this sad state of affairs is that it is not a disease born of the changeover from imperial domination to democracy; but is an ever-growing sore in the new body politic. Its growth is terrifying and very soon we shall have no law in this country and nothing will be done lawfully anywhere any longer. Illicit transactions arranged by corrupt means will be the order of the day and jungle law will prevail until circumstances will bring about the reinstatement of the law through a revolutionary moral revival.

A. C.

Permit-Quota-Licence Raj

Shri Rajagopalachari, who has been a stalwart of the Congress during the greater

part of his life and who broke away from it when it broke away from the principles that Mahatma Gandhi formulated for its guidance; has now become the leader of the "Swatantra" Party (the "separate" party or the party which is true to its "own principles"). He recently described the Congress government as the Permit-Quota-Licence Raj that goes by the name of socialism. He said this in connection with a report that Dr. Harekrushna Mahatab of Orissa would join the "Swatantra" party. Shri Rajagopalachari prophesied that many veteran Congress leaders would go over to his party as they could no longer subscribe to the new principles that guide the Congress. From his statement it becomes clear that he does not consider the Congress to be any longer the party of true nationalism with a clear cut ethical program based on patriotism, self-denial, justice and the ideal of total national unity. His reference to the Congress government as a P.Q.L. Raj miscalled socialism may mean that, in his estimation, the present Congress government is not socialistic, but is exploitative under the guise of pretended socialism. It cannot be state capitalism in view of the individual favours that the Nehru government bestows on selected persons and for the reason that their "socialism" creates privilege of an economic variety for supporters of the Nehru government and puts money in the pockets of people who are ordinary bazar traders and moneylenders turned VIPs per favour the Government of India.

A. C.

Workers' Participation In Management

Shri L. N. Mishra, Union Deputy Minister for Labour, Employment and Planning recently expressed his faith in personnel management and said that if personnel management were properly carried out, India should succeed in her plans and industrial ventures fully and well. He found fault with trade union management and, to some extent, with the personnel officers. There were some references to workers' participation in management and

Shri L. N. Mishra thought that the ideals of socialism and democracy demanded that workers progressively took an increasing share in formulation of policy and in managerial work.

Shri L. N. Mishra has a good knowledge of industries and his words will be accepted as a full interpretation of the problems that face Indian industries in point of human and personnel relations. We say "human and personnel" because one cannot achieve much in the field of personnel relations without a **great deal of state organisation** which have a social security value. Old age pensions, unemployment benefits, etc., are yet so far away from the Indian industrial-agricultural fields that disputes with workmen have an unseen background of want and suffering which complicate the visible issues and also make it impossible for workers to acquire a stable outlook as an integral part of any industry. Lack of education and training at lower levels also make workmen accept make-shift jobs and create instability in the labour field. The personnel officers or the trade unions cannot do much to remedy these fundamental defects in the basic structure of personnel procurement, integration and management. The government have failed in their duty in these respects.

The personnel officers are further hampered and obstructed by their "Superiors" who issue orders to them. These men are usually ignorant of industrial conditions and throw their weight about by virtue of their control over finances or position of trust *vis-a-vis* the capitalists or the ministers of industry, planning, labour, etc. There are also some mischievous foreign elements in high positions who deliberately sabotage India's industrial efforts by interfering with personnel management and by engaging in negotiations in the labour field in a devil-may-care fashion. Mr. Mishra should also try to remove such men from industry, if he can do so.

A. C.

State Management of Sports

A very belated report has been published recently by two persons specially sent to Rome and

other Western centres in West Germany, U.K., Italy and U.S.S.R. in 1960, where they had apparently gone "to study the working of sports organisations and suggest measures for improvement and development of games in India." In the press report that we have seen we find "the members have stated that a high degree of efficiency in competitive sports is not possible without a very high standard of physical fitness. Therefore they suggest that physical education be considered an essential part of general education in schools and colleges." The report recommends that a "minimum standard of physical fitness and efficiency should be laid down for recruitment to services. The possibility of having sports as one of the regular subjects in the universities for graduation might be explored. As a sop to "outstanding sportsmen and others connected permanently with sports" the report recommends that such persons "should be given importance by various means including invitations to such State functions as the 'At Home' on Republic Day and Independence Day."

From the above extracts from the report one would not think that public money should have been wasted on Messrs. Kaul and Kapoor who went round the world spending India's dwindling foreign exchange funds to write out something which is called a high-level enquiry report, but is in fact, a perfectly naive statement showing the writers' lack of experience or an intelligent outlook on sports and games. No foreign country, for instance, would adopt invitations to State functions as a method of improving standards in athletics. We have heard that the writers are either connected by marriage to some big shot or coach a Minister's children; but we cannot agree that the government have any right to waste public money in this manner. The various State Federations as well as the National Federations have some quite competent persons to do such work among their members. Why must the government put up fake committees, councils and other bodies to waste public money and achieve nothing worth a naia paisa?

The National Sports Council, or "whatever the Government of India call that body of nominated sports experts, meet occasionally here and there to hold meetings, probably at a great cost to the exchequer; produces no results worth notice. They rather bring into the world of sport an atmosphere of influence, favouritism and even

corruption of sorts due to their VIP like aloofness from facts and the habit of entertaining flatterers, pandits and soothsayers who misguide them. The public suffer, because that Council advises Pandit Nehru as to what methods he should adopt to waste public money in the name of encouraging games and sports. Pandit Nehru is already a master of squandering public funds in the name of every high sounding thing that he has been able to think of directly or through men like Kauls and Kapoors who propagate impractical ideas at state cost.

Anyone who knows anything about competitive games and sports would immediately say that introduction of general physical education in *all schools and colleges*, making games and sports a compulsory subject for graduation or invitation to "royal" parties for sportsmen are all very expensive and impractical ideas as far as competitive sports are concerned. Physical education for all would be a good thing from the military, health and economic angles; but will not produce great sportsmen. *At a much lesser cost* one can recruit talented persons from all over the country and give them sound training, good food and opportunities to become world figures in games and sports. Men who can do this and are trying to do this *at their own cost* are many in India; and they would only feel contempt for any VIP treatment that the government might give them to win them over to the congress camp. The reaction of Indian sportsmen to Nehru's methods of achieving greatness for India in different spheres is not favourable to the government. Most of them would disdain to co-operate with the kind of government we have.

On the same page of the newspaper which published the Kaul-Kapoor report we saw several announcements about the *actual* development of games and sports of different kinds. Most of the people who are managing Cricket, Football, Hockey, Wrestling, Boxing, Tennis, Rowing, Swimming, Field-sports, etc., etc., are not connected with any state-aided organisation. The state very rarely grants any funds to any organisation which does any real work. If at any time they grant any negligible sum of money to any organisation, they make so much trouble for all concerned that most people do not like to approach government

for assistance. Generally speaking, the government usually grabs a few play grounds for putting up buildings rather than provide new play grounds, areas, wrestling pits, boxing rings, swimming pools or water tracks for rowing. Most of our ministers cannot distinguish between the head and tail of a cricket bat or a tennis racket. It would be a good idea to put in a clause in the rules governing (if any) the selection of ministers or candidates for election ensuring that they would know the meaning of physical education, games and sports. At present most of the ministers everywhere are very poor samples and the M.Ps, M.L.As etc., are worse. Most schools and colleges in India have no play ground, no useful gymnasium, no proper equipment and the teachers and lecturers are by and large innocent of any knowledge or experience of games and sports. It is quite futile in such a set-up to introduce physical education in most places as a subject. There are not enough congressmen who can qualify as teachers to fill the vacancies that would be created by such a change of policy.

A. C.

Khrushchev's Bluster

Mr. Khrushchev, like many others before him, is a wholehearted believer in material success. He really thinks that a nation which has the largest capital resources and can show the biggest industrial output is naturally the greatest nation. The United States are now the greatest nation and the U.S.S.R. will be next to occupy that place of "honour". In other words the greatest defenders of the poor (the Proletariat) have now become the strongest admirers of wealth and good living! The poorer nations are relegated to the lowest places in the council of nations. Culture and civilisation, ethics and philosophy have no value for Mr. Khrushchev who is now the Second Greatest man of the World after Kennedy. Pandit Nehru has no place anywhere by his valuation. Mao Tse Tung perhaps comes even after Nehru.

A. C.

LINGUISTIC MINORITIES AND THE NATION

By A. C.

PANDIT Nehru's letter to Shri Atuly Ghosh, explaining his ideas of safeguarding the rights of minorities in the matter of language, requires to be considered seriously as a statement of principles guiding social management in India. Pandit Nehru clearly says in this letter that the minorities can justly claim that their language should be given full facilities in the particular area in which they lived, but they could not impose their languages on others who might not know those languages. The State language, in the opinion of Pandit Nehru, must remain the State language, nevertheless, all over the State. Two principles arise out of this exposition of the rights of minorities. One, that they have a right to use their own language in their own residential areas and also the right to ask for "full facilities" for their language. The second principle is that "imposition" of a language, upon people whose own language is different, is not good. The full facilities referred to, we suppose, mean use of the language for official purposes and for education, propaganda and in all other fields where language is used for a public purpose and at public expense. As to imposition of a language on people whose own language is different, we should think that also means using the unwanted language in an alien area for official purposes and for education, propaganda, etc., etc. Working on these very legitimate assumptions which are based on the principles laid down by no less a person than Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, we should think that the Government of Bihar should forthwith control their activities for the spread of Hindi in the Manbhum and Singbhum areas of that state. In these districts, the people speak Bengali and tribal languages; but we find all public notices, announcements, records, correspondence etc., are in Hindi. The officials also are mainly Hindi-speaking and imported from the other side of the Falgu and the Ganges. There are several big school buildings here and there in which education is arranged for all children in Hindi and the courts and daftars are working in Hindi as far as it can be safely used without going counter to the purpose for which it is used.

Coming to the fundamentals of all these linguistic problems, we find that the states were formed by the British without reference to the language or languages used by their population.

Rather the British built the states with an eye to create disunity among their peoples. A purely Bengali State to which belonged all Bengalis of India, for example, would have gone against British interests in so far as if eight crores of Bengalis were united in one State, the British would have found in that a very difficult administrative problem. So they detached many districts which were Bengali-speaking from Bengal proper and attached them to Bihar, Assam and Orissa. Before that they had once divided Bengal into two parts and that had led to the great Swadeshi Movement of 1905-6, which set in motion India's Independence Movement in a true and proper manner. In the case of Nehru's India there should not be any such considerations for breaking up Bengal into several pieces. Firstly, because Nehru began his *raj* by cutting off more than half of Bengal and attaching it to Pakistan. And secondly, because he is very conscious of the sorrows of Indian minorities and wishes these difficulties, problems, misunderstandings and squabbles to be dissolved. If a Pakistan can come into existence with territories lying wide apart and at two ends of a "foreign" country, we do not see why Cachar cannot be joined to Bengal. If the Assamese can travel through Bengal all the time to go to Delhi, London or Moscow; why cannot the Bengalis of Cachar use the roads of Assam to come and go? Singbhum, Manbhum, Santhal Parganas, Purnea, etc., are contiguous to Bengal and no question of being too far away or of being separated can arise in the case of their reintegration with Bengal. Dr. Roy may raise objections on imaginary grounds to save the Congress from a delicate situation; but he must not forget that he once did a lot of propaganda for merging Bihar and Bengal into one State. If he could achieve that, as he thought he could, why cannot he merge a few small pieces of Bengal with the State of West Bengal? We are sure, this can be done and if Bihar cannot give up the industries and mines of Singbhum and Manbhum for economic reasons, we have to point out that other methods of financing the State of Bihar must be found to balance their budget.

The principle that the Congress have adopted in carrying on the British provinces as the states of independent India, has led to all these difficulties. The minorities are also entitled to their bits

of independence and Pandit Nehru cannot stop them from asking for their rights by ordering lathi charges or by firing upon unarmed crowds. For if he took up that line of solving a problem which he has himself created, he will eventually land up in civil wars. So that he should correct his mistakes while there is time and form linguistic states with an eye to unity in language not to create disunity or to support impositions or exploitation upon and of minorities by majority gangs and cliques. If he cannot achieve this, we shall not feel deeply hurt; for then, the breaking up of India into narrower bodies with lesser loyalties will cease and India will have to become India in full. We have never felt that these states are any good for our national unity and progress. India should be divided into administrative zones and no question of language, religion or political party interest should be permitted to obstruct this. All language, religions, castes, etc., should be tolerated without in any way impairing national progress, unity and safety. We feel that the Hindi *wallahs* have been at the root of the whole trouble. If they had not inspired a large number of rather stupid men to plan an imposition on the rest of India, there would never have been any *linguism* in India. *Hindi Rashtrabhasha* did not mean a *Hindi Rashtra*, but the poor thinkers who conspired to rule India by using an undeveloped language as their sole instrument to attain sovereign power never gave a thought to the sinful fact that they were attempting a usurpation, an illicit denial of rights to others and a dangerous imposition which would bring about a total disintegration of India. It may have pleased their vanity to falsely boost up the population figures of true Hindi-speakers; but truth always comes out on top, no matter how many million propagandists combine to disseminate untruths. Hindi also has certain other weaknesses which cannot be got over easily. All highly educated Hindi-speakers, had been, by and large over anglicised. This includes Pandit Nehru and his family members also. And Hindi did not provide enough material to progressive minds to thrive by making use of it as a vehicle of self-expression. They, therefore, left Hindi to writers of cheap journals and for the penny press. So, when the time came for glorifying Hindi into a national language of impressive pro-

portions, the men could not be found who could embellish it with new words, phrases, idioms, thought equivalents, etc., in order to bring it into line with the great languages of the world. The efforts that were made were ridiculous and converted the newly formed *Rashtrabhasha* into a stilted language full of misfitting bits and pieces some of which are a superlative form of bathos. The Hindi-speakers themselves also did not inspire emulative urges in the peoples of Bombay, Madras or Calcutta; by reason of their painful orthodoxy and fanatical attachment to their ancient manners and customs. They could not create confidence in others in their ability to lead India into a newer civilisation that will maintain and revive all the glories of ancient India, as well as introduce into it those progressive elements of a scientific and politico-economic nature which have made Europe and America the home of human well-being. India, of course, should have rejected those psychological forces which dominated the West and repeatedly drove the Euro-Americans into wars of near-total annihilation.

The Neo-Congress outlook, with *Hindism* as its spearhead, has failed to revive any of the glories of ancient India. Sanskrit, which has been the soul of Indian civilisation even during centuries of foreign aggression, has been relegated to the limbo of bare toleration by the various governments of the states of India. Art, architecture, literature and all those other creative efforts which make a civilisation great and respected, have not progressed; rather there are signs of decadence in all cultural spheres caused, perhaps, by official interference and spoon-feeding of undesirable men and institutions. Ethically and politically the neo-congressites are in a mess, to say the least of it. Sanctimonious excesses combined with an abundance of corruption and nepotism has reduced the morale of the people of India to an extremely low-level. In foreign policy, Pandit Nehru follows an ostrich-like policy of aloofness and self-defence. His love of peace in foreign countries as against at home is comparable to the western love of starting foreign wars in order to avoid war at home. Generally speaking India can now do with a bit of self-analysis and politico-economic reform. This may hit the neo-congress politics and economic plans; but then that has to be.

THE UNITED NATIONS—RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT

BY DR. KAREL HULICKA

THROUGHOUT the 24 centuries of recorded history international relations have been characterized by temporary alliances and cooperation followed by disputes and tensions, among the allies or with other states, which have culminated in war. Peace has been followed by new alliances, new claims and counter claims, new tensions and new calamitous wars. Although mankind has been afraid of wars, and aware that wars, especially in modern times, do not pay, no effective techniques to prevent wars have been found.

Many great thinkers have addressed themselves to the problem of preventing wars, the worst plague of mankind. It has been observed that the relationship among states was and continues to be anarchic. According to the law of the jungle which has characterized international relations the strong dictate to the weak. To counteract the lawlessness of the "might is right" ideology, international law, a set of rules regulating mutual behavior of states within the international community, was developed. It was believed that just as national law introduced order within a state, international law would be able to regulate international relations. However, from its beginning, international law unlike national law, was a decentralized legal order. Since law is coercive in nature its effectiveness depends on the enforcement agency.

Two alternative techniques have been considered for the prevention of wars through international law. These are the formation of a world government and of an effective international organization. Both approaches are challenged by the principle of sovereignty and nationalism. Sovereignty may be popularly defined as the theoretical right for each state to act independently in international relations, regardless of the rights or demands of other states. In practice, however, even the most powerful states must consider the effect of their policies on allies, neutrals and potential adversaries, and no country has complete sovereignty or freedom. The degree of sovereignty unfortunately varies with the military and economic might of the country. Nationalism, even more important, since it supports sovereignty and makes people of different nationalities interpret the same facts very differently, is difficult to

define. No test of language, race, religion, or geography alone provide reliable criterion of nationality. In the final analysis, nationalism is a state of mind including patriotic feelings, developed by people under favorable conditions.¹ Because of sovereignty and nationalism the adoption of a world government, the most advanced idea proposed for the prevention of wars, is even less likely than the development of an effective international organization.

For centuries scholars and statesmen have advocated the peaceful settlement of disputes. Dante Alighieri, in the 13th century, inspired by the example of the Roman Empire, proposed the creation of a universal monarchy or world empire. His contemporary in France, Pierre Dubois, recommended the settlement of international disputes by a world court with the Pope serving as principal arbiter. Abbe de Saint Pierre stressed the truism that persons normally quite rational are affected more by emotions than by reason in international affairs. He criticized the French king for prosecuting wars which brought no happiness to either side, rather than using the money and effort to build hospitals, schools, roads, and for other public projects. Observing that a society can achieve a satisfactory life only in peace, the Abbe recommended a federation of Europe and the creation of courts to settle possible disputes. Throughout the centuries, many other individuals and groups, particularly religious groups, have advocated the creation of an international organization and the peaceful settlement of disputes.

The experience of the Socialist Second International before World War I is most interesting. The socialists since they were organized internationally, believe that they could prevent war by parliamentary means or, if unsuccessful that way, by the direct action of a general strike. Providing workers in all countries would cooperate it was believed that military action could be entirely prohibited by the international strike which would paralyze munition factories, transportation and communication facilities, etc. Although the plan

1. Cf. Renan Ernest in *Discours et Conférences* (6th ed., Paris, 1919), p. 277-310.

was highly logical, the socialist leaders overlooked the major impediments to it, nationalism and government coercion. When World War I started the socialists, including the leaders, were patriots first, and internationalism was in most cases forgotten. Governmental coercion was used immediately against the few determined internationalists, and in all countries firm pacifists, including the most respected humanitarians and exemplary citizens, were declared to be traitors to their fatherland.

Finally after the colossal slaughter of World War I the dream of centuries seemed to be materializing with the foundation of the League of Nations. However, though the League had some successes initially, it began a rapid decline in 1931 with the invasion of China by Japan, both League members, followed by the Italian aggression against Ethiopia and the German aggression against its neighbors. Among the primary reasons for the failure of the League were gaps in its membership, mismanagement and perhaps more important, the fact that its effectiveness rested predominantly on persuasion. The principle of collective security was replaced by power politics. Power politicians representing the great powers of the era, especially those from Japan, Germany and Italy, and to a lesser degree those from Britain and France, not only contributed substantially to the demise of the League but also to the decline in power of their own countries. Although the League failed to the disappointment of millions, the hope for a meaningful international organization was not discarded.

On August 14, 1941, early in World War II, President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill included in the Atlantic Charter for post-war arrangement the idea of a "permanent system of general security" or a system of collective security. In the spring of 1945, prior to the termination of the war, the United Nations Organization was founded:

The Charter of the United Nations, with 111 articles is not drafted as well as was the Covenant of the League of Nations with 26 articles, and contains many loopholes.² Much greater attention is paid to economic and social matters. The structure of the United Nations is fundamentally the same as that of the League: the

League's Council has been replaced by the Security Council, the Assembly by the General Assembly, while the Secretariat was included in both organizations. Unlike in the League, in the United Nations the major responsibility for the maintenance of peace has been assigned to the Security Council. This presupposes unanimity among the great powers, while in the League a unanimous decision by all members in both the Council and the Assembly was necessary. In the Security Council in non-procedural matters a majority of seven votes out of eleven is decisive provided that the seven votes include those cast by the Big Five. Without cooperation among the big powers, which at the present time means without cooperation between the "Big Two," the USA and the USSR, the Security Council cannot function properly. Under the "Uniting for Peace Resolution" based on an interpretation of the Charters article 10, and adopted November 3, 1950, not only the Security Council but also the General Assembly may exercise the force monopoly by initiating an enforcement action involving the use of armed force in the event of a threat to peace, breach of peace, or aggression, by recommendations made to UN members. This interpretation is contrary to article 11, paragraph 2 which reads, "Any such question on which action is necessary shall be referred to the Security Council by the General Assembly either before or after discussion."

Like the League, the United Nations depends predominantly on voluntary cooperation and from the founding of the organization persuasion rather than enforcement has been emphasized. It is primarily a "political" rather than a "legal" organization. The International Court of Justice though an organ of the United Nations, does not in reality have compulsory jurisdiction. Because the United Nations is an association of "free" or "independent states" and is not a super state, its effectiveness is considerably limited.

Unlike the Security Council which is based on an inequality of states, and favors the so called great powers, the General Assembly is a representative body of 99 states (at present) with equal voting power. The Assembly is rightly described as the ears, eyes and mouth of the organization. Because of the composition, representative character and semi-legislative function, the General Assembly might be considered as potentially the most useful part of the UN. Its weakness lies in

2. See Hans Kelsen. *The Law of the United Nations*, (New York, 1952).

the fact that it can, even under the Uniting for Peace Resolution, make recommendations only, not legally binding decisions which can be made by the Security Council under article 39 of the Charter.

In attempting to establish equality in the General Assembly, unintentional inequalities were introduced. Since each state, regardless of size has one vote, the vote of Guatemala or Cyprus, for example, equals that of the USA or the USSR. Thus a majority of votes in the General Assembly may represent a small minority of mankind. Should the General Assembly serve as a body truly representative of the peoples of the world, a reorganization favoring the more populous states would be required. Moreover, it has been pointed out that the contributions of nations to the United Nations varies with their own technical and economic development.

The United Nations has an advantage over the League in that almost all countries, including the very powerful ones with the exception of China are members. To date the admission of the government of the Peoples Republic of China has been prevented by the United States and its allies. The British are placed in a most paradoxical position with reference to the Chinese. Britain gave *de jure* recognition to the Government of the Peoples Republic of China and hence does not recognize Chiang Kai-Shek. But in the United Nations, Britain, because of the influence of the United States, has consistently voted against the Chinese Government which it considers to be legal and has supported the Nationalist government which, from the point of view of the British, is illegal. In the event of serious disarmament discussions, the Communist government may be considered legal by many nations which voted against the seating of that government in the United Nations. A disarmament agreement established without the concurrence of the world's most populous nation, a great power with constantly increasing potential, would not be workable. The absence of the People's Republic of China weakens the United Nations.

The polarization between the "Western" and "Eastern" bloc curtails the effectiveness of the organization. The permanent seats on the Security Council with the right to veto held by the "Big Five" contributes to the creation of blocs. In order to influence member states to vote "properly" the great powers are trying to attract the

smaller nations, especially the non-committed ones, either constructively with appealing programs or destructively by bribing them with economic, political and military aid. The non-committed nations seem to be aware of the rather frequent lack of altruistic motives associated with the proffered help. Although, on occasion, the conflict between the "East and the "West" has been consciously used to the advantage of a smaller nation, it would seem that the majority of the non-committed nations aspire to serve themselves and all mankind by striving for the prevention of war, and at the same time, the retention of their own independence. The achievement of their goal is, at the present, facilitated because the rival blocs, both in possession of weapons of mass destruction, are held in a balance of terror, with neither bloc in a position to impose its will on the other. For these reasons, the United Nations is more important than ever before. Since both blocs aspire to gain the allegiance of the masses, neither bloc can ignore the opinions of the un-committed nations with reference to international problems discussed in the General Assembly.

As long as the rule of one vote for one country is upheld, the non-committed and smaller nations because of their numbers have considerable power. Will they use this power wisely for the benefit of the world and for their own benefit? The admission of the numerous newly formed independent nations, in the unlikely event that they do not become the pawns of the great powers, could change the atmosphere in the United Nations. In his criticism of the United Nations, Mr. Khrushchev claimed that the organization favors the "West" heavily. It would be fruitless to argue against his assertion. The late Soviet delegate Vyshinsky is alleged to have said, "If the United States delegate were to suggest that two and two is seven, it would be approved by an overwhelming majority of United Nations members." The Soviet United Nations delegation knew in advance that its request for United Nations condemnation of the United States for the U-2 plane incident would be automatically opposed by the majority of United Nations members. The condemnation proposal was made to illustrate dramatically the state of affairs in the United Nations, the reason for Mr. Khrushchev's proposal for reorganization. He requested that the Soviet or Socialist bloc and the Afro-Asian bloc

have increased representation, arguing that each of these blocs and the Western bloc represent approximately the same number of people. Although in reality, only about one quarter of the world's population reside in the "Western" bloc, throughout the existence of the United Nations the votes of this minority of population have registered as the majority. Under the Soviet proposal the one country—one vote principle would have to be revised to favor the larger and more populous states.

Despite all the far reaching disagreement between the "Big Two" the United Nations is fulfilling its task in many respects. Without the United Nations, the disagreements would still exist but there would be no forum for the free discussion of problems. Of great value in the resolution of differences is the informal contacts between delegates of all nations afforded by the existence of the United Nations.

Nothing would be easier than to destroy the United Nations. But the alternatives would be a retreat to the law of the jungle under which mankind has suffered for milleniums. All countries, whether large or small, benefit from the preservation of this useful but imperfect organization which is based on the principle of collective security and cooperation among nations and aspires to maintain friendly international relations, peace and security. However, instead of fostering friendly relations the big powers have in their attempts to win the allegiance of the masses, transformed the organization into a cold war arena, leaving little opportunity for constructive work. The United Nations was not intended to serve as an organization which would make decisions against the interests of its members, particularly the great powers who are well-protected by the Security Council rule of unanimity. Its effectiveness depends predominantly on the good will of the great powers. The General Assembly has great increasing potential particularly in the moral sphere, for influencing the great powers, but it can ill afford to be the tool of one of them.

The future of the United Nations may follow one of three major alternatives. The first alternative is that the situation may be essentially unchanged and the United Nations may continue to be the headquarters for the strategists of the cold war. In that case charges, countercharges, and bitter antagonism will persist along with

mounting disrespect for the United Nations. The organization and its international civil servant, the Secretary General, will be progressively less successful in achieving their designated functions. The effectiveness of the Secretary General is curtailed because when he pleases one bloc he antagonizes the other bloc. The election of a new Secretary General whether Mr. Hammarskjöld resigns or not may prove to be increasingly difficult. The unwillingness of some member states to contribute to the mounting expenditures, some of which are the result of the cold war, enhances the influence of those states able and willing to pay and counteracts article 2 of the Charter which upholds the principle of the sovereign equality of all members. While the misuse of automatic majorities representing minorities, damages the prestige of the United Nations in the international community, an even more detrimental effect accrues to the population of the "victorious" bloc in supporting the tendency to assume that the proposals and actions of that bloc are always right and good while those of the opposing bloc are always evil. Referring to the artificial majority, an editorial in *McLeans* (March 25, 1961) stated: "To non-members, it can only mean that U.N.'s dice are loaded in favor of the Western bloc. Nobody, least of all we ourselves, would accept the adverse judgments of such a body as having the force of law." Unless the new members of the United Nations vote independently, the organization will not be able to achieve its designated functions.

The adoption of Mr. Khrushchev's proposals or a modified version there of, is a second alternative. The voting strength of member states would be in accordance with their population. Since voting would be done by "blocs", the nominal independence and the sovereign equality of the member states would be curtailed. Presumably the United States and the Soviet Union would act as the leaders of the Western and Eastern blocs respectively. How free and independent would the smaller bloc members be? What would happen in the event of disagreements among bloc members, particularly among the more powerful ones? How many votes would individual bloc members have? Even if it were accepted that the world population would be represented better by the proposed bloc voting, the degree to which exist-

ing governments really represent their people might be questioned. If the rule that only governments which are truly representative are to be seated were adopted, the General Assembly would be almost empty. Eventually, the populous developing countries are bound to obtain better representation in the United Nations including perhaps a permanent seat on the Security Council. Progress in industrialization, such as is occurring in India, for example, will remove the previous objection that such nations lack the potential for economic, financial and military aid to the United Nations. Some reforms are definitely to be expected.

Mr. Khrushchev's proposal that the United Nations secretariat be modified deserves consideration. The Secretary General described by article 97 of the Charter as "the Chief Administrative Officer of the Organization" is, though the boss of the secretariat, the international civil servant of the member states. His function should not be confused with that of the chief executive of individual states, such as the President of the United States. Among his important functions is to execute and sometimes to interpret the decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. In his speech on October 2, 1960, Mr. Khrushchev said, "It is said that after an agreement on disarmament is reached, international armed forces should be constituted. We agree with this principle. But the question arises as to who will command those forces. Will it be the United Nations Secretary General? But single-handed decisions on specific action in such a case will depend on the moral convictions, on the conscience of the U.S. Secretary General. Is it admissible to make the destinies of millions contingent on the action of a single person holding this post?" One may certainly question whether the Western bloc find a Secretary General from the Soviet bloc acceptable, even under the existing circumstances. If not, Mr. Hammarskjöld's non-acceptability to the Soviet Government is understandable. Should even more power be delegated to the Secretary General, no agreement on a future candidate can be expected.

A third alternative, and one which has some possibility of materialization, would not involve the complexity of altering the Charter. This alternative is that the one country—one

vote rule which favors the smaller states would be maintained but to fulfill their rights and obligations as sovereign equals the bloc ideology would have to be discarded and the independent decision making of the member states encouraged. This would require initially the approval of the member states, both large and small, and eventually a United Nations resolution prohibiting improper "influence" with respect to voting. If all military and economic aid to developing countries were channelled through the United Nations the great powers would be deprived of their major means of influence within the organization. The interest of the great powers would still be protected by the present provisions of the Charter, and their influence through progressive proposals would continue. However, there would be a substantial curtailment of near-bribery, and undercover political deals in the lobby, embassies and foreign ministries. The Soviet bloc, which always votes as a unit, and almost always in a minority might agree to such a proposal since it has relatively little to lose. Because of fundamental disagreements between the Western and Eastern blocs, even if this alternative were adopted, the current voting pattern would be followed for many issues. For this reason, this alternative might eventually be acceptable. Under such circumstances, the non-committed nations would exercise greater influence. By resisting pressures and by pursuing their own policies reasonably they can best serve themselves and the entire world. The United Nations can be strengthened if these states will vote independently on each issue, according to their own best judgment, without considering whether the vote is that desired by one or other of the super powers. The great powers should perceive that ultimately their own best interests will be served if the non-committed nations vote independently and should encourage rather than condemn such action. Under some circumstances the voting of nations in blocs is unsalutary. The hegemony of any one country within the United Nations defeats the very purpose of the organization.

This alternative, less painful and more probable than a far reaching reorganization of the United Nations, would enable the organization to function more efficiently for the benefit of all.

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WASTE IN EDUCATION : HOW TO CHECK IT

By (Miss) USHA BISWAS, M.A., B.T.

In our country even at the present moment considerable waste is taking place at every stage of education. This does not necessarily mean the waste of money only. Not that the waste of money alone counts. The tremendous waste of the time and energies of the pupils under instruction should also be reckoned with. So the economy of money as well as of the time and energy of the students to be involved must needs be effected with the object of ensuring the maximum of results in a minimum of time. It is anything but desirable that during the formative period of their life their precious time and youthful energies should be frittered away in useless pursuits and ineffective preparation. This leads to a good deal of waste of talents, too, could have been much better utilized elsewhere, and could have been diverted along more fruitful channels. But for this sort of waste their education would have turned out to be much more effective and far sounder.

How to reduce the present wastage to a minimum seems to be one of the most pressing problems of the day, which should engage the serious attention of the educational authorities and educationists of the country. Any attempt at the solution of the problem will necessitate a probe into the main defects of the present system of education that the waste is chiefly attributable to. No sound reconstruction of the education system of the country can be brought about until and unless those defects are probably diagnosed and eliminated. Nothing short of thorough overhauling of the entire system of education will render the elimination of the defects possible. The aim and objective of each stage of education should be carefully thought out and clearly defined so as to prevent the unnecessary overlapping of the syllabuses and the subject-matter, consistent and systematic planning being

the pre-requisite of this. At present effective co-ordination between the different stages of education seems to be lacking. As a result of this, sometimes the students have to learn and unlearn over again what they have already learnt. The waste of the time and energy of the pupils at this sort of overlapping entails can hardly be ignored and should be guarded against as much as possible.

Primary Stage

To begin with the primary stage, the wastage at this stage is too huge to be overlooked. As a rule, the two lowermost classes of the average primary school, specially in the rural areas of the country, are most overcrowded. The majority of the pupils of a primary school drop out without caring to complete the course. They invariably relapse into illiteracy as soon as they leave school and discontinue their studies altogether. The short schooling they receive fails to effect permanent literacy. The proposed scheme of compulsory primary education for all the children of the country of the age group—6 to 11 has not yet materialised. In the event of the scheme being put into operation in the near future, as has been proposed, it is expected to go a long way towards checking an enormous waste at this stage of education. But the mere enactment of a law will hardly be of any avail unless and until public sympathy and public co-operation can be enlisted. So, first of all, public opinion needs to be educated. The average illiterate and indigent parent or guardian does not believe in the education of his children or wards. He knows which side his bread is buttered. In India child labour not being banned as yet, even the small children of the people, who are badly off and find it hard to keep their body and soul together, are sometimes made to take up odd jobs so as to supple-

ment the meagre income of their parents by their small earnings.

Today child marriage is still in vogue in the rural areas of the country, where even the girls of every tender age sometimes get married off. In those areas a good many parents also object to sending their grown-up unmarried daughters to school for fear of adverse criticism. Besides, the grown-up unmarried girls are expected to be of great help to their mothers, too, in rearing their babies, as also in running their homes. Hence the big drop in the numerical strength of the top classes of the average primary school, and the consequent waste of money as well as of the time and energy of the pupils. Now the question is how to check this huge waste by achieving permanent literacy, and to popularise primary education as well with a view to this. If children are to be attracted to the primary schools first and foremost, primary education needs to be made both useful and agreeable. One of the main defects of our present educational system consists in the fact that the education imparted at the average school is isolated from life. That is why the parents as well as the children fail to realise the purpose and utility of this sort of education. "From the standpoint of the child", observes John Dewey, "the great waste in the school comes from his inability to utilize the experiences he gets outside the school in any complete and free way within the school itself; while on the other hand, he is unable to apply in daily life what he is learning at school. That is the isolation of the school—its isolation from life". What the children learn in the school being thus totally unrelated to the activities and experiences of their daily life, the bookish and theoretical instruction that is imparted at the average school hardly appeals to their mind. Their parents and guardians, too, very naturally feel inclined to look upon such education as sheer waste of time and money, inasmuch as what is learnt by the children at the schools cannot be made use of in their everyday life. In view of this fact, the present basic or activity schools constitute a serious attempt to effect the solution of the

problem by making children 'learn by living or doing' and by linking the school lessons to the activities of their day-to-day life. The acquisition of knowledge is thus motivated by their desire for self-activity, and they are made to learn things, for themselves, through purposeful activities provided. There is talk of all the primary schools of the country being replaced by basic schools in the near future. If the scheme can be efficiently and successfully carried through, the problem may be solved sooner or later. Besides, basic education being craft-centric, it will serve to give a practical bias to the bookish education of the day, the necessity and importance of which can hardly be impressed upon the average illiterate or semi-illiterate parent.

If primary education is to be made free and compulsory, as has been proposed, it must of necessity be self-supporting to a certain extent. It has been apprehended by many that this sort of self-support may lead to the exploitation of child labour. But the economic aspect of the question, too, must not be lost sight of. In the rural areas of the country if productive labour can thus be combined with education, it may help to popularise primary education, to a great extent, as in these hard days the masses are inclined to judge things in terms of monetary gains rather than anything else. So the element of self-support cannot be ruled out altogether, inasmuch as it is likely to contribute, in some measure, to the success of the scheme, which depends on the teachers, implementing it. This renders it absolutely necessary to train and equip an adequate number of teachers on these lines. Uptil now very few successful teachers have been turned out by the basic training colleges. Even in some of the basic schools the teachers have been found to have fallen back upon the formal methods of teaching. It can be well imagined what a colossal waste the whole scheme will entail in the event of its failure, partial or complete.

If education means social adjustment, one and the same curriculum cannot be imposed both upon the rural and urban

schools. When drawing up the syllabuses, the needs of the children for whom those are intended must of necessity be kept in view. It should be borne in mind that the needs of the rural community are quite different from those of the urban. The teachers of the rural schools, too, should be recruited from the rural community, wherever possible, as in that case they are expected to be conversant with the needs of that community. The training colleges, intended for the training of these teachers, also, need to be located in rural areas, so as to enable the prospective teachers to study the rural problems at first-hand. The rural children taught on the same lines as the urban are sure to prove so many misfits in the rural community, and their education, also, cannot but be counted as sheer waste by that community.

Secondary Stage

It is a pity that at present there is hardly any co-ordination between the primary and the secondary stages of education so as to facilitate the transition from one stage to the other. The curriculum of the secondary schools must be of a piece with that of the primary. So in the secondary schools, too, the activity methods should be adopted, as far as possible, to bring the school lessons into the line with the experiences and activities of the students' everyday life so as to enable them to realise the close relationship between those. This may well be brought about by the organisation of the subject-matter into different units or projects, so that the secondary schools, too, may thus be run on the activity lines. As at the primary stage, the students should be made to learn things, for themselves, by doing or living, so to say, so that their education may turn out to be a process of actual living rather than a mere preparation for future living or calling. They should not be mere passive recipients of the information imparted by the teachers. On the contrary, they should be afforded plenty of opportunities of acquiring knowledge through actual life-situations, as also of

applying that knowledge in practical life. To avoid waste, the methods of teaching to be adopted both at the primary and secondary schools must needs be consistent.

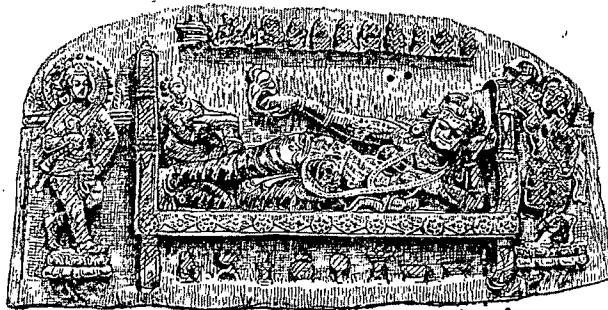
At the secondary stage too, the curricula of the rural and urban schools need to be different, the needs of the communities being altogether different. On the lines, indicated in the report of the Radha Krishnan Commission on education, a scheme of post-basic education, as envisaged in the proposed rural secondary schools, should, therefore, be formulated, so that the school life and the school activities of the students may not be totally divorced from the activities of village life and rural associations. The activities of these rural secondary schools should be such as will help to stimulate the pupils' desire to improve their own villages, and are not likely to engender any aversion for village life. As far as possible, a rural secondary school should be residential so as to enable the students to live in model houses, suited to the needs of village life. "The School Village", as such houses have been termed, will serve to give them a clear and practical idea of village planning and village reconstruction and will enable them to form a clear idea of what an ideal village and village life should be like. About half the working time should be devoted to study, and half to practical work, including farming, house-keeping, cookery and child-care (for girls) as well as street cleaning, village cleaning, and other kinds of village welfare work. Both the boys and girls should be given some industrial and vocational training—training in cottage and small-scale industries, so as to enable them to equip themselves for some future callings and vocations. They will thus receive an all-round and balanced education, and the curriculum will be naturally adapted to the needs of village life. Such education will not lead to any maladjustment to rural society and rural conditions, and will not entail any waste of the time and energies of the pupils. It is not possible for the majority of the village students to run to towns, and go in for higher intellectual education. So it is no good wasting their

time as well as money on the type of education that is more suitable for the urban children.

Until recently no need of the diversification of the courses provided at the secondary stage was felt. This also involved a good deal of waste of money as well as of the time, energies and talents of the students. The multipurpose schools that have of late been started are expected to meet their different tastes and aptitudes. If the scheme proves a success, the secondary schools may cease to be "a manufactory specially designed for grinding out uniform results". The present system of examination, too, is defective, inasmuch as it fails to be an adequate measure of the students' ability, tastes and aptitudes. It only encourages cramming. The maintenance of cumulative record cards that is being insisted upon in the secondary schools at present is expected to be of great help in assessing the individual tastes and aptitudes of the students, and will facilitate vocational guidance, to a great extent. Lack of this guidance is mainly responsible for the present indiscriminate rush for admission to colleges at the end of the school career, and for the consequent waste of the pupils' time, energy and money. English is still a compulsory subject of study at the secondary schools. It is, as a rule, very badly taught at the average school. In the School Final Examination the majority of the candidates fail in English. They are unable to pass the examination, if they fail to secure pass marks in English. The present practice, too, is occasioning a good deal of waste.

Collegiate or University Stage

Now that the three-year degree colleges are being started, at the end of the School Final Examination, the successful candidates will have to cross another hurdle before they can be admitted to these colleges. They will be required to undergo the newly introduced pre-university course, and will not be considered eligible for admission into the three-year degree colleges unless they can pass the examination to be held at the end of this course. If the standard set is too high, the percentage of passes will further go down. The fate of the unsuccessful candidates, who will find themselves at a loose end, and will swell the ranks of the educated unemployed, is a foregone conclusion. Besides, there seems to be very little sense in introducing the multipurpose schools unless similar higher courses are provided at the three-year degree colleges too. English still continues to be the medium of instruction at the colleges, although the students have been given the option of answering the question papers set in English in the regional language or in their own vernacular. Uptil now English has been retained, as a compulsory subject of study. From the percentage of passes, which does not usually exceed 40% or 50%, even after awarding the grace-marks, it will appear what a huge waste is taking place at the University stage, year in and year out. It is needless to add that the majority of such failures are due only to the candidates' failure in English.



ANTHROPOLOGY AND THE HUMANITIES

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ANTHROPOLOGY, which has for its field, the study of Man and his works, cannot be assigned to any one of the neat divisions into which knowledge is classified. We speak of knowledge as being divided into the natural sciences which include the Biological Science, Physical Science, Geological Science and the like; the social sciences, consisting of subjects like Sociology, Political Science, Economics and sometimes, History; and the Humanities which take into their fold History (a borderline subject between social sciences and the Humanities proper), Classical scholarship, Philosophy, Literature and the Fine Arts. Anthropology, to borrow a tag from the late Prof. Kluckhohn, is "an overlapping study which bridges into the physical, biological, and social sciences and into the humanities".¹

As their very name implies, the humanities study that which is typically, individualistically and idiosyncratically, 'human'. In other words, they study that facet of man's being which is the least susceptible of scientific observation and description and of being explained in terms of certain unalterable generalized 'laws' of human behaviour. The disciplines reckoned among the Humanities have for their methods of work certain individualistic modes of comprehending and describing the phenomenal existence; the faculties of empathy, insight, imagination and intuition are their handmaidens. Sensibilities for them are cultivated in ways radically different from these which are needed in the 'hard' sciences. Their way is that of reason tempered with emotion and, at a higher level, with introspection. This can be immediately apprehended by looking into the creative process of a painter, a poet, a novelist or a historian. This is not to suggest that elements of intuition, insight and imagination do not form a part of the way a scientist goes about in his work of making inventions and discoveries. But whereas with the Humanist these form the core, in the case of a scientist they enter unconsciously, though almost always as the initiator of an investigation into the nature of physical phenomena. The formulation of a hypothesis is often the outcome of an intuitive perception of some significant relation.

It is an important fact for the historian of anthropology that this subject was born at a time in the middle of the 19th Century when the 'sciences' had just taken over from the 'Humanities' as the sovereign in the world of academic pursuits. This intellectual milieu of its birth had disastrous consequences for the growth of anthropology in setting this nascent human science on its faulty journey along the wayward road pursued in imitation of the 'hard' natural sciences. To digress briefly into the history of this discipline born in the scientific tradition, is not so irrelevant after all for an understanding of its late relations with the Humanities.

Anthropology in the middle and late 19th Century was interested in the study of culture not cultures, all society but no particular society. This was the types of anthropology done by E.B. Tylor (1832-1917) our founder, our Adam Smith, and his contemporaries Frazer and McLennan. Belonging to the same tradition, in a way, were those scientists-turned-anthropologists like A.C. Haddon (1855-1940) and W.H.R. Rivers (1864-1922) who studied custom and culture in topical pieces. Such was the line of attack also of L.H. Morgan (1818-1881) and Franz Boas (1858-) in the United States. It was not until the year 1922 that Prof. A. R. Radcliffe-Brown (1881-1955) and B. Malinowski (1884-1942) published simultaneously their respective accounts of the Andaman and Trobriand Islanders. This marked the beginning of the study of isolated, self-contained primitive communities, each treated as a whole which could be understood as a system of functionally inter-related parts.

Throughout this development of anthropology, however, this subject was looked on as a branch of natural science. And this conception of the discipline was not confined to that branch known as Physical Anthropology which unquestionably concerns itself with problems of human evolution, genetics, racial differentiation and biological adaptation to different types of environment; but was extended also to cultural, and to a larger extent, to British Social Anthropology. Till about the end of the last century

Cultural Evolutionism and Diffusionism were the main concerns of the anthropologists both in Great Britain and the United States. Cultural evolution was thought to have occurred along lines identical to those of biological evolution. The position of all cultural evolutionists is well summed up in the famous geological argument advanced by Tylor, who wrote that, "The institutions of man are as distinctly stratified as the earth on which he lives. They succeed each other in series substantially uniform over the globe, independent of what seem the comparatively superficial differences of race and language, but shaped by similar human nature acting through progressively changed conditions in savage, barbaric and civilized life".² Such an artificial, mechanical, almost apish, attitude towards human culture and civilization continued to enjoy popularity even at the hands of the subsequent 'diffusionist' anthropologists. The concepts they used merit legitimate comparison with those used in the chemistry of the constitution of crystals. Culture was treated as a compound of cultural traits as much as a crystal is a compound of various elements. Even in the era of particularistic studies of isolated communities, the different human cultures and societies were, and are, treated as entities collected and spread out on the laboratory table to be compared for knowing the laws of their structure, function and process. The pointer of inquiry in such studies, however, is more in the direction of explanation than in that of mere description. This explanation is couched in terms of the functions of culture, and as the late Prof. Kroeber sums it up, the important thing about culture, now is not as to 'how it comes to be' but 'what it is'.³ Malinowski's 'functionalism' and Radcliffe-Brown's 'structural functionalism' were symptomatic of this trend towards increasing scientificization of socio-cultural anthropology. Radcliffe-Brown gave seminar lectures at the Chicago University which resulted in a treatise imposingly entitled, 'A Natural Science of Society'.

But paradoxically enough, the more these students went to do work among the tribal people, the greater was the realization that the goal of a science of human beings was self-defeating. to say the least. If they adhered to a rigid scientific frame of reference, as Radcliffe-Brown and some of his students did, the results were stultifying and barren: the generalizations that such studies yielded about the nature of society were tautologi-

cal ones. The realization was dawning slowly, but surely, even in the ranks of the so-called scientifically oriented British social anthropologists, that man being man—his, reactions, emotions, ideas and traditions cannot be described in terms of absolute invariable laws. Since science did not provide a rigid foolproof method of studying man in all his divergent cultures and idiosyncratic ways of behaving human beings had to be studied *qua* human beings. Malinowski, in a way unwittingly, came face to face with this dilemma when he thought of anthropology in terms of an adventure, and an odyssey of the human mind, as he put it. Wrote Malinowski, "The long road that starts in the woods of Nemi and leads us through primeval jungle, desert, swamp, south sea island, the Steppes of Asia and the Prairies of America, into a gradual understanding of the human heart and the human mind, is perhaps the greatest scientific Odyssey in Modern Humanism".⁴ Malinowski, in saying so, was a torch-bearer, emphasizing clearly and for the first time in British anthropology, the view of this subject as a Humanity. Himself a trained physicist, Malinowski's own experience with human culture led him on to a faith that human beings could be understood only as human beings and not as mere biopsychic creatures. This conviction is amply demonstrated in passages from his Trobriand Monographs which read easy and absorbing as any good fiction. Paradoxically however, his own Scientific Theory of Culture forgets this dimension and recoils on his own views.

The anthropologists in the United States, came to grips with this realization more quickly and in a more deep rooted way. Thanks to the brilliance and sensitivity of Ruth Benedict, (1887-1948) the greatest lady anthropologist that we have seen, she set before herself the task of defining the relations of Anthropology to the Humanities in her Presidential address at the A.A.A. in 1945 and stated that "once anthropologists include the mind of man in their subject-matter, the methods of science and the methods of the humanities complement each other."⁵ Her own life work bears a burning testimony to her conviction in this regard. I shall refer here in particular to her book 'Patterns of Culture' and her study of the Japanese national character, tellingly named—'The Chrysanthemum and the Sword'. In the former, Benedict compares three cultures dominated by one ruling motivation. The

Zuni Indians of New Mexico are Apollonian in their sobriety and moderation, their love of ritual and their effacement of the individual before society. The *Kwakiutls* of Vancouver Islands are in almost direct antithesis to the Zuni with their Dionysian preference for individual rivalry and ecstasies; they have *paranoid* delusions of grandeur. While the *Dobus* of Melanesia, a race of Iages, secretive, dour, prudish and treacherous they see life in terms of personal conflict with a harsh environment. These characterizations are reminiscent of master-strokes in great impressionistic painting. What Benedict does is an Art—she paints whole cultures with bold strokes, and the resultant is the outcome of a subjectively perceived reality. In her book on the Japanese national character, we are told, Benedict immersed herself in Japanese philosophy, literature, fine arts and history. And thus she went a step ahead in the holistic comprehension of cultures. This time she sums up a whole *civilization* with a rich and varied written past in terms of a few motivations. Again the perception of the artist is her *forte*. It were Benedict's brilliant ideas followed up by her ardent disciple Mead that sparked off those extremely important studies of National character in anthropology—of the English and American characters by Gorer, of Balinese character by Mead and, lately, of Hindu character by Narain. Benedict reiterated the great help which an anthropologist can derive from the masterpieces of Shakespearean literary criticism and she herself told us of the influence upon her of Santayana's study of three great Western poets as "contrasting studies of the genius of three great Civilizations".⁶

Robert Redfield (1897-1957) described Benedict's approach in terms of providing aesthetic and symbolic models in anthropological thinking—models derived specifically from the Humanities. And Redfield himself, the leading exponent of civilizational studies in Anthropology, thought in terms of the 'Art of Social Science'—seemingly a paradox. But he has thus summed up his views in his own words.

"Like the novelist, the scientific student of Society must project the sympathetic understanding which he has of people with motives, desires and moral judgments into the subject he is treating. Neither the one nor the other can get along without this means of understanding. Human beings are not the subject-matter of physics and

chemistry. Social Science is a way of learning about man in Society which uses, indispensably, that personal, direct apprehension of the human qualities of behaviour and of institutions which is shared by the novelist.⁷ Redfield exemplified the use to which such awareness could be put in devising a theoretical framework for the analysis of complex civilizations. He left us a legacy in the form of seminal theoretical ideas for anthropological studies of civilization. In widening the traditional field of anthropology to include peasant societies and cultures, Redfield had already initiated the study of entities which were 'part societies' and 'part cultures', representing "the rural dimension of old civilizations".⁸ But this was the study of civilization from bottom upwards, the idea of 'civilization' was incidental to the holistic comprehension of little communities. In the last years of his life, however, he gave as a framework for the study of civilization from top downwards, as it were. In his address, 'Civilizations as Cultural Structures?' he defines civilization as "a *structure of tradition*" and then analyses this entity in terms of its constituents—great tradition and little tradition. A civilization has a 'reflective' dimension, which is consciously nurtured and maintained by the urban literati. This constitutes the great tradition, the tradition which feeds the unity of a whole civilization. The numerous 'little traditions' refer to the local traditions, maintained by the great majority of illiterate people in a 'primary' civilization. The great and the little traditions are in constant interaction. What Redfield emphasized about civilizations was the *social organization of tradition*—"the way in which elements of action are put together in any particular case of transmission of tradition".⁹ But a civilization being both a process and a product, the neglect of the content of civilization in favour of process was a lacuna in Redfield's scheme. Milton Singer, in his recently edited book, 'Traditional India: Structure and Change', provides a more complete picture of the idea of a civilization as 'structure of tradition', for, he includes among its operational concepts not only 'the social organization of tradition', but also that of 'cultural performances, cultural media and cultural structure' which purports to fill in the lacuna left behind in Redfield's work.

These above-mentioned concepts at once pinpoint our attention on the 'reflective' dimension of a civilization. An important aspect of the special stratum adopted by anthropologists making study of civilizations, especially of those which are 'heteronomous' and the undergoing a 'secondary transformation' (such as metropolitan urban centres in India), needs clarification. This is the aspect of 'culture-consciousness' and of the notion of culture as a value in itself which is cultivated in such centres. This idea approximate the literary view of culture as intellectualization. It is with this difference in mind and mustering to his advantage his intimate experience of varied and dissimilar cultures and value systems, that the anthropologist can study literary movements, trends in art and styles in fashion more holistically than the conventional historian of art and literary critic. These precisely are also the aspects of cultural manifestation in a civilization which have so long been the almost exclusive concern of historians, literateurs, and the pursuers of the humanities in general.

And finally, one cannot fail to mention A. L. Kroeber's (1876-1960) monumental contributions in fostering closer ties between anthropology and the humanities and in precisely defining this relationship. He studied changes in trends of ladies' fashions and the history of literary movements as part of his anthropological work. His humanistic studies are contained in that volume with magnificent spatio-temporal sweep and encyclopaedic range titled 'The Configurations of Culture Growth'. He acknowledged the great influence which philosophers of history like Toynbee, Spangler and Danielvesky exercised on him and he was conscious, above all, of the definite advance which anthropology was making in the direction of the humanities. He sums up the whole issue in a paper, entitled 'The History of the Personality of Anthropology', published only a few months before his death last year; where he says:

"Since personalities are initially determined by their ancestry, it is a relevant fact that anthropology was originally not a social science at all. Its father was natural science; its mother aesthetically tinged humanities. Both parents want to attain reasoned and generalized conclusions; but they both also want to reach them by way of their senses as well as by reasoning.

After a first brief childlike decade or two of outright speculation anthropology settled down to starting directly from experienced phenomena, with a bare minimum of ready-made abstraction and theory, but with a glowing conviction that it was entering new territory and making discovery. Its discovery was consciousness of the world of culture, an enormous product and a vast influence, with forms and patterns of its own and a validating principle: relativity. There were far boundaries to this dimense, which included in its totality alike our own and the most remote and diverse human productivities. The vision was wide, charged and stirring. It may perhaps fairly be called romantic: certainly it emerged historically about at the timepoint when aesthetic romanticism was intellectualizing. The pursuit of Anthropology must often have seemed strange and useless to many people, but no one has ever called it an arid, or a toneless or a dismal science.

"Now maturity has stolen upon us. The times and utilitarianism have caught up with us, and we find ourselves classified and assigned to the social sciences. It is a dimmer atmosphere, with the smog of jargon sometimes hanging heavy. Generalizations no longer suffice; we are taught to worship abstraction; sharp sensory outlines have melted into logicoverbal ones. As our daily bread we invent hypothesis in order to test them, as we are told is the constant practice of the high tribe of physicists. If at times some of you, like myself, feel somewhat ill at ease in the house of social science, do not wonder: we are changelings therein, our true paternity lies elsewhere".¹¹

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THE CRISIS IN LAOS

By R. K. VASIL, M.A., Ph.D.

On December 26, the Laotian King flew into Vientiane, for the first time since the coup, to have discussions with the new government. On his return to the Royal capital the King issued a decree approving the formation of the "provisional" government headed by Prince Boun Oum. The decree also announced the dissolution of the earlier government of Prince Souvanna. The Boun Oum government had earlier received the consent of the National Assembly.

In the meantime, on December 23, the Soviet Government had sent a note to the British Government in which it had proposed the calling of a conference of countries which had participated in the Geneva Conference and the revival of the International Commission.

On December 30, the Laotian Government announced that the country had been invaded by regular North Vietnamese troops and it warned that unless the invasion was stopped it would appeal to friendly governments for aid in fighting back the invasion.¹⁷ The North Vietnamese Government was quick in denying these reports and it stated that the reports "had the aim of camouflaging and further extending the intervention by American imperialists and their SEATO allies in Laos."¹⁸

Fighting between the left wing and the pro-Western forces went on. Reports had been in circulation for some time that the Soviet Union was giving substantial aid to the left wing forces via Hanoi. Regular air lifts by Russian planes had been reported. On January 3, the Government of Prince Boun Oum in a cable to the United Nations

accused the Soviet Union of supplying war materials to the left wing forces. The same day the State Department in Washington charged officially for the first time that substantial number of North Vietnamese troops had been parachuted into Laos.¹⁹ The statement further charged that since December 15, Soviet aircrafts had carried out 130 flights into Laos with war materials for the forces of Kong Le and the Pathet Lao. However, earlier, on January 2, a spokesman of the British Foreign Office had stated that the British Government had received no confirmation of the reports regarding the entry into Laos of regular North Vietnamese troops or air lift by Russian aircrafts of war materials.

This period witnessed intense diplomatic activity. There were considerable diplomatic exchanges between Britain, Cambodia, China, Democratic Republic of Vietnam, France, Laos, India, the United States and the Soviet Union. Various plans to resolve the crisis were suggested. All the countries, except the United States and the pro-Western Government in Laos and perhaps China,²⁰ favoured the immediate recall of the International Commission and later the calling of a larger conference. The proposal for a larger conference was first made by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State and Chief of the Cambodian Government. Prince Norodom had proposed that the signatories to the Geneva agreements together with the three members of the International Commission, the United States and three neighbours of Laos (Burma, Cambodia and Thailand) meet in a conference and discuss the crisis.

Britain and France, the closest allies of the United States, were not opposed to the plan.

Initially until the beginning of this year the US attitude was based on the fear that a neutralist regime would be soft towards the Communists; it would not be able to check Communist subversion and would let the country gradually slip into the Communist fold. The Americans believed that the only guarantee against Communist advance was a strongly pro-Western Government and they assumed that such a Government could be maintained by force. The earlier successes achieved by the forces of General Phoumi Nosavan further strengthened the view that a pro-Western Government could be maintained by force. With the establishment of the Boun Oum Government things were not too bad as far as the Americans were concerned. As a result the US Government was against the revival of the International Commission. It was also afraid that the recall of the Commission, consisting of neutralist India, Communist Poland and the only Western Government Canada, would be more helpful to the Communists and, therefore, would serve no useful purpose. Moreover, the proposal of a 14 nation conference did not find favour with the US Government for it involved sitting with Communist China across the same conference table. This the US did not relish at all.

Both Britain and India, in principle, had no objection to the 14 nation conference plan. But they desired immediate action so as to stop any further worsening of the situation and checking any extension of the conflict. This was only possible through the immediate revival of the International Commission which could be gathered together at short notice. A larger conference would obviously take a long time to organise and arrange.

Britain and India persistently made attempts to impress upon the Government of the United States the sanity of their viewpoint. They believed that only a political and negotiated settlement of the crisis was possible. A military settlement was neither possible nor would lead anywhere. The Americans were told by the

British of their experience in Malaya and that of the French in Vietnam where they had to fight a bloody war against Communist guerillas for over a decade after the Second World War. A shift in US position started taking place in early January of this year, and the US Government began moving towards an accommodation with the British and French view. It was reported that the Secretary of State, Mr. Herter, had told the Foreign Relations Committee of the American Senate that the US Government would not oppose the revival of the International Commission on the condition that the Laotian Government (Boun Oum Government) approved the move. But at this time the Boun Oum Government would have approved the plan only if it was recognised as the legal Government of Laos. The change in administration in the United States brought a further change in the US attitude and the United States Government gradually and grudgingly came round to the proposals. On March 15, President Kennedy told his Press Conference that the United States would like to see "a genuinely independent and neutral Laos which is the master of its own fate."²¹ And the declining military position of the pro-Western Government and the changed US attitude forced the pro-Western Government to accept the proposals.

The situation was complicated because of the fact that the Americans had recognised the pro-Western Government of Boun Oum and General Phoumi whereas the Communist States led by the Soviet Union still recognised Prince Souvanna Phouma as the legal Prime Minister of Laos. The problem was that of accrediting the International Commission to one of the two governments. To get out of this difficulty the British proposed to the Soviet Union that the Commission be accredited to the Laotian King. However, the King was known to be inclined towards the Boun Oum Government.

In the middle of March, Prince Souvanna Phouma, the Prime Minister who had himself gone into exile in neutralist Cambodia, undertook a tour of important world capitals with the aim to acquaint friendly

countries with the situation in Laos and his viewpoint. His travels were to take him to New Delhi, Cairo, Paris, Washington, Moscow, Peking and Hanoi. At the same time intense diplomatic activity continued. On the 23rd March, 1961, the British Government announced a three stage plan to end the crisis in Laos and appealed to the Soviet Union to join Britain in its execution. The three stage peace proposal which had the approval of the Government of the United States envisaged: (i) a joint appeal for cease-fire by Britain and Soviet Russia; (ii) the revival of the International Commission for Laos; and (iii) holding of an international conference to attempt a peaceful settlement of the Laotian crisis.²² The plan meant that the British and the Soviet Foreign Ministers would appeal to the two sides for an immediate cease-fire. If there was a satisfactory response to the cease-fire call the two foreign ministers would then immediately revive the International Commission "to verify whether the cease-fire was effective." And finally when the International Commission was satisfied that an effective cease-fire had taken place the international conference would be convened.

On March 25, Britain told Russia that unless a reply was received by March 27, the British Government would seriously consider direct action along with the other SEATO member countries. It was reported that the British Government had "swung completely behind the US policy of taking a firm line with Russia, while declaring her readiness to negotiate over Laos."²³ On the 27th March, foreign minister of the SEATO countries met at Bangkok and warned that organisation was ready to take "appropriate action" if armed attempts to gain control of Laos were continued. However, the action was not specified. But it was obvious that this meant armed intervention. The Asian members of the SEATO—Pakistan, Thailand and the Philippines—had been pressing the Western members for a long time for armed intervention by SEATO and they had shown their readiness to contribute forces, when required, for the purpose.

However, the situation was not allowed

to drift any further. On April 24, the British and the Soviet Governments appealed for a cease-fire in Laos, urged for the revival of the International Commission and issued invitations to attend the proposed 14 nation conference in Geneva on May 12. The International Commission which had reluctantly suspended its work at the request of the neutralist Premier, Prince Souvanna Phouma, assembled in New Delhi on April 28 and resumed its work. At the time of writing this article the Commission with its staff has reached Vientiane to check the effectiveness of the cease-fire. However, the response to the cease-fire call issued more than two weeks ago has so far not been satisfactory. Stray fighting between the two sides still continues and cease-fire negotiations have yet to be started. Arrangements for the 14 nation conference in Geneva have been completed and the scene is shifting from tiny Laos to the traditional meeting place of diplomats, the lake city of Geneva.

So far the facts.

Now the crisis in Laos raises certain questions. Is Prince Souphanouvong, the leader of the Pathet Lao, a hardened Communist? What is the extent of Communist influence and control over Pathet Lao? Is a neutral Laos really the solution of the problem in Laos? Is not it too late for the establishment of an effective and real neutral government in Laos? What are the basis and final aims of Communists in Laos?

Prince Souphanouvong was born in 1912 and had his early education in Hanoi. Later in 1937, he took a degree in engineering in Paris. In 1945, he joined the Free Laos movement but five years later he broke from it because the other leaders did not support him in his efforts to link it with the movement in North Vietnam led by Ho Chi Minh. The leaders who opposed this move were the two half-brothers of the Prince, Prince Petsarath and Prince Souvanna Phouma. Prince Petsarath later retired from politics. In 1950, Prince Souphanouvong left the Free Laos movement, withdrew north to the Burma-Siam-Laos border and there established the Pathet Lao movement. And since then he has

been at the head of the movement. Is he a hardened Communist or is he only a genuine left wing nationalist pushed to the Communist side by the folly of the Americans? It is difficult to assert that he is a hardened Communist. There is no definite proof. But this much is certain that his movement has been closely linked with the movement in North Vietnam. It is again a fact that he has been aided and advised by the Communists for a long time. In 1953, the North Vietnamese invaded Laos and took over a considerable part of Laos. The area has been under Pathet Lao control ever since. Granted, Prince Souphanouvong may not be a Communist, trained in Moscow and directly guided by Moscow or Peking and working for them. However, this fact must be emphasized that he has been aided by the Communists and has been their best bet for the spread of Communism in Laos. Why should the Communists aid him? It could be understandable if it was a case like supporting Nasser. There the Communists were supporting Nasser against Britain, France and Israel. The question was that of fighting colonialism. The Russians could very well expect the praise of uncommitted nations in Asia and Africa and pose as the champions of the cause of dependent peoples. But that is not the case in Laos. It could be maintained that the government headed by Prince Boun Oum is directly the creation of the Americans and is under their domination. The Communists are merely aiding genuine nationalists fighting against American imperialists and their agents. But this could not be said for the period when the Communists were in Laos. Laos were under the control of the Phouma. a

for the well-being of their people. But, it could be argued that that would be a dangerous thing to allow because once an area falls into Communist hands it is impossible to get it back. They know how to keep it. With the sort of set up they have a return to democracy is not possible. The Hungarian uprising is a case in point. Therefore, one cannot take chances with them. Benefit of doubt could hardly be given to organisations known for their Communist leanings and maintained mainly through Communist aid.

The Russians have been clever enough to recognise the usefulness of neutralist regimes. The Americans, till lately, refused to recognise the fact that uncommitted nations are a better safeguard against Communist advance than corrupt pro-Western Governments maintained only by force. The eventual aim of the Communists is to turn Laos into a Communist state. Laos is strategically of great importance. "Possession of it—or access through it that might be granted by a left wing 'neutralist' government—would enable the Communists to move men and materials against South Vietnam, Thailand and Cambodia at will. Without Laos the Communists can bring pressure only against the well-guarded short northern border of South Vietnam."²⁴ In South-East Asia Laos should have the top priority with the Communists. The Communists have designs over Laos. Laos opens up the whole of mainland South-East Asia. The countries in the area have strong Communist parties. There are significant minorities. About 1/5th of Thailand consists of Chinese. In Malaya, the Chinese are only slightly less than the Malays. In the Philippines, the Chinese have some

take over its leadership or the leadership was extremely sympathetic to them and they could derive benefits. The last alternative is out of the question at this moment. The Communists must have crossed that stage a long time back. The movement has been under their influence for the last ten years or so. They would be fools if they have not planted their own trusted men in the movement through whom later it could be taken over.

Finally, the question is if neutralism is advisable in the case of Laos when Communist aims are clear. There is no doubt about Communist aims. The question is only how to check them and not to let Laos slip into the Communist fold. There are other circumstances. Laos has a 800 km. long common border with Communist China and North Vietnam. For the last seven or eight years a very large part of the country has been controlled by the Communists or their men. The Pathet Lao during the last ten years have received considerable aid from the Communists. Pathet Lao men have been trained in North Vietnam. Their only contacts have been either with North Vietnam or China. They have been fighting against armies maintained with American aid for quite some time. Is it possible now if they are given the chance they would not have very strong sympathies for the Communists, with whose aid they

have survived. The question why this was allowed to happen and why the Americans forced these genuine left wing nationalists into the hands of Communists is not very important. The Americans are guilty of that and there is no denying the fact. But does this help in any way now? It is difficult to establish a genuine and effective neutralist government with the participation of Pathet Lao. If such an attempt is made the government would not be allowed to last for long. The Communists would not give whatever they have gained in Laos for nothing. They do not worship neutrality; it is only a better alternative than a pro-Western Government.

17. *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, January 1, 1961.

18. *Ibid.*

19. *Hindusthan Standard*, January 5, 1961.

20. It is believed that there was some difference of opinion between the Russians and the Chinese. The Chinese have been opposed to the recall of the International Commission and would prefer intervention through North Vietnam aimed at a military solution. Mahesh Chandra, "South Vietnam's Concern over Laos Events", *The Statesman*, February 4, 1961.

21. *The Statesman*, March 16, 1961.

22. *The Statesman*, March 24, 1961.

23. *The Statesman*, March 26, 1961.

24. Jaques Nevard, "The Threat from Peiping", *The New York Times*, January 15, 1961.

THE CONGO STORY

7. "To Win or Lose It All"

By CHANAKYA SEN

THE year 1961 started with an exchange of telegrams between Mr. Khrushchev and Mr. Macmillan expressing sentiments of peace and goodwill. Both said that they were looking forward to "profitable co-operation" in tackling the tasks ahead. In the United States the eight-year old Republican administration was rapidly folding up to make way for the incoming Democratic Administration headed by President John F. Kennedy. From his office in the Kremlin Mr. Khrushchev sent a New Year message to Mr. Kennedy hoping that, under the new American Administration, relations between the Soviet Union and the United States would develop "on fresh and more reasonable lines".

The United Nations Assembly had left the Congo problem to the charge of the Secretary-General, who was now under the constant attack of the Soviet Union, and faith in whose leadership had somewhat diminished in the major Afro-Asian capitals. Mr. Hammarskjöld must have been a very tired man wading through the wilderness of the Assembly debates on the Congo, picking out constructive ideas which might be of help. The U.N. was now pitted against a formidable array of problems. Not only were the Big Powers unable to agree on the fundamentals of the Congo problem, the non-committed nations had failed to bring the former together, while, in the Congo, itself, there was total political confusion and complete economic collapse.

Several moves were initiated with the beginning of the new year to start a new leaf in the Congo drama. The U.N. Conciliation Commission arrived in Leopoldville at the beginning of January to try to bring about an agreement between Congolese leaders. The Commission was originally composed of 15 Afro-Asian members, but four of them, the United Arab Republic, Guinea, Mali and Indonesia, had withdrawn because of their opposition to U.N. policy in the Congo. Mr. Hammarskjöld himself arrived in Leopoldville to help the Commission in its work. Mr. Kasavubu announced on January 2 his plan to call a round-table conference of Congolese political leaders on January 25 with the purpose of changing

the Congo's Basic Law. This should have been the preserve of the Congolese Parliament, but Mr. Kasavubu declared that Parliament was "unsuitable" for the purpose as it did not include representatives from all regions. The move had Western support, and Mr. Kasavubu's spokesmen even hinted that an effort would be made to persuade Mr. Lumumba to attend the conference.

The most outstanding development in the Congo at the beginning of the new year was the spectacular rise in Mr. Lumumba's political stature. He had been in prison for more than a month. The United Nations had taken no measure to secure his release. He had been disowned and abandoned by the United States and the entire Western bloc. Against him had been massed the troops of Mobutu and Tshombe, the political chicanery of Kasavubu combined with the patronage of Belgium. Yet, in January 1961, his influence had spread all over the Congo and his followers effectively controlled more than a third of the whole country.

The *New York Times* wrote on January 15: "Even while languishing in jail in Thysville, where he has been imprisoned by the regime of President Joseph Kasavubu, Mr. Lumumba remains the dominant figure on the Congolese political scene. That fact was underscored last week by a rumour—that subsequently proved false—that the Thysville garrison had mutinied and that Mr. Lumumba had escaped. The report sent thousands of Belgians and other whites fleeing from Leopoldville across the Congo river to Brazzaville, capital of the French Congo Republic. Mr. Lumumba's continued imprisonment, however, did not prevent the penetration last week by his followers of widespread areas of the Congo where they are threatening the country with imminent civil war."

The paper gave the following picture of Lumumba's effective influence in five provinces of the Congo, that is, all over the country except Leopoldville:

In Stanleyville, capital of Orientale province, Lumumba's followers had set up a government which claimed to be the lawful Government of

the Congo. Its leader, Mr. Antoine Gizenga, had an army of seven thousand men.

In Katanga "a Lumumba force estimated at about 600 penetrated the northern area of the province and proclaimed a new province known as Luluaba with the capital at Manono. They were aided by Baluba tribesmen who had been warring with Moïse Tshombe, President of secessionist Katanga."

In Kivu, the capital, Bukavu, and most of the province were in the hands of Lumumba's followers.

Kasai—"Northern Kasai is the home of Mr. Lumumba's own tribe, the Batetelas, and they would surely welcome any invasion by the Lumumba forces now fanning out throughout the Congo."

In the Equateur province, pro-Lumumba forces penetrated from neighbouring Orientale at several points.

The *New York Times* summed up the Congo's political picture in the following words: "Unless Mr. Lumumba participates in the January 25 conference—and some observers in the Congo were predicting last week that he would be out of jail by then—it is hard to see how it could accomplish a realistic settlement. On the other hand, if Mr. Lumumba does attend, he is likely to dominate the conference—a development that would be viewed with considerable alarm by the Western powers in view of Mr. Lumumba's pro-Communist inclinations and because his own previous control over the Congo precipitated bitter factional strife."

The success of the Lumumba forces had alarmed the West as well as the Kasavubu-Mobutu-Tshombe group in the Congo. On January 2 Belgium had allowed Mobutu to use the trust territory of Ruanda-Urundi for an attack on Bukavu, capital of Kivu province. Brussels radio reported that the arrival of Mobutu's troops in Ruanda-Urundi coincided with a formal request by Kasavubu that they might be allowed to land in the trust territory because there was no suitable airstrip in Kivu province. The fact was that most of Kivu was threatened by the Lumumba forces and the only effective way of launching an attack was through the adjoining territory of Ruanda-Urundi.

The Belgian action immediately drew a protest from Mr. Hammarskjöld, while the Soviet Union asked for a meeting of the Security

Council to discuss what it described to be a new Belgian threat to international peace and security. The Council met in the second week of January with another violent exchange between the Soviet delegate, Mr. Zorin, and the Secretary-General, Mr. Hammarskjöld who was apparently satisfied with a Belgian assurance that the Ruanda-Urundi incident would not happen again. A U.A.R. resolution condemning Belgium for permitting the trust territory to be used for the transit of Mobutu's troops was lost. It was supported by the three Afro-Asian members of the Council, the U.A.R., Liberia and Ceylon, as well as by the Soviet Union; but all the other seven members abstained.

Mr. Hammarskjöld's arrival in Leopoldville on January 4 coincided with a large pro-Lumumba demonstration in the Congolese capital. Hundreds of Congolese demanded the release of Mr. Lumumba and the Secretary-General was taken by helicopter from the airfield to U.N. headquarters. On January 8, the U.N. headquarters in the Congo reported that there had been fairly large movements of pro-Lumumba troops in Northern Katanga. This eruption of Lumumba followers in Tshombe's own province was a matter of serious concern for those who were opposed to Lumumba's return to Congo's leadership. Tshombe, at a news conference in Elisabethville on January 9, described the Lumumba supporters as "communist-inspired people whose aim was to Sovietize the whole of Central Africa." He demanded that the United Nations should intervene with force to stop the Lumumba forces from taking the town of Manono which they were threatening. A few days later U.N. forces did intervene to prevent large-scale civil war in the Congo. The result of this intervention was that the Lumumba forces could not advance beyond Manono and when, about a month later the reinforced troops of Tshombe, officered by Belgians, launched a counter-attack on Manono they had to retreat.

There were two further developments in the first days of the new year. The shadow of the Congo crisis loomed over Belgium ever since the Belgian intervention in August, 1960. Several austerity measures had been introduced by the Government but they failed to meet the crisis. Towards the end of the year the Government brought forward a comprehensive legislation which, among other things, proposed a

serious restriction of the social-security services. This touched off a heated controversy all over Belgium. There were riots in the labour areas followed by large-scale arrests of workers' leaders. In Parliament itself, Government and Opposition members came to blows. Simultaneously, the French-speaking population of Wollonia, southern Belgium, demanded greater self-determination in a memorandum to King Baudouin. In January the Coalition Government led by Mr. Eyskens broke up following differences between the two major parties, the Social Christians and the Liberals. The King had to dissolve Parliament and order fresh elections.

The second important development was the holding of the Casablanca Conference in the first week of January. As we have already seen, this conference declared its solid support for the leadership of Lumumba, for reconvening the Congolese Parliament and for the immediate withdrawal of all Belgian personnel from the Congo.

By the middle of January, the balance-sheet in the Congo was largely in favour of the imprisoned and yet indefatigable Patrice Lumumba. Paul Hoffman, the *New York Times* correspondent in Leopoldville, conceded that half of the entire Congo was under the effective control—in a military sense—of the pro-Lumumba forces. Over the other half ruled President Kasavubu in Leopoldville, Tshombe in South Katanga, and Kalonji in some parts of Kasai. The troops under Mobutu were trying, without success, to contain the Lumumbist advance but the fiasco of the landing in Ruanda-Urundi not only diminished the effectiveness of Mobutu's military leadership, it also caused the Western powers considerable embarrassment.

Hoffman said, "the tackling of the Ruanda-Urundi operation caused international trouble for the Leopoldville regime and resulted in noticeable loss of prestige by Col. Mobutu."

In Katanga, Tshombe was not only confronted with the advancing Lumumbist troops in North Kasai, but also with the growing opposition to his regime from the Baluba tribesmen who were receiving the Lumumba forces with open arms. About Kasai, Hoffman reported on January 14, "Kasai has practically ceased to exist as an administrative unit. The South of the province has seceded as an independent Baluba state whose leaders are being wooed both by Leopoldville

and Elisabethville. Luluabourg, the former provincial capital, has now really become the citadel of the Lulua tribe after the expulsion of all Balubas and the exodus of most Europeans. . . . Small wonder that North Kasai is now generally considered to be the next objective of pro-Lumumba forces." The rumour was gaining ground in the Congolese capital that Patrice Lumumba would be out of prison by January 25, the day the round-table conference called by President Kasavubu was scheduled to begin.

As already noted, Lumumba had been detained in the military camp at Thysville, about eighty miles from Leopoldville, connected by one of the best motorable roads in the Congo. Part of the garrison at the military camp revolted in the third week of January and they freed Mr. Lumumba for a short while. The full story of this revolt has not yet been told; newspaper reports have been sketchy. Hoffman's report said, "A mutiny of the garrison watching the Congo's Number One political prisoner allowed him to leave his place of concealment for a short period. Then he was again locked up—or consented to return to his place of detention. The circumstances of the mutiny, which was touched off by demands for pay, are still controversial. The fact that all the leaders of the anti-Lumumba regime rushed to the scene to appease the disaffected soldiers gave rise to rumours of secret negotiations with the deposed Premier."

This hides more than it reveals. A majority of the troops at the military camp staged a mutiny demanding better pay. They were also unwilling to keep Lumumba in detention. They freed the deposed Prime Minister who addressed them. The news was radioed to Leopoldville. Kasavubu, Mobutu and others rushed to Thysville with packets of money. The soldiers were paid off. Mobutu and Kasavubu conferred with Lumumba. He was either re-imprisoned or he consented to return to his cell. Some reports suggested that he was given an assurance that he would be invited to take part in the round-table conference. The military as well as political situation was now favourable for Lumumba. According to reports, circulated in Cairo and Accra, Lumumba agreed to wait for the conference to reassert his leadership.

It was at this juncture that a rather strange agreement was reached hurriedly between

Kasavubu and Tshombe. Kasavubu was trying to get Tshombe attend the round-table conference. Tshombe was showing no enthusiasm at all. He had defied not only the United Nations but also the Leopoldville regime. He would have seriously compromised the "independence" of Katanga if he agreed to attend the round-table talks called by President Kasavubu. There was, therefore, no love lost between Kasavubu and Tshombe. But a new situation had now arisen. The Lumumba forces were over-running the Country, in spite of the help Kasavubu and Tshombe were getting from Belgium and other sources and in spite of the United Nations. The new danger brought the two arch enemies of Lumumba together. A secret deal was reached under which Lumumba was whisked off from the Thysville military camp to Katanga and handed over to Tshombe. In return, Tshombe agreed to attend the round-table conference. On his way, Mr. Lumumba was beaten up and tortured by his captors.

Here is the *New York Times*' assessment of this unexpected turn of events in the history of the Congo crisis: "In a move surrounded by mystery and stealth, the Western-backed regime of President Joseph Kasavubu transferred Mr. Lumumba from the army camp in Thysville, in Leopoldville province, where he has been held prisoner since early December, to a prison in Jadotville in the secessionist province of Katanga. En route Mr. Lumumba was reported to have been severely beaten by Katanga police. The transfer of Mr. Lumumba to a prison Mr. Kasavubu evidently thought would be more 'secure', was eloquent testimony to the fact that ex-Premier—who has support of the Soviet Union and several of the Afro-Asian nations—remains the key figure in the Congo crisis. The move was apparently motivated in part by the fact that the week before last (this was written in the *New York Times Weekly Review* dated January, 22, 1961) the Thysville garrison—where Mr. Lumumba was said to have established friendly connections with several officers—mutinied briefly and was reported to have been at the point of freeing him."

"But the mutiny had additional significance. Moise Tshombe, President of Katanga, is a bitter foe of Mr. Lumumba; his declaration of Katanga's secession last summer was in opposition to the Lumumba policies. But Mr. Tshombe

has also been holding aloof from aligning with the Kasavubu regime. However, the growing power and spread of the Lumumba forces in the Congo has become an increasing threat both to the weak Kasavubu Government and to Mr. Tshombe's hold on Katanga. Under the menace of that threat Mr. Kasavubu and Mr. Tshombe have been moving toward a *rapprochement*. The deliverance into Mr. Tshombe's hands by Mr. Kasavubu of his chief pawn in the Congo struggle—Mr. Lumumba—was evidently and may even have been a condition of that rapprochement.

"The base of the Lumumba forces is the separatist regime that has been proclaimed in Stanleyville, capital of Orientale or Eastern Province. The regime is headed by Mr. Lumumba's former Vice-Premier, the pro-Communist Antoine Gizenga. Fanning out from Stanleyville the Lumumba forces have penetrated and now control large areas—nearly fifty per cent in fact—of the Congo, including North Katanga and North Kasai, most of Kivu province and part of Equeateur."

The transfer of Mr. Lumumba to Katanga which the *Guardian* of Manchester described as handing him over to the Belgians, raised a storm of protest at the United Nations and in many capitals of the world. Mr. Hammarskjöld was again under a barrage of attack for his inability to prevent this transfer. But the immediate crisis that threatened the United Nations in the Congo affected its 20,000 strong operating force. Several Afro-Asian countries threatened to withdraw their troops from the Congo in protest against the transfer of Lumumba to Katanga.

It has already been stated that the United Nations force had been assembled together by Mr. Hammarskjöld from a large number of nations and the highest single contribution, from Morocco, was 3,139 troops. The other contributions were (at the end of January): Tunisia 2,589; Ethiopia 2,485; Nigeria 1,820; Ghana 1,917; Indonesia 1,151; Guinea 738; the U.A.R. 497; Sweden 679; Ireland 655; Sudan 394; Mali 612 and Liberia 236 troops.

The United Arab Republic, Mali and Indonesia announced their decision to withdraw their troops. Similar threats came from Ghana, Guinea and one or two more countries. It became clear towards the end of January that in the next week or so, the U.A.R. and Ghanaian

contingents would leave. If all the withdrawal threats were carried out, the United Nations would be losing at least a fourth of its strength. Mr. Hammarskjöld was alarmed by this prospect and he made it clear to all members of the United Nations that it would not be possible to carry on the operation with a depleted strength. He had already been making secret soundings to India and other states for troops but the response so far had been unenthusiastic.

The crisis arose on top of the financial problem the Secretary-General had been grappling with since the beginning of the operations. The Soviet bloc countries and France had refused to pay a penny. Several other countries were disinclined to pay more than a token contribution. The cost of the operation was being borne mostly by the United States. At the year-end session of the General Assembly Mr. Hammarskjöld had confessed bluntly to a sense of frustration with regard to the financial aspect of the Congo problem.

A third problem came in in the shape of international recognition of the Stanleyville Government as the legal Government of the Congo. Soon after Mr. Lumumba's transfer to Katanga, the Stanleyville regime was recognized as the legal Congo Government by Ghana, Guinea, the United Arab Republic, Yugoslavia and several other countries. Mr. Hammarskjöld was thus faced with three problems of an empty Congo fund, a depleted U.N. force grossly inadequate for the tasks assumed in the Congo and two "legal" governments in the Congo recognized by the international community.

On February 13, it was announced in Elisabethville, Katanga, that Lumumba had been murdered. The last words before his capture by the Congolese national army in November had been, "I shall die like Gandhi." Lumumba gave his life for the freedom and unity of the Congo. His death shook the conscience of the world and plunged his country into the abyss of chaos. Yet, it was a challenge to international wisdom and statesmanship. The slow and painful outlines of a settlement in the Congo which emerged in the later months of 1961 was result of the challenge thrown by Lumumba to the world community by his final act of sacrifice.

Andrew Wilson wrote in the London *Observer* of February 19, on the murder of Mr. Lumumba: "The man of the theoretical struggle

for unity *versus* federalism in the Congo was not the only Lumumba. Any brief sketch of his political career would leave much to be told. The fact, for example, that Lumumba's first request was for American, and then United Nations, aid. That at Brussels it was, first the federalist Kasavubu who was the Belgians' *bête noire*. That in triumph Mr. Lumumba could be generous and co-operative and in difficulty suspicious and irrational. Above all, it would fail to explain Lumumba's political hold. Now, with so few friends, could he sway more than half a country whose political loyalties are tribal and local? The answer is partly a mathematical equation, arising from the artificial boundaries which cut across tribal groups and places in each of the Congo's six provinces large minorities, such as the Balubas in North Katanga. For such minorities a strong Central Government was the one guarantee of political survival, and so they participated on Lumumba's side in the coalition which he miraculously wielded for the first ten weeks of independence. The rest of the answer is anything but mathematical, and lies in the personality of Lumumba himself. . . ." Wilson said that Lumumba had a spark in him which had grown almost daily from his first persecution—"which during these last weeks prompted Leopoldville's taxidriviers to ask with conspiratorial earnestness: 'What is the latest news of him?'—a question echoed with Pan-African intensity in Salisbury, Johannesburg and a hundred other cities."

The murder of Lumumba was almost the lowest watermark of the degradation of the Congo's political life. The *Manchester Guardian Weekly* in trying to report Lumumba's last days took the Katanga authorities and the Belgian officers in their employ to severe task. The manner in which the news of the murder was announced was also typical of the state of affairs in Katanga. On February 13, the Katanga authorities made a terse statement that Lumumba and his two fellow prisoners had "escaped" from prison and had been killed by "villagers in South Katanga." Tshombe refused to see the United Nations Commander in Katanga. A couple of days later, Tshombe himself made a defiant statement that Lumumba had been killed by his own troops while trying to escape. Later, however, it transpired that he and his colleagues had been deliberately dragged by Belgian officers

and Kasavubu taken to a place where they were made and against the wall and shot. Lumumba himself was shot while he was kneeling down in prayer. The shots were fired by two Belgian officers after African soldiers refused to fire on him.

International reaction was swift and one of anguish, horror, resentment, anger and despair.

Mr. Rajeshwar Dayal had the following statement issued in Leopoldville in his name: "Mr. Dayal really does not think that the problems of the Congo can be settled by political assassination, genocidal warfare and other forms of violence. He feels that this assassination will provoke the deepest sentiments of revulsion and disgust throughout the civilized world, and the

civilized world will demand true retribution from those who sponsored it."

Only a few days before this, Mr. Dayal had sent a report to the Secretary-General accusing Tshombe of genocide in North Katanga. His report had angered the Katanga leader and now Mr. Dayal's strong condemnation of the murder of Lumumba brought about the final break between him and Tshombe. In later months Mr. Dayal fell out with Kasavubu and there was a concerted attack on his functioning in the Congo as Special United Nations Representative by the right wing Congolese leaders and their Western patrons.

(To be continued)

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INDIAN BRAND OF SOCIALISM : AGRICULTURAL ASPECT

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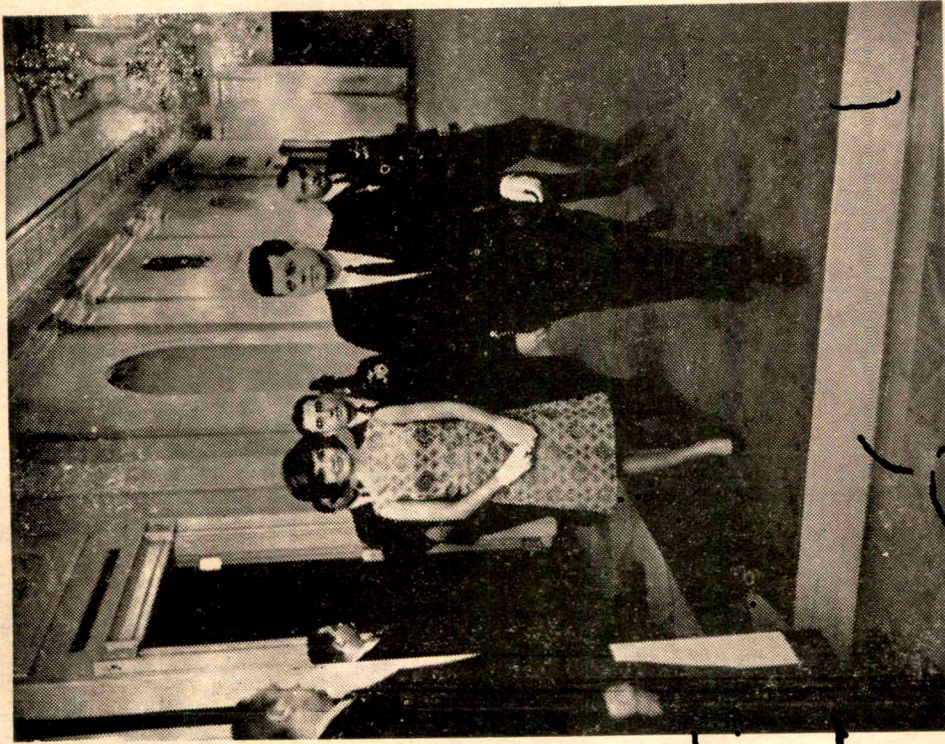
II

OBJECTIVES OF LAND REFORMS

LAND is the basis of our rural economy and land tenure system that of rural society. Re-adjustment in social relationship in the rural area primarily means reshaping land tenure system. Land tenures mean all those relationships which are established among men and which determine varying rights in the use of land. Land Reform may have various objectives, viz., (a) radical changes in the institution of property rights; (b) changes in a wider gamut of relationship including practically all aspects of the economic life of the agricultural community; and (c) all improvement in agricultural technology, land utilization and development of agricultural productivity. Selection of objectives is influenced by the economics of the country which needs Land Reforms. In countries like the U.S.A., Canada, Australia and New Zealand, where the per capita availability of land is large, where the proportion of farm population to the total population is small, and where the level of output per person

employed in agriculture is high, the main principle of land policy had been the maintenance of a climate of freedom of economic organisation and flexibility in resource use which would best help the evolution of the family farm type of agriculture. In Scandinavian countries, agriculture is very much improved and Peasant Proprietorship has been firmly established and as such Land Reforms meant State support of price, intensified nationalisation of the methods of agriculture and organisation of farmers into cooperatives for credit, production and marketing. In England and Wales, Land Reforms meant regulation of tenancy rather than redistribution of ownership rights. In Eastern European countries the guiding principle behind the Land Reforms has been the belief that "Land belongs to him who tills it", and Land Reforms were deliberately directed towards the creation of small peasant units even at the cost of productive efficiency,¹ ultimately to be organized into cooperatives for the purpose of introducing

1. *Agricultural Legislations in India*, Vol. VI, p. XII.



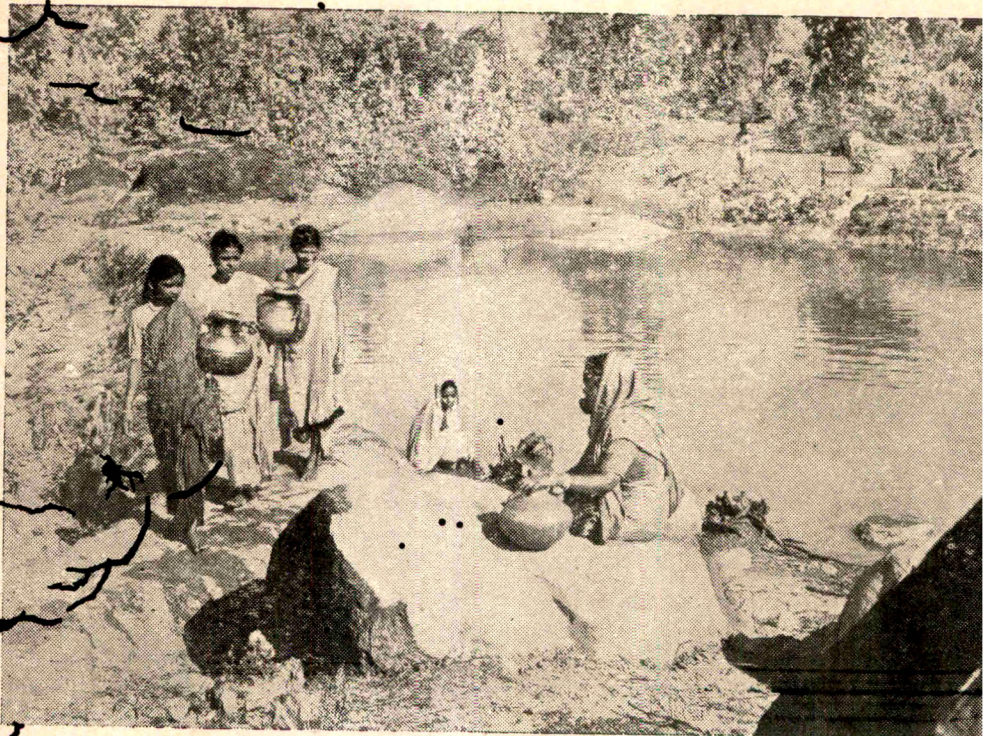
John F. Kennedy and Mrs. Kennedy arrive in the public rooms of the White House to greet their guests



John F. Kennedy, President of the United States, with Mrs. Abdel Moneim Abbas of the Republic of Sudan



The settlers holding Kirtan Kathas at Lakshminagar village, set up in Umo area in Dandakaranya



The settlers women carrying water from a tank at Durgakunda, one of the villages in Dandakaranya

INDIAN BRAND OF SOCIALISM: AGRICULTURAL SP

large-scale farm operations. In China, "the Agrarian Reform Law abolished not landownership as such, but the landownership system of feudal exploitation by the landlord classes.² Land Reforms became a question of the degree of "exploitation," which the Chinese found it expedient to tolerate. China adopted the 'principle of Discriminating Confiscation', which meant permission for the continuance of the existence of a rentier class consisting of revolutionary* army men, dependents of martyrs, workers, staff members and others who have holdings upto 200 per cent of the average per capita availability of land, after land distribution, in a particular locality. Landowners have been allowed to manage, buy, sell or rent out land freely. The recognition of private use in the land was based on Pragmatic Utility, rather than on any abstract principle. Release of new productive forces has been stated as the most important objective of Land Reform.³ The guiding motives behind it were (a) the creation of an appropriate psychology among the rural masses and (b) the realisation that "agricultural development in an underdeveloped economy is a prior process which paves the way for industrialisation".⁴ But Land Reforms in China, resulted in the uneconomic and inefficient "atomisation" of landownership. The problem of productive efficiency was solved through the organisations of cooperatives. Therefore, the socialist transformation in China or other Eastern European countries meant, in the first round of the battle, elimination of the functionless landownership, and its atomisation, and, in the 2nd round, organisation of a network of cooperatives, ultimately leading towards Collectivised Farms.

Removal of social and economic inequality in agrarian structure was the object of the recent land reform in Japan.⁵ This was done by dividing all the agricultural land into two categories; (1) owner-farmer land, which was cultivated by owner; and (2) tenant-farmer land which was cultivated by tenant. The Government purch-

from owners for later resale to farmer land in excess of 2.5 acres residents of the village. All owners in excess of 7.5 acres was purchased by the Government, except in cases where that the owner had sufficient land to cultivate a larger area and that such result in decreased production. Increases were achieved also in Burma by the transferred right of possession over agricultural lands held by non-agriculturalists. In all holdings above certain limits, the limit being fixed at 50 acres for irrigated dry land and 10 acres for unirrigated land. Communist countries have taken only a step in the direction of nationalization of the entire agricultural sector. In China and Burma, it was the nationalization of the land parities to a certain extent.

What should be the policy in India? Agriculture today, is characterised by (a) large owners, (b) small owners, (c) tenants-at-will. The policy in its social aspect is dependent upon the treatment of the former. A large number of the large owners are conservative land holders, a class living upon the land, and dependent upon the labour of the tenants and to crown all this, a heavy burden of debt, mostly agricultural, in its nature. The three problems—(a) the Problem of Finance, (b) the Problem of Food, and (c) the Problem of Exchange are involved in the solution of the problem in India.

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2. *Article I of Agrarian Reform Law*

3. *New Economy in China*: By Dr
Chand p. 60

scribed to achieve these objectives by imposing a ceiling on (a) existing possessions; and (b) future acquisition of land; and by giving certain prescribed conditions to tenants, such as the right of pre-emption to lease land from landholders.⁸ Existing laws were to be permitted under efficient management' for which no law was to be enacted by each State. Governmentally managed lands were to be transferred to government. And yet, it was expected that these measures would provide for a redistribution of land belonging to the rich. In some cases, individual holdings could be redistributed. Only the small holdings could be assisted and encouraged. The emphasis was on co-operation between the owners of the land and the state. The state was to be provided as the catalyst for the process, as regards the removal of poverty. It was only when the state intervened in its own interest that the problem of poverty is regarded as a source of economic development. Ultimately reform was the aim of the Second Plan, and various programmes were again designed to promote economic development. An increase in agricultural production was the highest priority in the highest income group's programmes. Various programmes for foreign exchange earnings, such as cotton, oilseeds, etc., were set up. A standard of living was to be established. Substantial diversification in building up industries was also planned.

of such impediments upon agricultural production as arise from the character of the agrarian structure; and secondly (b) creation of condition for evolving as speedily as may be possible, an agrarian economy with high levels of efficiency and productivity. As regards the measures to achieve these goals, reorganisation of agriculture along cooperative lines alone could make it efficient and productive.⁹ The same objectives of Land Reform have been kept in the Third Five-Year Plan with the same principle¹⁰ behind them.

Land redistribution in excess over the ceiling has been accepted for building up a progressive cooperative rural economy. The resultant vast majority of cultivators consisting of Peasant-Proprietors would be assisted and encouraged in organising themselves in voluntary cooperative bodies for credit, marketing, processing and distribution and, with their consent, progressively also for production. These are the essential objectives of the Land Reform, which each state should adopt with due regard to their local conditions. The main task during the Third Plan will be implementation and consolidation of what has been legislated up till now.

PROBLEM OF UNECONOMIC HOLDINGS

In India, the problem of uneconomic holdings assumes great proportions. The average size of farms in most states is between 4 to 5 acres.¹¹ Average holding in Bengal is 4.4 acres, in the U.P. 4.8 acres (fertile lands), in Madras 4.5 acres, in the Punjab 10 acres and in Bombay 11.7 acres.¹² Besides, a large proportion of holdings falls below the average and lacks irrigation. Percentage of families with sizes of holding less than those of 5 acres are in Assam 66.3 per cent, in West Bengal 63.4 per cent, in Madhya Pradesh 49 per cent, in Orissa 77 per cent, in Madras 82

9. *Ibid*, p. 179.

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per cent, in the U.P. 82.2 per cent and in the Punjab 55.8 per cent.¹³ When it is recalled that a large section of the rural population of India are neither owners nor tenants and do not have any proprietary interests in the land they cultivate, the magnitude of the problem of uneconomic holding is evident.¹⁴ The solution of this problem of uneconomic holdings lies, in the first instance, in low-level of ceiling and redistribution of land and in the second instance, in cooperative farming.¹⁵

PROBLEM OF SUB-LETTING

Feudalistic land system of exploitation is most spectacular and crushing in the form of the present day share-cropping (bataidari) system in the rural area. The share-croppers cultivate nearly 50 per cent of the cultivated area; they are, however, not without land of their own, majority of them are owner-cultivators, in one field, and share-croppers or tenants-at-will in the adjoining or nearby ones. Yet their economic condition is worse and is worsening day by day as cultivation for them is becoming progressively unprofitable. And yet they stick to land and compete for procuring lands on share-cropping (batai) the rate of which is always exorbitant, due to the increasing pressure of population and lack of alternative vocation or employment elsewhere. Conditions have become more exploitative since the talk of land ceiling and abolition or control, complete or partial, of share-cropping system of cultivation.

The terms on which lands are sub-let by the landowners to the tenants-at-will differ in different states but nevertheless the tenants-at-will have to pay generally a rent amounting to 50 per cent of the agricultural produce in kind or in cash while bearing all the expenses of cultivation. In certain parts of Bihar, for instance in the north part of the District of Monghyr where I come from, it is my personal experience that the tenants-at-will have to pay rent either

in cash at the man-thika rate, which normally accounts for 70 per cent of the total value of the gross agricultural produce, or in kind which also amounts to not less than 70 per cent of the total gross produce. For example, when the crop is ready, say, maize or paddy, 2½ seers for radio licence and gun licence for the land owners are deducted direct from the gross produce on the spot (farm) and the rest (25 seers in a maund) is divided 50-50 between the landowner and the tenants-at-will. Besides the tenants-at-will have to make subsidiary unaccountable payments which, if valued in cash or kind, will amount to at least 10 per cent of the value of gross agricultural produce. For example, they have to help physically on gratis the transport of grains, hay or husks, etc., from farms to the houses of their landowners—a distance which sometimes exceeds even 20 to 25 miles and takes four or five days' labour of at least two persons. They have to perform also the work of *winnowing* and husking, etc., serve as night watchman for the adjoining fields of their landowners on gratis and have to pay Harori and Janori, i.e., 2 ploughs and 4 labourers per year per family of tenants-at-will without cast or wage. And if they are also field labourers in their spare days, they are duty-bound to serve first in the field of their landowners, then elsewhere. They have to work from sun-rise in the morning till 12 o'clock and from 1.30 P.M. till sunset in the evening. Restriction of 8 hours' work is not applicable anywhere in the rural areas. To crown all the burdens on the tenants-at-will, they have no security of tenure, not even for a year.

Such a system of crop-sharing or sub-letting is not conducive at all either to capital formation or socialist pattern of society in rural area, as it is admitted on all hands that this system is a cause for productive inefficiency.¹⁶ 'Conspicuous consumption' of the few must not be allowed to persist on the toil of the many.

As regards the remedies against this evil, there are two types of opinion: one is that the system must go;¹⁷ the other is that the system

13. *Land Reform*, U.N.O., p. 8.

14. *Ibid.*

15. "The solution of the problem of uneconomic holdings lies in evolving a suitable system of cooperative management of the land of the village and not in the redistribution of the land of the large owners". First Five-Year Plan, p. 91.

16. "The crop-sharing system generally predominates and exists in all provinces and is along with absentee landlordism, a cause for productive inefficiency".

17. Shri Manilal Navati's view in F.E. Com. 1945, p. 271.

is not intrinsically unsound in all circumstances¹⁸ and as such Bataidars should be recognised as protected tenants with security of tenure and the rent should be limited to one-third of the gross produce.¹⁹ But the consensus of public opinion today is for the abolition of the system except in cases of disability, viz., minors, widows and other disabled persons. According to the Bihar Land Reforms (Fixation of Ceiling on Land) Bill 1959, sub-letting within ceiling area has been permitted only in cases of minor, widow or unmarried, divorced or separated woman, persons suffering from mental or physical disability, persons in the service of the Army, Navy or Airforce of the Union of India and all public servants drawing a substantive salary of two hundred and fifty rupees or less a month for a period of not less than two years. In cases of minor persons suffering from mental or physical disability, sub-letting has been permitted only for one year.²⁰

The aforesaid categories of persons will, by virtue of their position be resident and non-resident absentee landlords living upon the labours of others and as such will form the rentier class in the rural society. The basis for its existence and the continuance of sub-letting in its case has been found in the fundamental principle of Land Reforms that sub-letting should be permitted in case of those who supplement their income from non-agricultural occupation with their agricultural share. This is a principle which has also been adopted in the Communist countries. It has been realised that in some cases land is not a means of human exploitation but a source of supplementary income to the landowners.²¹ In India, too, crop-sharing or sub-

letting should be banned with a few exceptions as mentioned above.

PERSONAL CULTIVATION

An exact and precise definition of 'Personal cultivation' is as much necessary for the solution of the problem of resumption, eviction, and ejectment, as for the establishment of a more egalitarian rural society. Personal cultivation must mean active cultivation of land by the owner-cultivator with his own and or his own family members' manual labour without any hired labour. Active and continuous participation in all stages of cultivation by itself alone does not give us the most appropriate definition of 'Personal cultivation'²² nor does the doing of more than half of the total manual labour on land by the landowner or members of his family give us a satisfactory definition.²³ Personal cultivation must bear the cost and risk of cultivation in full,²⁴ ruling out cultivation by letting, sub-letting or crop-sharing or man-thika cultivating (cultivation by pre-determined contract either in terms of cash or kind; or the use of hired labour on fixed wages payable either in cash or kind, except in certain circumstances and in certain cases like those of widows, minors, disabled army men or those whose income from

22. (i) Personal cultivation must not include cultivation by hired labour. *Congress Agrarian Reform Committee Report*, PEPSU, p. 23.

(ii) "The definition should be such as would require the landowner to participate continuously and actively in all stages of cultivation". *Land Reforms and Policy in India* by Balasubramanian, *Indian Economic Association* (Conference Number), 1959-60, p. 7.

23. Prof. Ashby has expressed the view that personal cultivation implies more than half of the total manual labour done on land on part of the owner and members of his family.—*Ibid*, p. 7.

24. Personal cultivation may be said to have four elements, namely, (a) risk of cultivation; (b) personal supervision; and (c) residence in the village or a nearby village within a prescribed distance; (d) personal labour in case of resumption of land—2nd F.Y.P.—*People's Edition*, p. 186.

18. *Ibid*.

19. Floud Commission's view published in F.E. Com, 1945, p. 266.

20. "Of course, fixing of tenures, fairness of rent and right to get compensation for the improvement made by the tenant may be assured to the tiller by a tenancy legislation. Not to mention possibility of evasion of all these provisions of the law, it is highly doubtful if such assurance can evoke in the tenant in full measures the stimulus to production . . . Sub-letting, however, may be allowed in cases of disability, viz., minors, widows and other disabled persons."

21. *Land Reforms in China* by Prof. B. N. Ganguly, p. 7.

their lands, is only supplementary.²⁵ This type of personal cultivation may be called self-cultivation with no hired labour. This should be the ultimate goal of a Socialist Rural Society.

RIGHTS IN LAND

The scheme of rights in land should be such as to motivate the agrarian pattern, create

25. (i) The Bombay Tenancy and Agricultural Lands Act, 1948, defines "Cultivation on one's own account (a) by one's own labour or (b) by the labour of any member of one's family or (c) by servant on wages payable in cash or kind, but not in crop-share, (d) by hired labour under one's personal supervision or the personal supervision of any member of one's family". The explanations are : (a) A tenant who is a widow or a minor or is subject to any physical or mental disability shall be deemed to cultivate the land personally if it is cultivated by her or his servant or by hired labour, and (b) in case of an undivided Hindu family, the land shall be deemed to have been cultivated personally, if it is cultivated by any member of such family. *Agrarian Reforms Committee Report*, p. 25.

(ii) "We recommend that cultivation through hired labour should be discouraged. A farmer should be entitled to retain land for personal cultivation only so much as he can cultivate by his family labour". But in the 1st round of the battles when society is over-ridden with various types of farmers, big, very big, small, very small and lastly landless labourers, permission to use hired labour is neither economically unjustified nor socially undesirable. Sufficient sum must be given to those who need to adjust themselves to the new circumstances and to the new way of life. Application of the principle of self-cultivation with no hired labour would be riding the hot horse of irrational equalitarianism of land redistribution at the cost of agricultural efficiency and output. But at the same time the ratio between hired labour and self labour should be legally determined and must not in any case be less than 50 : 50.—*Indian Delegation to China on Co-operation*, p. 185.

(iii) Personal cultivation with its grammatical variations means cultivation by a raiyat himself, or by members of his family or by servants or hired labourers on fixed wages payable in cash or kind but not in crop-share".

The Bihar Land Reforms (Fixation of ceiling on Land) Bill, 1959.

maximum incentive for the tillers of the soil, develop their creative personality, and release forces which will not only eliminate all types of feudalistic exploitation, but also ultimately lead to the maximisation of agricultural production and its most equitable distribution. In order to achieve the aforesaid goal, cultivators will have to be actual owners and owners will have to be actual cultivators. This will ensure uniformity of rights in landed property on All-India basis, and is supported by the view that if incentive is to come from ownership (in the case of farmers who possess land) let every tiller be the owner of the soil he tills. There must not be a double standard of economic ethics which permits the continuance of ownership (in the case of land owners) on the plea that its abolition would tell upon the owner's incentive to cultivate and the non-conferment of ownership right in the case of the most creative agents of cultivation, i.e., landless labourer on the plea that there is no sufficient land to be distributed among all of them. This pre-supposes unequal distribution of land-ownership as in any country, howsoever much densely populated it may be, land on the basis of per capita availability is always available and each of the bonafide tiller can have his or her due share, whenever there is such an arrangement.

Rights of ownership in land must be permanent and heritable, but not transferable, nor should the permanency of right be unconditional. Even in Japan the transfers of land have been severely restricted though partitions on inheritance are allowed. In China though the transfers have been permitted by law, they were discouraged in practice. Land is a social asset and cultivation a social responsibility and as such rights of ownership must be made conditional on the best utilisation of land, failing which the land should pass out of the hands of the inefficient tillers to efficient ones. The deciding authority should be the Land Commission. In other words, landownership must vest with the actual and efficient tillers of the soil. As inefficient tiller should have no place in the agrarian economy of the country,²⁶ nor should the landlord who is just a millstone around the neck of

26. *Agrarian Reforms Committee (Congress) Report*, p. 48-41.

the tenants.²⁷ The abolition of landlordism is an urgent pre-requisite of agricultural progress and is the first step necessary for releasing productive energy of the people.²⁸ There must not be divisions or sub-divisions or stratification of the cultivators. All cultivators must be placed on the same footings, so far as the problem of ownership right is concerned.

LEVEL OF LAND CEILING

The most controversial problem in agrarian reforms is that of the appropriate level of ceiling. Suggestions as regards the appropriate level of ceiling are not wanting. (1) The first one is the ceiling of land at a 'much lower level', which will remove most of the otherwise insurmountable hurdles like (a) caste and difference; (b) squabbles in village life and (c) unequal status of men, from the path of co-operativisation of agricultural and rural economy.²⁹ But the concept of 'lower', much lower and 'higher' levels of ceiling is vague and as such it cannot provide a concrete, practical and precise working measure which may be adopted with equity and justice to all concerned. (2) The concept of 'family holding' is also vague in as much as it does not precisely define a 'plough unit' or a 'work unit' for a family of average size working with such aid as is customary in agricultural operations.³⁰ Qualitative differences of our plough-cattle heads not only between the various States of India, but also within them—nay within the same locality—are very wide and it is well-nigh impossible to work out the average one for determining the appropriate plough unit. Likewise, there are wide variations in the agricultural skill and dexterity of the cultivators and workers and to find out an average is not an easy job. Such difficulties may also arise with the concept of the right type of aid customary in agricultural operations. The Second Five-Year Plan has accepted the level of ceiling at about three family holdings.

If the concept of family holding is vague and undefinable, the principle of a multiple of family holding fares no better. (3) The third view is that 'family labour' should determine the amount of land the family should retain for its own personal cultivation.³¹ The concept of 'family labour' is also variable in view of the differences in the skill and dexterity of the family members which depend not only on the training and physical strength, but also on the caste of the family. (4) The idea of 'economic holding'.³² 'Reasonable' standard of living, 'full employment', etc., has no precise meanings amidst such great disparities of wealth distribution and wealth-getting opportunities as exist in the India of today. (5) 'Net annual income'³³ varying from Rs. 3600 to Rs. 5400 has recently formed the basis of land ceiling in various states of India. Fixation of the 'net annual income' at this level is not only very high in comparison with the low average per capita income of the agricultural population, but also arbitrary, unrelated to any unchangeable and unvariable standard of measure. Besides, the value of this sum is highly subject to fluctuation, more particularly in a developing economy where inflationary pressures due to deficit financing do not seem to be of sizeable proportions in the immediate future. It also depends on the nature of crops sown. Cash crops, other things being equal, usually fetch greater incomes than

31. "A farmer should be entitled to retain for personal cultivation only so much land as he can cultivate by his family labour".—*Indian Delegation to China on Co-operation*, p. 185.

32. "An economic holding must afford (a) a reasonable standard of living; (b) it must provide full employment to a family of normal size and at least a pair of good bullocks; and (c) it must have a bearing on other relevant factors peculiar to the agricultural economy of the region". *Congress Agrarian Reforms Committee Report*, p. 21.

33. In Mysore a Bill has been introduced providing ceiling on existing holding as well as on future acquisition at an area yielding a net annual income of Rs. 3600. The Andhra Pradesh ceiling on Agriculture Holding Bill 1958, seeks to fix ceiling on existing holdings at an area yielding a net annual income of Rs. 5400 and ceiling on future acquisition at Rs. 3600 income level.

27. Measures for the Economic Development of the Under Developed countries, p. 21.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 21.

29. *Congress Agrarian Reforms Committee Report*, p. 51.

30. F.Y.P., 90 (People's Edition).

foodgrains or millets or oilseeds. Soils have seldom fertility for the production of only a few specific crops alone. (6) 'Average availability of land' has been the single basis of land ceiling in the communist countries like China and Eastern European countries. Even in a capitalist country like Japan,³⁴ the same basis has been accepted for land ceiling.

In China, some concessions have been allowed in favour of certain categories of men. The principle behind this concession is that the net income from land must be supplementary income for the family as a whole.³⁵ *India can do well by adopting the average availability of land*

per capita as the standard for determining the limit of ceiling with suitable concessions in favour of deserving categories of people. Soil differences need not form any undefinable obstacle as average availability of land per capita will be calculated on a locality basis within which no qualitative marked differences in land fertility are expected to exist. A multiple of this may be allowed in suitable cases. The average available cultivable land per capita in India is .6 acres. So a family consisting of 5 members will get 3 acres of land and if thrice of this is permitted for some, they may have 9 acres of land per family of 5 members.³⁶

34. As a result of Land Reforms of 1946 in Japan a ceiling has been fixed at 7.5 acres, i.e., about three times the average availability of land per agricultural household—*Land Reform, U.N.O.*, p. 54-55.

35. *Land Reforms in New China* : By B. N. Ganguly, p. 9-10.

36. Different States of India have fixed different levels of land ceiling. For instance, in Bihar, lands have been divided into five categories and the ceiling area ranges from 30 to 90 acres (vide *The Bihar Land Reforms Bill, 1959*, p. 3.).

(To be Continued)

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CELLULAR JAIL OF THE ANDAMAN ISLANDS

The "Bastille" of India

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Amidst the picturesque surroundings of Port Blair, the sceneries of which are reminiscent of a hill station, the huge and dilapidated building of the Cellular Jail stands as a memorial to an era gone by—an era which under the repressive laws of the British imperialism many patriots were thrown in the dark and dingy cells of this "Bastille" of India to pine away in solitary confinement. Under a severe penal system young men from different parts of India were subjected to most inhuman treatment for no fault of theirs except that they had offered resistance to an alien rule and had struggled for the freedom of their country. Depriving them of even ordinary privileges given to a criminal in a jail the British authorities tried to humiliate them in every way. But these pioneers of national

struggle did not submit to the vindictive treatment of the representatives of a bureaucratic government. As long as they were confined in the Cellular Jail of the 'Kalapani', they fought heroically for the principles of human worth and dignity which were so dear to them.

The construction of the Cellular Jail was started in 1896 with a view to make the imprisonment in Port Blair more stringent in character for the transported convicts. The massive building, which was completed in 1910, contained seven wings diverging in different directions with a tower in the centre. Each wing had three storeys including the ground floor and contained an equal number of cells with a corridor running in front of the cells. The new jail came to be known as Cellular Jail after the

design of the buildings. As soon as a prisoner arrived at Port Blair from India, he was confined in the cell of this jail for the first six months. After this period, they were permitted to work in gangs outside the four walls of the Cellular Jail. As soon as the construction of the Cellular Jail was completed the first batch of the political prisoners was transported to the Andamans. Picked revolutionaries of India—the members of Alipore Bomb Case, Nasik Murder Case, Lahore Conspiracy Case, Dalhousie Square Bomb Case and many others—were confined in the solitary cells of the Cellular Jail for more than a decade. Among them were Savarkar brothers, Barindra Kumar Ghosh (brother of Aurovindo Ghosh), Bhai Parmanand, Ashutosh Lahiri, editors of 'Swaraj' and 'Yugantar'—two nationalist weeklies of India. These men of iron-will and dogged resistance passed their lives in intense suffering during their terms of confinement in the Cellular Jail. An estimate of their sufferings can be had from the account given by Vir Savarkar in his Marathi book '**Manjhi Janam—Thep**' regarding the conditions of political prisoners in the Andamans. According to him the revolutionaries were treated more harshly than the ordinary criminals in the Cellular Jail. Hard works like coir-pounding and oil-extracting were given to them. The food given to them was not even fit for human consumption. They were never able to quench their thirst on account of the limited supply of fresh water to them. Bath was considered as a luxury for them. Restrictions were even imposed on their going to the urinals at their will. They could go to the latrines only thrice during twenty-four hours. They had to work even when they were ill. The attitude of the authorities towards the political prisoners was always haughty and insolent. In order to get even bare necessities of life, they had to go occasionally on work-strikes. Unable to bear the humiliations caused by the attitude of the authorities and the severity of the work, Ullaskar Dutt, a revolutionary sentenced in Alipore Bomb Case, turned insane. Ultimately some of the prisoners were forced to go on

hunger-strike. In 1913 two political prisoners—Nani Gopal Mukerjee and Ladhā Ram—remained on hunger-strike for more than three months. As a result of the above hunger-strike the authorities adopted a conciliatory attitude. The political prisoners were permitted to work outside the Cellular Jail and were provided with other facilities. These facilities were, however, withdrawn after a year or so and all of them were again interned in the Cellular Jail. It was alleged by the authorities that the political prisoners had entered into a conspiracy to blow some of the officials and induced some of the criminals to join their activities. Hence they considered it dangerous to keep them outside the Cellular Jail. Harsh and inhuman treatment was again accorded to them. As a protest against the changed attitude of the authorities, sixteen political prisoners went on hunger-strike from April, 1914. The authorities of Port Blair harassed Vir Savarkar, who was considered to be the ring-leader of the political prisoners in the Cellular Jail, in order to break the hunger-strike but failed completely. Ultimately, they felt that the Government had committed a mistake in concentrating a large number of revolutionaries at one place. Hence it was decided to repatriate such prisoners to India who were not sentenced to life imprisonment.

The resistance offered by the political prisoners confined in the Cellular Jail was continued by Savarkar and others who were not repatriated to India. In their struggle they were joined by sturdy Sikhs the members of the 'Ghadar' party—who were transported to Port Blair in large numbers during the first World War. In order to curb the rebellious spirits of the political prisoners in the Andamans the British government again adopted a repressive policy towards them. Bhai Paramanand and Ashutosh Lahiri were awarded thirty cane stripes each for violating an unjust rule of the Cellular Jail. Prithvi Singh, a leader of the 'Ghadar' party was not allowed to leave his cell for a number of years. Similar restrictions were placed on Vir Savarkar. Another political prisoner named Ram Rakha was not permitted to wear the

sacred thread. As a protest he went on hunger-strike and sacrificed his life. These continued sufferings of the political prisoners in the Andamans brought a storm of protests from the Indian public and the Government of India was forced to repatriate them to Indian jails in 1921.

Although the Government of India had announced the gradual abolition of the penal settlement of Port Blair on the recommendations of the Indian Jail Committee of 1919-20, they did not implement their decision. Criminals who were sentenced to transportation for life continued to be deported to the Andaman Islands. In 1932 the transportation of political prisoners was again started by the Government of India. It was done with a view to stop the agitation going on in India regarding the sufferings of hundreds of terrorist prisoners confined in the different jails of the provinces of India. To remove such prisoners to a distant place, where there was no public opinion and where contacts with their relations could be avoided, was the safest course for the authorities. No place was more suitable than the Andamans for this purpose. In the closing months of 1932, about three hundred political prisoners were transported to these islands from different Indian jails. Comrades of Bhagat Singh in the Lahore Conspiracy Case, young revolutionaries of Midnapore Peasant Revolt, fearless members of Chittagong Armoury Raid, popular patriots of Kakeri Case and many others convicted for seditious activities found themselves thrown together in the Indian 'Bastille' of the pre-independence era.

The huge building of the Cellular Jail was now in a very dilapidated condition with crevices in the walls everywhere. During the rains, which fall in these tropical islands for the major part of the year, the roof of the cells leaked. The prisoners were not provided with beddings and had to lie on cold wooden floor. Numerous scorpions and other insects from damp crevices crawled on the floor. Due to their fear and the mosquito-bite nobody could have even a wink of sleep. In addition to the solitary confinement in cells which were dark even during the day the sufferings of the prisoners

were innumerable. The story of the sufferings narrated by Savarkar was being repeated in their case. Meagre supply of filtered water, food full of worms, hard jail tasks, lack of proper medical facilities, refusal to allow them to read newspapers and books and discourteous behaviour of officials; all these things made the lives of political prisoners very miserable.

Efforts were made by the prisoners to get their grievances redressed without precipitating a crisis, but nothing came out of their attempts except vague assurances from the local authorities. As a last resort, some of them went on hunger-strike in May, 1933, while others, who were weak, struck work. Forced feeding was adopted very soon by the authorities in the case of hunger-strikers who were very weak. Mahavir Singh, a comrade of Bhagat Singh, knew the art of baffling the feeders as he had been on hunger-strike on several times in Indian jails. In one such attempt to resist the forcible feeding, milk went into his lungs. Mahavir, knowing it fully well that if sufficient quantity of milk went into his lungs, he will surely die, did not utter a word. Within a few hours Mahavir breathed his last in the hospital. He was tied to heavy stones and was sunk in the early hours of the morning. Incidentally, he got a similar funeral as was given to his comrade Bhagat Singh on the banks of the Ravi. In view of the adamant attitude of the authorities and no signs of negotiations, the strikers felt after some days that more sacrifice was necessary. Mohan Kishore and Mohit Maitra, two terrorist prisoners from Bengal, deliberately allowed milk to go into their lungs. In spite of the best efforts of the authorities to keep them alive with the help of injections they could not prevent them from joining the ranks of the martyrs. In one respect the sacrifice of these two young men from Bengal was greater than that of Mahavir. Both of them were short-term prisoners and were likely to be released and repatriated to India after a year or so.

The death of three prisoners within a short period created a storm of indignation all over India where the news of hunger-strike had somehow spread. A number of

questions were asked in the Legislative Council about the conditions of political prisoners in the Andamans. The Government of India was not able to withstand the pressure of public opinion. It gave an assurance that all the privileges usually granted to political prisoners in Indian jails would be given to them. On this assurance, the hunger-strike was terminated by the political prisoners.

For the next three years the political prisoners in the Andamans enjoyed a comparatively peaceful life, although there were occasional clashes with the authorities. Bare necessities of life were provided to them. The quality of food was improved. Arrangements for indoor and outdoor games were made for them. A small reading room and a library was opened at government expense. They were allowed to purchase a few books and magazines at their own cost. There was also a change in the attitude of the officers who were now more cautious and careful in their behaviour. In short, the life of a political prisoner in the Cellular Jail was made more tolerable. He could exist physically and mentally.

During this period of three years the political prisoners devoted themselves to study. Prisoners who had been fortunate enough to receive high education taught their fellow prisoners. They reviewed their past in the light of the present circumstances and made out programmes for the future by discussions in groups. They realised that secret and violent revolutionary agitation was not the proper method of resistance against the British rule in India. Social life was organised by them within the walls of the jail. For three years Puja was celebrated with much enthusiasm. Dramas were staged on such occasions. Football matches between different parties were witnessed with keen interest. In this way, the prisoners tried to pass their time as peacefully as possible, although their condition in the Cellular Jail was still far from happy. The tropical climate of the Andamans and constant confinement in the cells of the jail told heavily upon their health. Some of them turned insane. A great majority of them suffered from con-

suming diseases like Tuberculosis. Almost all of them lost their vitality and looked old in the prime of youth. A slow but sure death loomed large before them which made their yearning to return to their motherland and meet their relatives before they departed from this world still stronger. The few amenities offered to them did not continue for long. A short time after, they were gradually taken away one by one by the authorities. A change came over the attitude of the jail authorities who again tried to pinprick them on slight pretexts. It was felt by the political prisoners in the Cellular Jail that another struggle with more sacrifices was necessary to maintain their prestige, won as a result of martyrdom of Mahavir and others. But they were waiting for the formation of Congress ministries in many provinces of India. They believed that in accordance with their election manifesto the popular Congress ministries would try their utmost to get the grievances of the political prisoners redressed and to press the Government to stop the deportation of such prisoners to the Andamans. Immediately after the installation of Congress ministries in 1937, they submitted several representations to the Viceroy, copies of which were forwarded by them to the Congress Prime Minister through the Government of India. In these representations they based their demands on the issue of civil liberties. Their main demands were :

1. Such prisoners who were convicted of political offences or detained without trial for political reasons should be released.
2. The ban on political exiles should be removed. Repeal of repression laws was also demanded.
3. The system of deporting political prisoners to the Andamans should be abolished for ever.
4. Permanent rules for the treatment of political prisoners in Indian jails should be immediately framed.

The terrorists also communicated their resolve to commence a hunger-strike in

case no reply was received by them till the 23rd July, 1937. It seems that the Government of India did not forward the copies of their representations to the popular ministries and hence no reply was sent by them. The Government of India informed the political prisoners on the scheduled day of the strike that it was not possible for them to accept their demands. Having no other alternative before them, political prisoners went on hunger-strike on the 25th July, 1937. Unlike the hunger-strike of 1933, the news of this fast spread like wild-fire in the country. Political prisoners in Deoli, Behrampore and other jails also joined them. Numerous telegrams and messages were sent by their well-wishers and friends from India imploring the political prisoners in the Andamans to abandon the strike. Bhulabhai Desai, Satyamurti and Fazlul Haq also made similar appeals to them. After a week the prisoners received a telegram from Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru. He appealed to them on behalf of the Congress Working Committee to break the fast. In the Legislative Council of India a motion was passed with an overwhelming majority asking the Government of India to repatriate these political prisoners to India as soon as possible. The members also made a request to hunger-strikers to terminate their strike as the Government was not ready to come down to terms in the face of a strike although it had shown some inclination to accept some of their demands. The political prisoners in the Cellular Jail were puzzled by such appeals. They felt that they were being completely misunderstood by the public, because the Government instead of publishing their demands had simply stated that the political prisoners in the Andamans wanted their release. But actually this was not the case. It was not a fight for their own release only but a fight for civil liberties and for the rights of political prisoners, whether confined in the Andamans or in an Indian jail. Hence,

the termination of strike was not possible until a settlement was made on an All-India basis. On the 28th August, 1937, 233 prisoners on hunger-strike received a telegram from Gandhiji on behalf of the Congress Working Committee, and Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore, advising them to abandon the strike, in case they relied on them and the nation for the redress of their grievances. Gandhiji also wanted an assurance from the persons who previously believed in terrorist methods that they would renounce their earlier faith and embrace the creed of non-violence. Touched by the message of Gandhiji, the political prisoners decided to abandon the strike. The process of self-criticism through which they had passed during their confinement in the Cellular Jail enabled them to declare unhesitatingly with unanimity that, "We, those who believed in terrorism do not do it any more and are convinced of its futility as a political weapon or creed. It definitely retards rather than advances the cause of our country." The news of the termination of the hunger-strike of political prisoners in the Andamans was received with great rejoicing throughout the country. Immediately afterwards, all of them were repatriated to their motherland from the Andamans. Subsequently most of them were released from the Indian jails.

The sufferings of the two batches of political prisoners in the Cellular Jail has earned the status of a land of martyrs for the Andaman Islands. The building of the Cellular Jail, which reminds one of the castles of mediaeval ages, has become a place of pilgrimage for thousands of Indians. As soon as an Indian reaches Port Blair, he bows silently, respectfully to the memory of many patriots who in these islands languished for a number of years in the solitary cells of the Cellular Jail, often looking longingly and wistfully across the deep blue waters towards their motherland.



"BHARATA-BHASKARAM"

"The Sun of India"

By DR. JATINDRA BIMAL CHAUDHURI, M.A., Ph.D. (London)

English translation by Principal Dr. Roma Chaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D. (Oxford)

The Section on "The Meeting between Rabindranath and Mahakavi Nabin Chandra".

Place—House of Sub-Divisional Officer at Ranaghat, Bengal.

Time—1893 A.D. Morning.

Poet Nabin Chandra, his wife Lakshmi Devi, Rabindranath (Aged 32), Nabin Chandra's son, Nirmal Chandra, aged fourteen.

(Enter Poet Nabin Chandra and his wife Lakshmi Devi)

Nabin Chandra—(Joyfully) :

Rabindra is coming to see me soon.

For me what a great good fortune !

Great, indeed, his poetic lore.

Makes earth glitter more and more.

Victory to Maharshi, Virtue Incarnate
Whose Family in arts, and letters is
ornate.

How handsome shine all of them
In beauty and virtue, just the same.

(To his wife)

As you know, I have invited him to come here for a day on his way to Selaidaha. He will catch the night steamer to Goaland from here.

Lakshmi Devi—You have done very well. I have heard so much of him from you ; but I have not seen him till now.

Nabin Chandra—Really, blessed is the entire family of Maharshi Debendranāth ! See, his eldest son Dwijendranath, the author of the well-known lyric "Swapna-Prayana" ("Dream-Sojourn") is a celebrated litterateur—indeed, the foremost amongst the "Dvijas" or "Brahmins". His second son Satyendranath is not only the first Indian I.C.S. (A Magistrate of Indian Civil Service), but also the foremost amongst them. In the very same manner, his fifth son Jyotirindranath, has attained great fame. Birendranath's son and Rabindranath's nephew Balendranath, though only twenty-three years of age, is a prose-writer of great

calibre. Indeed, the ladies of the family also, are not lagging behind. Maharshi's fifth daughter Swarnakumari and others have earned fame, and that, too, with justice.

Lakshmi Devi—Oh, how glorious ! And, it is also very splendid that even at the age of thirty-two only Rabindranath has become the Joint Vice-President, with you, of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad ; not because of his illustrious family-lineage, but only because of his own merits.

Nabin Chandra—Very true !

Lakshmi Devi—I appreciate very much his passion for collecting Folk Literature. Indeed, in our Folk Literature, there are many invaluable gems. If all these be well-preserved, then that would certainly be a great gain for us all.

Nabin Chandra—True, very true. (Anxiously)—But why is Rabindranath delaying ?

(Calling)

O Gate-Keeper ! Come here quick.

(Enter Gate-Keeper)

Gate-keeper—I salute thee Master ! What is thy wish ?

Nabin Chandra—Have you seen our carriage approaching ?

Gate-Keeper—No, Sir, I have not. I can see the road clearly from my post at the gate. But I have not seen anything there, Master !

Nabin Chandra—Then, be alert. For, a very honoured guest is coming today.

Gate-Keeper—Very well, Sir !

(Exit)

Lakshmi Devi—My dear ! Don't you be so anxious ? The time for his coming is not yet over. As you know, the train is scheduled to arrive here from Calcutta at 10 A.M.

Nabin Chandra (Assured)—Yes, Rabindranath himself is very particular about all these, very careful to keep time. Really, God has created him as a repository

of numerous good qualities. It is well that I sent a relative of mine to meet him at the station, with my carriage.

(Listening)—Ah! now I distinctly hear the sound of the wheels.

How thrilling is this sound of wheels
That, in a moment Anxiety kills.
And, brings us hope of new Friendship.
An Oasis in the hot dust-heap.

(Joyfully)—Oh! here he comes!

(Enter Rabindranath, with a relative of Nabin Chandra).

Relative—(Smiling)—Here, revered relative, I bring the 'Rising Sun' to your abode, on this golden, sun-lit morning. But, look, can the Sun in the sky vie with this Sun on earth, in any respect?

Nabin Chandra—(Smiling)—Oh, how sweetly you speak, my dear! What you say is perfectly right. Who can vie with you?

(All laugh)

Nabin Chandra—(Advancing) Welcome, Welcome! O, Rabindranath, the Crown-Jewel of Maharshi's clan. Here is my wife, anxiously waiting to welcome you.

Rabindranath—(Bowing down to both)—I am, indeed, greatly honoured! Sister! I crave your blessings.

Lakshmi Devi—May you live long! May your fame spread all over the world! But, my dear, you must be tired after your journey of one hour and a half from Calcutta. So, first, have a wash and something to eat.

Rabindranath—No, Sister-in-law! That is not necessary, now, at all. So, don't please, worry.

Relative—I am going away now. You have asked Sri Surendra Nath Pal Choudhury to dinner for your guest. I shall bring him with me.

Nabin Chandra—Well and good.

(Exit the relative)

Nabin Chandra—(Affectionately)—This auspicious meeting between you and me reminds me of that well-known verse regarding the traditional meeting between Vidyapati and Chandidas. Listen—

(Reciting in original Vrajabuli)

Mutual was the admiration . . .
Between these poets great.
They desired to meet each other, :
Both did anxiously wait.

(Smiling) But please don't think me conceited, my dear! It is the sight of your lovely poetic face that makes me feel like a great poet.

(All laugh)

Rabindranath—Just the contrary,
But I am low and humble,
With no poetic lore
Junior in age and quality
Worthless to the core.

Lakshmi Devi—(Affectionately) No! No! What talk is this? You are my 'Rising Sun'—and will remain so.

Rabindranath—Sister! Your kindness overwhelms me. I have previously exchanged some letters with the Poet, but somehow or other, was never able to meet him for a second time; and so I have been very anxious to do so. That desire has been fulfilled today, through God's grace.

Lakshmi Devi—How sweetly you speak! Your visit has brought us great joy.

Nabin Chandra—Undoubtedly! I remember distinctly my first sight of you. You were, then, a mere lad of sixteen years; now you are an young man of thirty-two. Oh, how well I remember! You were standing under a huge tree at a corner—that was the day of the Eleventh Conference of the **Hindu Mela**—and some one told me that you wanted to meet me. He took me there and pointed out you to me. Ah! What a glorious sight it was.

An Image of gold luminous
Brightest gem precious.

Rabindranath—(Bashfully)—So very kind of you to remember all these.

Nabin Chandra—I remember also how you took out a note-book from your pocket, and read out some of your own poems and also sang some of your own songs for me. I was charmed with all these. Oh! that sweet, soft, melodious voice still rings in my ear!

Lakshmi Devi—How splendid !

Nabin Chandra—After a day or two, when I went to the house of Babu Akshoy Kumar Sarkar at Chinsurah on his invitation, I told him how I had been very favourably impressed by your poems and songs, and that you would, one day, become a great poet and singer, he said humorously—"He is the sweet-sour ("Kancha-Mithe"), or unripe sweet mango of the Tagore Family". Now, see, my prophesy has turned true, and that unripe mango has become a fully ripe "Fazli"—mango, luscious and fragrant—the idol of young Bengal, known as the "Shelley", "Keats", "Edgar Po" of Bengal, and what not.

Rabindranath—(Bashfully)—Oh, how kind you are.

Nabin Chandra—(Addressing his wife) Also, look at him now.

A budding lotus fresh and bright,
Standing on his feet aright
With moustache-beard flowing lovely
Shining in pure, Golden Glory
Curly hairs, parted half,
Deep, wide eyes that sweetly laugh
Vying gold in colour bright.
Looking just like Jesus Christ.
Dressed from head to foot in white
In silken garment soft and light
With slippers white and gold—

'Pince-nez',

(Pronoun Pansey-nay)

But whiter is his gold-face, gay.

And, add to these his peerless poetic abilities—you will see something rare.

Lakshmi Devi—What you say is perfectly right.

Rabindranath—(Bashfully)—I am really overwhelmed. Rightly, has it been said that "Affection flows downwards", or is showered on undeserving persons ! Me thinks ! You are showering your affection on me, just as on your own son Nirmal. May God help me to be deserving of it !

Lakshmi Devi—(Aside).—Oh ! how sweet is the behaviour of this Poet Rabindranath, the scion of an illustrious family. How naturally has he taken us as his own elder brother and sister-in-law (Aloud to her husband).

Not only in appearance and poetic ability, but also in way of speech, he is, indeed, incomparable. God has endowed him also with a sweet, facile tongue !

Nabin Chandra—My wife is charmed with your sweet voice. Do sing a self-composed song for her and win her mother's heart for ever.

Rabindranath—(Modestly)—But what is my poetic ability in comparison with yours ?

Lakshmi Devi—Oh ! no. Your poetic ability is indeed, the fruit of hard labour and constant penances. What greater ability can one possess ? My dear ! You have, indeed, inherited a great gift. So, do gladden our hearts by singing something for us. Nothing gives me a greater joy than a good, pure song ; or a sweet, soft poem.

Rabindranath—(Looking out), Oh, fortunately, here comes your good son Nirmal Chandra. Let him sing something for us.

Enter Nirmal Chandra, Nabin Chandra's only son—aged 14).

Nirmal Chandra—Welcome, O, Poet, welcome. We are, indeed, honoured by your august presence here.

Rabindranath—I am more honoured. But, O Nirmal dear, your mother wants to hear a song. So, do sing something for her.

Nabin Chandra—(Smilingly)—Oh, Rabi Babu ! there is no escape for you ! I myself have composed a welcome-song, specially for you. Nirmal will sing that for you when other invited guests, like the great and good land-owner, Sri Surendra Nath Pal Chaudhuri, arrive for dinner. However, as he is asking you to sing, Nirmal, sing one of his songs.

Nirmal—Very well. (Sings a Rabindra-song).

निर्मलचन्द्रस्य संगीतम्

सखि भोः सखि भो राधिके रे

पश्य पश्य नु निपुणम् ।

मृदुलगमन-श्याम आयाति

करोति मृदुल-गानम् ॥

पिपेहि भटिति कुसुमहारं

पिपेहि नीलवसनम् ।

सुन्दरि ! सिन्दूरेण ते

सीमन्तं कुरु रङ्गिणम् ।

Friend, O Friend, O Radha dearie !
Glance now, glance again.
Shyam is coming slowly, see
Singing softly, fain.
Put on quickly a flower-garland,
Put on a blue dressing.
Put on, O Lovely ! vermillion,
Make red thy hair-parting.

Rabindranath—Excellent, excellent.
Nirmal, you really possess a beautiful voice.

Nirmal—I am so happy, so happy.

Nabin Chandra—Really, you love Nirmal, so much now, is your turn. Do sing one of your songs for me.

Lakshmi Devi—(Coaxingly) Do ! There is a harmonium in front of you. So, please, begin.

Rabindranath—No, Sister ! I do not sing with harmonium accompaniment—for, I think, that drowns the voice. However, in the beginning, I may take its help for voice-modulation, but I shall not need it when I actually begin to sing.

Nabin Chandra—That will be fine. Your beautiful, flute-like voice reminds me of your elder brother Jyotirindranath, who was my class-friend at the Calcutta Presidency College.

Rabindranath—Oh, I am so grateful for your kind appreciation. I shall sing a newly composed Kirtan for you.

(Takes out a sheet of paper from pocket and sings a self-composed song).

रवीन्द्र-संगीतम्

पुनरेहि पुनरेहि बन्धो रे पुनरेहि ।
मम क्षु धित-तृप्ति-तापितचित्तो नाथ हे पुनरेहि ।
निष्ठुर भो मम पुनरेहि
मम कोमलकरुण पुनरेहि ।
मम सजलजलदक्षिणकान्ते
सुन्दर मे पुनरेहि ॥
निलयसुखं मम पुनरेहि
चिरदुःखं मम पुनरेहि ।
मम सर्वसुखदुःखमन्थनधन
अन्तरे मम पुनरेहि ॥

Come back, O ! Come back, Friend !
Come back, O come !
In my heart hungry, burning and thirsty
Come back, O come back, Lord !
Come back, O come !

Come back, O, Hard !
Come back, Gentle.
Come back, O Cruel !
Come back, Pitiful.
Come back, O Dark !
Come back, Handsome.
Come back, O come back, Friend !
Come back, O come !

Come Joy constant,
Come Grief lasting
Come in my heart,
All these crossing.
Hankered for ever,
But stored in always.
O Thou Unstable,
Who constantly stays.
Come back, my Dearest !
In my arms, come.
Come back, O Come back, Friend !
Come back, O come !
Come in my eyes,
In heart sad, no less.
In sleep and my dreams,
In ornament and dress.
Come back, my Dearie !
In whole world, Come !
Come back, O Come back, Friend !
Come back, O come !

Come in my smile,
In my tears cold
Come in my love,
In my play bold.
Come in my anger,
In constant memory.
In all my honour,
In Religion savoury.
Come in my action,
In my fondling.
Come in my shyness
Come, O Darling !
Come in my life,
In my death, Come !
Come back, O Come back, Friend !
Come back, O come !

Nabin Chandra—Ah! Excellent! Excellent. This is, indeed, a gem of a song—a magnificent combination of wonderful poetic ability, graceful composition, enthralling religious fervour, and melodious tune. Methinks, this will resound, not only in my house, as today, but in every house, and echo and re-echo, over the skies and across the seas. Moreover, like the sweet, and soft cackling of babies, your sweet and soft voice has seemed to touch my heart sweetly and softly. Ah! how sweet are your expressions and gestures. Rabi Babu! your music and its underlying thought seem to dance together in the same tune! Your eyes and face, also, are in conformity with the same. How wonderful!

Lakshmi Devi—My dear brother! I, too, am feeling just the same. As if, a Joy Universal engulfs me.

Rabindranath—(Gratefully)—This is nothing but your deep affection for me.

Nirmal—Who would dare to sing after this?

Rabindranath—(Affectionately)—No, Friend, no. Remember, whose son you are!

Nirmal—(Smilingly)—On the account, you are, indeed, the greater son of a greater father.

(All laugh)

Nabin Chandra—O Rabi Babu! Universal, indeed, is your attraction.

Like Ganga holy flows thy song,

Gushing, beautiful.

It makes my heart equally,

Pure and joyful.

Rabindranath—O Great New (Nabin) Poet of Bengal! I am much newer than you in the field and also much younger. So I desire for a place only below you.

Nabin Chandra—Why so? My heartfelt wish is that the "Sun of Bengal" ("Rabindra") should spread its golden rays all over the world.

Look! Your song inspires me particularly because—

The Lord whom I saw faintly

Through tears, in my works before!

The same Krishna I feel clearly,

Through your song galore.

Oh! my Srikrishna—the life of Radha, the Ornament of Vrindavan, playing flute and roaming on the banks of Yamuna—I see you constantly now through Rabindranath's grace. May Rabindranath live long. I like your songs on Srikrishna very much.

What do you think of this Radha-Krishna Cult? You can tell me about that frankly, for, I was a class-friend of your elder brother Jyotirindranath at the Calcutta Presidency College. So, can you not take me as an elder brother?

Rabindranath—O Great Poet—Devotee! I have nothing to hide from you. Your affection has, indeed, overwhelmed me. Really, often I think over the matter, as to whether I am an idol-worshipper or not. Specially, I entertain a different opinion regarding the "Bhagavata" than other Brahmos. I take it to be a high class "allegory".

Nabin Chandra—If you are satisfied in taking it to be an allegory, then you are, indeed, welcome to it. But I personally cannot keep back my tears when I see Srikrishna on the stage, even during a "Yatra" performance. Do not, please, destroy that 'Black Doll' for me; do, please, keep it for me. (Weeps).

Rabindranath (tearfully)—Oh! On seeing the holy tears in the eyes of a devotee, my eyes also, have become tearful. Ah! there is no one in the wide, wide world, to match a devotee. Because of devotees like you, India has become an example to the whole world at large.

Nabin Chandra—Well, I want to ask you a question. The songs of Nidhu Babu consist only of four to six lines, yet each is a complete fount of a sweet sentiment. But your songs are rather lengthy, more like poems. Why?

Rabindranath—I have some short songs, too.

Nabin Chandra—Well and good. Your new book of poems "Sonar Tari" ("The Golden Boat") has recently been published. Its first poem "Sonar Tari" is a photo of a village scene of East Bengal. But its meaning is not clear to me. Will you please explain?

Rabindranath—Of course, I shall do so gladly.

Nabin Chandra—But, first, recite some of your poems to me.

Rabindranath—Vey well. I shall recite a few lines from my book of poem "Sonar Tari".

(Recites)

You and We

You all flow on smilingly

Like a river, gargling on.

We stand, glancing, on the shore

Suppressing hearts' desires anon.

You all whisper joyously,

Your faces and eyes glow in glee

You place your lotus-feet on earth

With golden anklets tinkling free.

Nabin Chandra—Excellent! You are a Poet and an Actor, rolled in one. Some more, pleasure.

Lakshmi Devi—(Intervening) —Indeed, this is very sweet. When two poets meet

—Time, of course, stands still. But what about ordinary persons like us? See, the mid-day sun has reached its peak. So, do come in for lunch.

Nabin Chandra—(Smilingly)—Yes, yes, surely, I forgot that she has prepared a large number of dishes for you. So, Rabi Babu, you must do justice to the same.

Rabindranath—(Smilingly)—Yes, surely. Let me be prepared for her vehement attack with the weapon of fifty-three dishes!

(All laugh)

Nabin Chandra—You should stand on no ceremonies in the house of your elder brother. So, let your sister-in-law's wishes triumph!

Rabindranath—Sister-in-law! my heart is already full with your affection. So there is no room for any food. Still, I shall go.

(All exit laughingly)

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THE CATALYSTIC IMPACT OF I.C.I.C.I. LTD., ON INDUSTRIAL INVESTMENTS UNDER PRIVATE SECTOR

By M. D. SHARMA

Professor of Business Administration, B. J. S. Rampuria College, Bikaner

The attainment of economic equilibrium in the developing Indian economy called for the balancing of its agrarian character by industrial development. We, in India, have adopted a policy of mixed economy where public and private sectors should develop and function alike in their respective fields. In the absence of a well organised capital market, long-term financial difficulties had been a deterrent factor in the growth and development of industries under the private sector. The lending policy¹ of our banks, the absence of indus-

trial banks and specialised finance institutions, and the stock underwriting agencies made felt the need of setting up an institution in this country to assist the industrial enterprises within the private sector of industry. To meet this need discussions took place towards the end of 1953 between the representatives of the Government of India, the Foreign Operations Administration of the U.S. Government and the International Bank for reconstruction and development about the possibility of establishing in India a privately-owned investment corporation for the purpose of encouraging the growth of private industry.

1. Indian banks do not meet long-term requirements of industry. They deal in short-term financing, and it is only recently after the establishment of the Refinance Corporation and the enforcement of Credit Guarantee Scheme that

attention has been paid by Indian bankers towards meeting medium-term requirements of industrial sector.

After negotiations extending throughout 1954, the I.C.I.C.I. Ltd., was incorporated on the 5th January, 1955, and on the 23rd March, 1961, the Corporation held its sixth Annual General Meeting at Bombay. During this period of six years the Corporation had been engaged in the attainment of its objectives.²

What the Corporation is Expected to Do ?

In general, the Corporation is expected to :

- (i) assist in the creation, expansion and modernisation of private enterprise ;
- (ii) encourage and promote the participation of private capital, both internal and external, in such enterprises ;
- (iii) encourage and promote private ownership of industrial investment and expansion of investment markets.

The task of promoting new industrial units under private sector and financing them for their rapid and balanced growth becomes specially important during the process of developmental planning. A regulated industrial development, strictly in accordance with the priorities, is required to be attained. The Corporation's objects cover practically all the aspects of requirements. As pointed out by some thinkers,³ there are more opportunities for industrialisation in India than in any other country. It is in this reference that the Corporation has to attain its objects and enable the private sector to avail these opportunities. For this purpose, it is supposed to provide finance in the form of long or medium term loans or equity participation, sponsor and underwrite new issues of shares and securities, guarantee loans from other private investment sources, make funds available for reinvestment by revolving invest-

ments as rapidly as prudent, and furnish managerial, technical and administrative advice and assist in obtaining managerial, technical and administrative services to Indian industry.

It is concerned only with the industrial development under corporate sector, although industries run by individuals and partnership firms also come under private sector. In the financing structure of corporate sector there is a tendency of under-capitalisation in equity and greater reliance on debt resources because smaller equity base considerably improves the profitability of a company, enables an entrepreneur to take up a very large project and retain controlling interest in it by exploiting his financial resources and obtaining the balance of the cost of the project by means of borrowings. But as pointed out by Mr. G. L. Mehta, such borrowings lead to an accumulation of interest charges in the early non-productive years of a new enterprise. Reliance on loans weakens the very base of the company which may be shattered in hard times of competitions. It is in this reference that the Corporation is supposed to construct a broad-based sound industrial structure by way of enabling new enterprises to raise sufficient equity on the one hand and help them to meet their long-term financial requirements by way of financial assistance, both in rupee and foreign currency on the other.

The Catalytic Impact of Its Operations

It is in this light that the success of the Corporation should be judged. During 1960, the Corporation sanctioned a sum of Rs. 13.43 crores by way of financial assistance to 44 companies. Out of this amount a sum of Rs. 5.81 crores was in the form of rupee assistance and Rs. 7.62 crores by way of foreign exchange assistance. Out of these 44 assisted companies 39 companies had been sanctioned a sum of Rs. 11.21 crores for new projects. The total investment in the new projects assisted by the Corporation would be of Rs. 55.22 crores. In this way the assistance investment ratio comes to approximately 1:5. It means, any assistance by the Corporation creates five times

2. The Memorandum of Association of the I.C.I.C.I. sets out 46 objects for which it has been established and gives the Corporation very wide financial and entrepreneurial powers.

3. Mr. Morarji Desai—Opening the new building of the Corporation in May, 1960.

new investments of its own. This is the catalytic impact of the Corporation in the field of industrial investment. The total fixed investment in new projects would be of Rs. 43.69 crores,⁴ out of which Rs. 17.84 crores would be required for foreign exchange components. The Corporation has provided assistance in the form of foreign exchange to the extent of 40% of the requirements and the remaining 60% has been met by the companies themselves from the government releases of foreign exchange, foreign collaboration and deferred payment agreements. In this way the assistance by the Corporation enables the companies to manage the balance of their requirements through their own efforts. Thus the Corporation has been able to bring into being investment much larger than the amount of its own assistance.⁵

The Corporation has sanctioned assistance for fixed investment of the order of Rs. 11.21 crores, which has brought in a bank credit of Rs. 11.53 crores for meeting the working capital requirements of new projects. Thus our banks and the Corporation are supplementing the vacuum, in assistance provided by each of them to the growing industrial sector. The Corporation, therefore, has been able to attain a success in its first object of assisting the creation, expansion and modernisation of private capital.

The trends of progress record a significant advance in its volume of business in terms of the number of applications as well as the amount of assistance sanctioned. Although the authorities⁶ of the Corporation have always kept in view a qualitative

contribution than quantitative, even then in a quantitative sense its contribution has not at all been smaller. As mentioned above in 1960 alone, the Corporation sanctioned an assistance of Rs. 13.48 crores in respect of 44 companies as against Rs. 8.41 crores in respect of 27 companies in 1959 and Rs. 3 crores in respect of 16 companies in 1958.

The total financial assistance sanctioned by the Corporation since its inception in January, 1955, upto the close of 1959, amounted to Rs. 20.40 crores, excluding applications which were subsequently withdrawn, reduced or not proceeded with by the applicant companies, in respect of 55 companies. Out of 59 companies to which assistance had been approved, 27 were new undertakings.

Foreign Currency Assistance

As regards assistance in foreign currency the Corporation was not called upon to contribute its share upto the end of 1957, because the promoters of new projects could obtain their foreign exchange requirements in normal course. But the deteriorating condition of the country in the foreign exchange position and the consequent strictness in import licencing policy since the beginning of 1957, made industrialists seek the Corporation's assistance in foreign currency. With the result that the initial 10 million dollar credit from the World Bank was supplemented in July, 1959, with the grant to the Corporation of a further loan of 10 million dollars by the World Bank. The second loan also was fully committed, during 1960, and the Corporation had to obtain a further 20 million U.S. dollar loan from the World Bank. Not only from the World Bank alone but it has also negotiated successfully with the D.L.F. authorities for a 5 million dollar loan. These trends justify the statement that the Corporation is having an increased confidence of the World Bank and the D.L.F. authorities. But the credit of this significant assistance provided by it by way of foreign exchange loans cannot be accorded entirely to its own efforts. It could make satisfactory advance in foreign

4. Rs. 18.75 crores from ordinary shares, Rs. 2.15 crores from preference shares and Rs. 21.22 crores from long-term loans.

5. Statement circulated by the Corporation to its members along with the Directors' Report and Statement of Accounts for the year ending 31st December, 1960.

6. Mr. G. S. Mehta—"...I.C.I.C.I.'s contribution to these developments has to be judged in relation to its resources: it is, therefore, more qualitative than quantitative."—Statement circulated to the members for the year ended 31st December, 1960.

currency loans, only because there were no institutions before 1960 in this country which could provide such assistance to the industries under private sector. The foreign-exchange squeeze in the country due to pressure of plan requirements gave impetus to the activities of the Corporation, otherwise in its first two years of existence what contribution could it make in this direction? The ever ready government guarantee enabled the Corporation to derive success in foreign currency loans negotiations. The greater proportion of foreign currency assistance to rupee assistance can justify that advancement and improvement in its operations are more or less due to its privileged position of a foreign currency lender.

Rupee Assistance

Rupee assistance in the form of loans sanctioned has not been much substantial either exclusively or in relation with the other financial institutions. For example during the last 4 years, since its inception, it could sanction a sum of Rs. 3.50 crores⁷ only as against about Rs. 40 crores granted by the I.F.C. during the same period. Nothing more can be said, when the authorities of the Corporation themselves feel dissatisfied with their rupee loan operations that ".....in regard to loan operations rupee loans have not recorded progress,"⁸ and "...I.C.I.C.I.'s own rupee operations, although higher than during 1959, tended to grow less rapidly."⁹

Underwriting Operations

In the absence of underwriting agencies in this country, the I.C.I.C.I. proved to be a unique venture. Although the I.F.C. was also authorised to underwriting business, yet it could not turn to it till 1958-59, when

for the first time, it started underwriting. But the I.C.I.C.I. has emerged as the most important underwriting institution in this country. Since its inception upto the end of 1959, it completed in all 22 underwriting operations involving an amount of approximately Rs. 6.80 crores, of which, it had to take up only a little percentage. Not only this but it has also encouraged and assisted other financial institutions to take up joint underwriting, and as such enabled them to enter this important field. Though joint venture in underwriting spreads the risk, yet the Corporation has invited other institutions to participate in ventures, where it could meet all the requirements itself.¹⁰ Trends of industrial financing revealed that debt financing is being practised more and more but in the interest of the healthy industrial development, capital-structure should be strengthened by the companies, by maintaining reasonable proportion of equity capital. The Corporation, therefore, could help the private sector of industry more and more by providing them with underwriting facilities.

The Corporation has benefited a wide range of industries which include paper, chemicals, pharmaceuticals, engineering, sugar, rubber, textiles, cement, automobiles,¹¹ and electrical goods industries. So far the Corporation had been concerned with the large-scale industries only but in the interest of encouraging new "entrepreneurs" it is anxious to assist small and medium size industries also.¹²

It is also engaged in the direct subscriptions to ordinary and preference shares which cannot be considered to be an important function for a special finance institution like I.C.I.C.I. instead it should divert more and more on underwriting. By this operation and by absorbing the unsubscribed capital and selling it subsequently, it can make significant contribu-

7. Only 34 per cent of the total loans and guarantee sanctioned.

8. Statement of Mr. G. L. Mehta circulated to the members of the Corporation for the Annual General Meeting for the year 1960, held on March 23, 1961.

9. *Ibid.*

10. *Ibid.*

11. 16 per cent of its total commitments, is for this industry.

12. *Eastern Economist*—May 20, 1960, pp. 1059—Mr. G. L. Mehta.

tion to the promotion and growth of capital market in India. It should concentrate to function as a regular organisation for underwriting. In this way it will also be able to earn from the difference in the share values which are substantially higher than the book value, when the position of new projects improve.

The working results of the Corporation provided a profit of Rs. 62.50 lakhs in 1960 as against Rs. 50.66 lakhs in 1959, which after providing for tax remains Rs. 35.66 lakhs as against Rs. 28.23 lakhs in 1959. The Directors recommended a dividend at the rate of 5.75% which, after deduction of tax at source, will remain slightly above 4% in the hands of the shareholders.

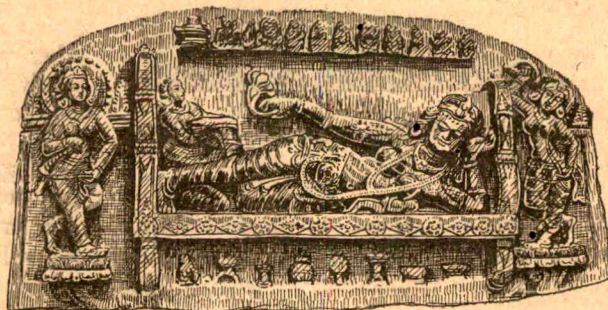
It has also played a prominent part in the establishment of the Indian Investment Centre, which should definitely be able to increase the flow of foreign private investment in India.

To Conclude

In the end, I wish the Corporation a success in augmenting and channelling the stale financial resources which are awaited in the growing industrial economy of this country. The Corporation should come forward with a greater degree of enthusiasm to remove the fetters resting industrial

growth, by stimulating and generating a steady investment climate.

The recent decision of the Government of India to release a sum of Rs. 10 crores from the P.L. 480 counterpart funds, for providing increased financial assistance to the private sector of industry, is an indicator of the increased government interest in the development of private industry in this country. The policy of the government to expand institutional finance for the private sector gives an opportunity to the Corporation for a greater optimism in future. The Corporation has the privilege of being a "pet of the government" and as such this amount will be channellised through it. The 1961-62 Union Budget already contains a provision of Rs. 3 crores for loans to it. This should enable the Corporation not only to increase the scope and amount of financial assistance in the form of loans, both rupee and foreign currency, but to enforce more widely as well as intensively the catalytic impact of its investment. It is expected that the Corporation would be able to construct a sound industrial structure in the private sector and enable the economy to attain its industrial targets fixed under the Third Five-Year Plan. It is suggested that it should save itself from any overlapping in institutional financing for private industry.



INDIA TAKES FIRST STEP TOWARDS MECHANISATION OF MINE LABOUR WITH SOVIET ASSISTANCE

Construction of Mining Equipment Plant Starts at Durgapur

By TARUN CHATTERJEE

IN 1942 an American Technical Mission came to India to investigate our industrial resources. In its report, on page 25 appears the following:

"The coal resources in Bengal and Behar have been estimated at 60 billion tons in the Central Provinces and Berar 17 billion tons—Reserve of coal suitable for manufacture of metallurgical coke have been estimated at 500 million tons of which approximately *half will be lost* in the process of mining *under existing methods*."

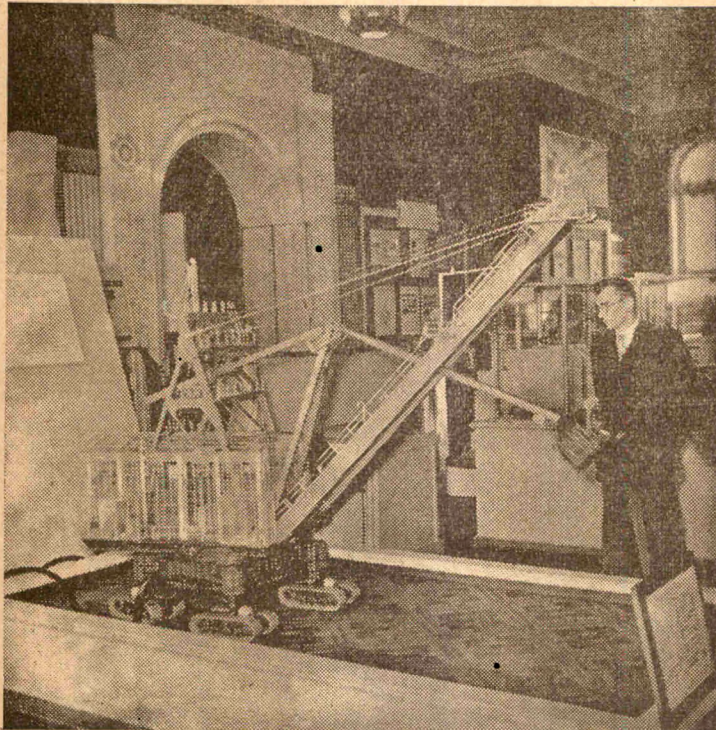
During British rule mining technique remained stagnant at the manual labour level and as admitted by the Indian Industrial Commission Report of 1918 (page 36), it was "impossible" for the Geological Survey of India, "with limited funds for establishment and prospecting equipment, to carry its investigations."

With the earning of freedom, India, a very rich country with an underdeveloped economy sought assistance from industrially advanced countries to reconstruct her economy on a modern foundation. One of the first countries which came forward to help India was the USSR

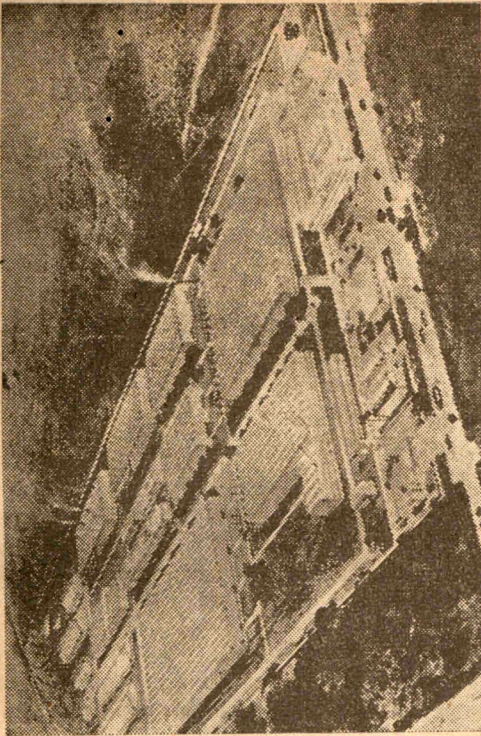
As we all know, immediately after the October Revolution, the Soviet Government, true to the behests of Lenin for establishing friendly co-operation with the enslaved nations of the East struggling for political and economic emancipation, annulled all unequal treaties imposed by the Czarist Government on China, Iran, Turkey and Afganistan. Even at the time under the most difficult conditions of imperialist economic blockade, the Soviet Government found resources to grant credits and technical assistance to Turkey.

Four score of years have gone by since then. The disinterested assistance of the USSR and other socialist countries to politically free India in the form of long-term credits, machinery and technical guidance for building the key industries and also for the setting up of techno-

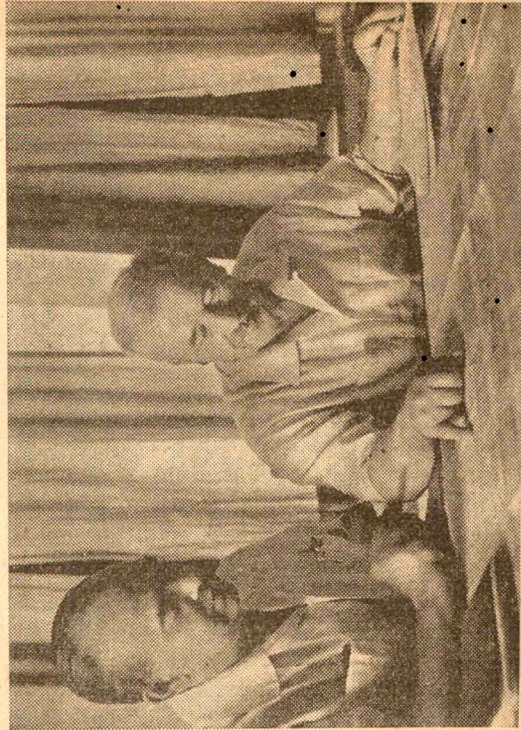
logical institutes for imparting unreservedly the technical know-how, will go a long way towards the final abolition of India's economic dependence on foreign powers. As such credits are repayable with local currency, India is in a position to circumvent the problem of dollar and sterling shortage. The Soviet credits can be re-



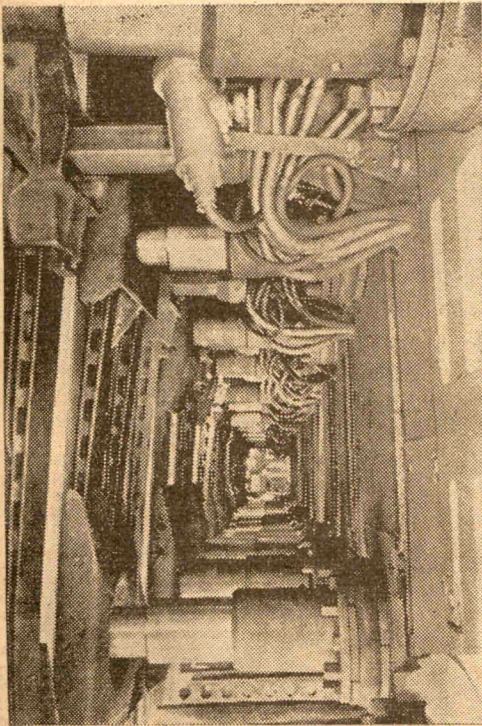
A heavy engineering stand at the Polytechnical Museum in Moscow



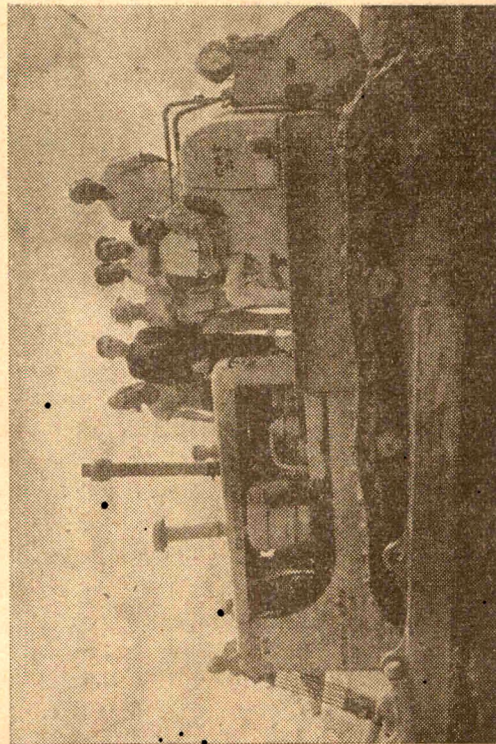
Coal Mining Machinery Plant



Mr. Lahiri and Mr. Trikunov are inspecting the Blueprint of the Plant



An A-2 metal set installation for Soviet Coal mines. Such machines will be manufactured at Durgapur



On the peaceful 'tanks' at the construction site

paid out of the profits derived from the Indo-Soviet projects.

With Soviet assistance the Bhilai metallurgical plant is already supplying some 900 firms of our country with industrial steel, pig iron and iron and steel manufactures, thus saving a lot of money previously spent on import which, as Tagore wrote, evaporated from our shores only to shower on the British soil. Not only this. Bhilai metal, as an exportable commodity, is earning for India foreign exchange. To ensure unrestricted supply of ore to Bhilai, India with the brotherly assistance of the USSR has mechanised the iron ore mine at Rajhara. With Soviet assistance, other different projects are sprouting up for tapping oil and gas resources, for building electric stations, heavy machine building plants and other such industrial establishments so vital for our national economy. Soviet help is always without any compensation. One such project is to be built at Durgapur in West Bengal so long popularly known as the 'Ruhr' of India due to its wealth of black gold. This coal-mining machinery plant will be constructed by the Heavy Engineering Corporation of India with Soviet technical and economic assistance during the fag end of the Second Five-Year Plan and the Third Five-Year Plan. The mining machinery plant and its other two sister concerns including the Heavy machinery plant to be erected at Ranchi by the Heavy Engineering Corporation will require Soviet machinery, their import value amounting to 500 million rubles (*i.e.*, about 60 crores of rupees). A credit to the same amount has been granted by the USSR recently.

With the idea of introducing this new project of our people's sector, to the people of Bengal, I left Calcutta a few weeks ago to form an idea myself on the spot. I came to know that preliminary work of levelling of the selected site had already started under the supervision of the chief project officer Mr. Amarnath Lahiri and the Chief Soviet expert—Mr. I. V. Krikunov.

Detraining, I made straight for the circuit house where the Soviet chief expert was putting up with his interpreter. Late afternoon I introduced myself and was cordially received. The middle aged gentleman with rather short stature remarked jokingly that he felt like Columbus in the unexplored wilderness. The very young inter-

preter interjected:—"Or rather he is Crusoe and I am Friday. Don't you think so?" I returned:—Yes the simili is very apt.

Mr. Krikunov telephoned Mr. Lahiri and asked him if he could spare some time for an interview with a correspondent who had come all the way from Calcutta. Mr. Lahiri came within half an hour. Started the regular business. Both the Russian engineer and his Indian colleague readily participated in the talks. They told me that the project report for the coal-mining machinery plant was submitted to the Government of India in April last year and actual construction is to start early next year.

"Preliminary work such as levelling and grading of the present 100-acre plant site, building of living cottages, stores and streets of the industrial township and the railway siding, and also constructing of a hostel for the Russian technical personnel have already started", said Mr. Krikunov.

When I expressed the desire to see for myself what was going on and take a few snapshots, Mr. Krikunov after consulting Mr. Lahiri fixed 9 a.m. the next day for taking me there.

From the talks it came out that as in the case of the Bhilai plant, the coal mining machinery plant with its original capacity of 30,000 tons per annum, to be raised at the very first stage to 45,000 tons, would take its shape with the brain and brawn labour of Indian engineers and workers under the technical guidance of approximately 174 Soviet experts at different level of construction and initial operation. This Indo-Soviet collective would have at its head Mr. Lahiri the ex-general superintendent of the Bokaro Thermal Power Station and Mr. Krikunov whose experience dates back scores of years. Before being commissioned to India he was the Chief Engineer of the Heavy Engineering Construction Department of the Soviet All Union Ministry of Heavy Industry. I was so charmed to find them so distinguished by their modesty and brotherly feeling towards me! Under their leadership will work 11,200 to 11,500 construction workers and 5,000 operational personnel. Of the construction workers some 10,000 will be employed on contract basis. They will receive 9,888 tons of machinery from the USSR including a compressor oxygen plant and 3,342 tons of transport equipment. Indian engineers from other projects will join hands with their Russian brothers to lead this

great task to success. There will also be engineers with technical training in the USSR.

The plant will manufacture coal cutters, loaders, electric locomotives and conveyors, all for subterranean work.

I was informed that the designers of the project had taken into account the necessity to economise the use of steel, time and money. With this end in view they decided to erect first of all a plant centrally located at the site where prefabricated reinforced concrete columns and girders will be manufactured for the main plant. This will save time and steel. Fabricated steel parts would be imported from the USSR but steel for non-standard equipment would be available from India. Here Bhilai has to play her part. In order to help the main work, auxiliary workshops would be constructed and commissioned first. Wastage of money is precluded by avoiding the construction of temporary structures. As in Bhilai the lay out of the Durgapur Plant will be very compact for obtaining maximum economy of space. The whole production process with the departments closely integrated, will be streamlined for unhindered smooth operation. . . .

—:O:—

Next morning our jeep was wheeling along the tarred highway bordered by saal forests. We turned right, sped through the depth of the greenery along a brown dusty road. It seemed we stepped into a no man's land. Before us stretches an expanse of cleared brown ground almost a kilometre across. Man has entered into the no man's land. The jungles have receded far away leaving place to the mushrooming white cottages, stores and streets of the would be industrial township. Before a year is out life will throb here in this battle-field where the free man of India shall win a new victory over the remnants of the previous colonial economy. The offensive was already on with those tanks of peaceful construction known as levellers and bull-dozers.

Bidding good-bye to the Indian and Russian chiefs, I left the site of the future coal mining machinery plant, the first plant of its kind in India, to be built with the fraternal assistance of the Russian people. I was sure that thanks to the mining machines supplied by this plant, the Indian miner's transformed labour will raise his productivity to the level of that of the miners of the most advanced countries.

INSIDE THE WHITE HOUSE

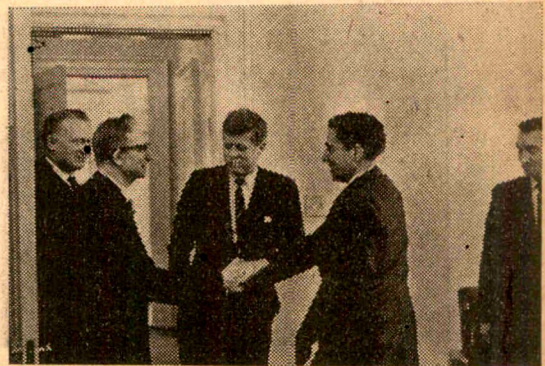
A Candid Look at the New U. S. President

Seldom has the reading public been given so fascinating a glimpse behind the scenes of a great public office as they

have had during President John F. Kennedy's first months in the White House. Several photographers have spent a day



Dean Rusk, Secretary of State confers with Mr. Kennedy at the White House



Mr. Kennedy introduces Thorkil Kristensen to Richard N. Goodwin



President Kennedy escorts President Nkrumah of Ghana to the
White House



The Queen of the Washington Mardi Gras Ball and ladies of her court call on
President Kennedy

with him, recording in candid pictures the way the new President works.



Mayor Willy Brandt of West Berlin (left) Exchanges pleasantries with Mr. Kennedy

Their record shows a hard-working man, concentrating on one complex matter after another as he fills a crowded schedule of appointments and makes a staggering number of decisions.

On one day—which Mr. Kennedy called easier than most—he held a dozen conferences with about 30 Government officials, made final decisions on defense and foreign aid spending, charmed some Girl Scout visitors, spoke at the celebration of the 100th Anniversary of Italian Unification, greeted 55 Congressmen at a White House Reception and comforted his tearful daughter, Caroline, through a minor disciplinary crisis.

When the President arrives at his office—usually about 9.00 in the morning—he has already read the morning papers and marked items he wants his staff to look into. He seldom leaves his desk before 7.30 in the evening, and even then his work is not finished, for he takes with him his “evening file” of documents to be read before retiring.

A constant stream of visitors and telephone calls keeps the Executive Wing of the White House buzzing with activity. The President likes to be readily access-

ible to officials who need to see him, just as he likes to go directly to the person who can give him the information he wants. He seizes the few moments when he is alone to scan the current magazines and to dictate to his secretary, which he does swiftly, sometimes without pause. On his way through the outer offices, he occasionally stops to look through the piles of correspondence on his secretaries’ desks and ask what is being done about a particular problem.

Although the President’s first views have been crowded with the many non-recurring details of learning a new job, observers believe that the vigorous pace will continue throughout his administration.



Mr. Kennedy answers newsman’s query at a weekly News Conference

Mr. Kennedy seems to enjoy hard work, and as his personal physician points out, he knows how to conserve his strength for the many ten and twelve-hour days to come.

For, despite his energy, the President

never seems hurried. Always calm, he has a way of putting callers immediately at their ease. They leave with the feeling that Mr. Kennedy's White House is a friendly, informal place, as well as a busy

one.

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PATTERN OF REHABILITATION IN DANDAKARNYA : NEW VILLAGES FOR SETTLERS

In the 41 new villages which have sprung up in Dandakaranya there is today more faith in the future than remorse at the past.

For the displaced farmers from East Pakistan, who are busy in these villages in building houses and preparing land for cultivation,

the day-to-day existence on charity and dole is over; a new chapter of active and fruitful life has begun.

This transition has by no means been easy. But once they made the decision to go to Dandakaranya, the Project authorities stepped in to make other problems easier. For, in Dandakaranya, the authorities, while firm on principles of work and rehabilitation, are liberal where genuine difficulties are faced. Thus, while the Project does not tolerate idlers and grumblers, it is ready to come to the assistance of D.Ps even when it means extra cost, extra planning and putting the operations, to some extent, in the reverse gear.

This is reflected, for instance, in the decision to divert tractors from jungle clearance to reharrowing operations. The Project authorities had firmly told the settlers that they were expected to work hard to prepare the land for the next crop. But to ensure that they did get the land properly ready in time, the administration agreed to reharrow the land wherever it was found necessary. This was done at some cost but the expected results justify this extra cost.

In order that the D.P. gets economic rehabilitation, perhaps nothing is more important than a good agricultural crop during the first season. One is familiar with the air of prosperity in the



A displaced family in its new home in Durgakunda village in Dandakaranya

village when there is a good crop. In order that the settlers, in the first season of agriculture in Dandakaranya, get all possible help, the authority decided to divert the tractors to recultivate their fields. As soon as this recultivation is completed, the settlers are expected to put up the bunds and generally prepare the land for the first monsoon showers to break out.

When he works in the field, it will be ensured that he gets his maintenance grant (according to the size of the family) in full and has no other worry except his land. The normal deductions of Rs. 20 made from his maintenance grant in order to give him incentive to do work and earn some money will be refunded to him provided his work is satisfactory.

Simultaneously, the settlers will be encouraged to take to horticultural activities and poultry keeping. Experiments at the mixed farm of the Project have shown that a wide variety of food and cash crops as also of fruits can be grown on the land given to the settlers. The Project will supply the requirement of the settlers for seeds on a loan basis, and for horticultural plants and poultry on a subsidised or reasonable rate.

INDUSTRIAL POSSIBILITIES

Looking far ahead, the Project authorities feel that too much pressure on land, in an area where industrial possibilities abound, should be avoided and wherever possible, man-power should be diverted from agriculture to industry. Not only to supplement the family income but also to ensure that some people get rehabilitation in the industries, a novel idea of profit investment has been broached and is likely to be put into

operation as soon as the economic possibilities have been studied and concrete scheme formulated and adopted.

Under this scheme, the D.Ps who will be employed as wage-earners in these industries are expected to put the industry on its feet so that profits can be distributed to the workers in the form of shares. The initial share capital of the cost will be provided by the Project in part or wholly, as necessary, but when, profits are ploughed back to the wage-earners in the form of shares, a time will come when the workers will be the owners and the D.D.A., as an employing agency, will automatically fade out with the investments it made fully paid off. Several pilot schemes are contemplated. Others under the co-operative system are also being studied.

MORAL FOOT-HOLD

Since the Project aims not only at physical rehabilitation but also wants to help the D.Ps find a moral foot-hold, emphasis is laid on creating a healthy cultural atmosphere. Promoting libraries, games, sankirtan parties, community activities are, therefore, taken care of under the Project's new scheme of moral rehabilitation. The settlers will be provided with Khol, Kartal and other musical instruments. Arrangements are being made to provide for outdoor games.

Already a promising beginning has been made by the "rehabilitation-hungry" D.P settlers to stand on their own legs, to devote a part of their time to their future and to develop a broader outlook. In the vastness of Dandakaranya, one can feel the throbbings of a new life. In the emptiness of hearts, one can sense the dawning of a new meaning of life.



THE SHAVIAN CONCEPTIONS OF LIFE-FORCE AND SUPERMAN

BY PRINCIPAL J. LAHIRI, M.A., B.T., Dip. ED. (London), T.C. (Cantab), W.B.S.E.S. (Retd.)
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BEFORE we discuss Shaw's gospel of Creative Evolution and of his neo-Lamarckism, as against Darwin's explanation of the changes of evolution, let us try to understand the contributions of both towards throwing light on the origin of life and its development in man in particular.

The origin of life itself is unknown but we know this much that the first living things, like jelly-fish, first appeared in stagnant water. We know also that life, in the first instance, was confined to the sea-shore. They were, for the most part, lowly forms of marine life such as, primitive shrimp-like crustaceas, amoebas and so on, confined at first to the sea-shore and the sea-bottom millions of years ago. Soon changes in the form of the original jelly-fish, which lived perhaps for thousands of years, without organ, blood or bones, appeared and from these the simplified jelly-fish thousands of kinds of complicated living things began to people the earth. This process of gradual change is called evolution which Darwin discovered. Some offsprings however differed or varied from their parents, which explain the change in or development of different species. "Every now and then there would be born to creatures of a particular species of young ones who were not exactly alike their parents. They would differ from them possibly in some not very important way—they might have longer necks or shorter legs—and, because of the difference, they were called "variations".¹ Such variations did, in fact, occur apparently by chance. Darwin averred that he did not know how or why it came about that there were variations. "Granted, however, that a variation did occur, either it would confer an advantage in the struggle for existence or disadvantage."² In the case of his advantage, the offspring that varied from the parent, would prosper and survive. If it is a disadvantage, it would become extinct in the struggle for existence. In the former case, the "variation" would get transmitted to the offspring and would become part of the species, just because it is not only a "variation" but an advantage as

well. In brief this is how Darwin thought species changed from their parents and developed by slow gradual stages but nevertheless continuously. The work of geologists in the 19th Century revealed the existence of a number of apparently intermediate types between species of animals and the anthropoid apes and man. All these seem to show that man in common with other forms of life, has evolved from non-human ancestor. Today the most generally accepted view is that man and the great apes are descended from a lemur-like creature so that from the point of view of biology and regarding only the human body we may be said to be not so much the descendants as the cousins of the apes.³

According to the view originally put forward by the French Naturalist, Lamarck, "variations" from the original parent-type occur by the action of the environment, and the effort of the organism to adapt itself to its environment is the determining cause. The difference between the two views of Darwin and Lamarck can be very aptly illustrated in the different explanations as to how and why the giraffe grew his long neck. Darwin would say that the long-necked giraffes were born by chance. The advantage that Nature gave them in this regard gave these giraffes a definite advantage in the struggle for existence over the short-necked ones. The ultimate result of it all was that the giraffes, fittest by chance, survived and their compeers, with shorter necks, were ultimately wiped out of existence. Lamarck, on the other hand, maintained that when at a certain stage of the development of giraffes, their numbers multiplied so that most of the leaves growing on the lower branches of the available trees were eaten up, they were under the necessity of growing longer necks in order to reach leaves in the upper reaches of trees, failing which they risked extinction out of hunger. Lamarck would say that this change from a short-neck to a long-neck was conditioned by the environment in which the available food-supply is found at a higher altitude. Those giraffes who could successfully adapt themselves to the changed conditions in their environment (the presence of leaves in the

1. Joad; C.E.M. *The Story of Civilisation*, p. 50.

2. Joad, C.E.M. *An Introduction to Contemporary Knowledge*, p. 25.

3. Joad, C.E.M. *An Introduction to Contemporary Knowledge*, p. 30.

upper reaches of the trees in Africa) by growing longer-neck survived and this 'variation' in their bodies was ultimately transmitted to their offspring.

Samuel Butler was the first to point out the inadequacy of Darwin's explanation of the changes of evolution due primarily to the action of natural selection or accidental variations. He protested against the Darwinian banishment of mind and he maintained the transmissibility by heredity of acquired habits. He was inclined to accept Lamarck's view but added to it the concept of a creative and purposive, principle, subsequently called by Bernard Shaw the "Life-Force" operating in evolution and responsible for gradual and continual advance to higher forms of life than man in his present stage of development.

So according to this third view of the origin and development of life held by Butler, Shaw and other biologists life is a kind of activity principle which enters into matter to create living organisms and produces new species as a result of its development. Life is a sort of experimental force working by trial and error. This Life-Force produces shapes and forms of life which are progressively more and more serviceable for the fulfilment of its purpose. The variations that are taking place from time to time in a particular species are really the machinery of its unceasing experiments. Man is but one of the many experiments which the Life-Force is constantly carrying out. If man in his present stage of development is found by experiment to be unfit to fulfil the noble purpose of this Life-Force, he will be discarded in favour of a better species in response to this instinct for betterment.⁴ Examples of experiments on forms of life, which have long ago become extinct such as the dinosaur, the pterodactyl and so on, were devised by the creative force of life in the geological era in which they appeared on earth, as instruments of its self-expression but subsequently they were not found to be efficient instruments and, as such, the Life-Force scrapped them altogether and replaced them by mammals including man. And in due course of time the Life-Force would scrap us too, if we do not behave better and become more and more destructive and replace us by bringing into existence some superior creatures better fitted to

carry out its noble purpose.⁵ "Since men had not always been men but had gradually evolved out of something different; man in all probability would not always be men but would gradually evolve into something different again."⁶

According to Shaw this creative urge or Life-Force, which is continually seeking to express itself in newer, richer and nobler forms, is at first blind and being so, it can only proceed to its task by the method of trial and error making disastrous mistakes.⁷ It embarks on its experiments on different forms of life blindly, then perhaps it changes its mind and destroys its own creations, when it discovers that mere physical strength and brainless magnificence of body, expressed in huge prehistoric creatures, such as, the megatherium, the ichthyosaurus and all the rest of them, do not make for the betterment of species for the fundamental purpose of the Life-Force is betterment or creative evolution. From a blind striving for betterment, the Life-Force proceeds in the direction of self-consciousness. "What the Life-Force aimed at when it created man, was the production of the human brain—an organ by which it could reach self-consciousness and self-understanding. It was evolving a 'mind's eye' capable of recognizing the purpose of life, so that the individual could work for it instead of thwarting and defeating it by setting-up short-sighted personal aims as at present."⁸ A famous biologist like Julian Huxley also shares this view of Bernard Shaw: "Evolution has proceeded up to the present by the blind process of natural selection. The time has now come when conscious human control of the evolutionary process has become possible. This possibility can only be realized if man will shoulder his new responsibility by creating spiritual values, by learning how to live, not merely by struggling for mere living."⁹

The purpose of betterment is best served by creating the superman so that the human race can

5. Joad, C.E.M.: *An Introduction to Contemporary Knowledge*, p. 27.

6. Joad, C. E. M. : *The Story of Civilization*, p. 52; Shaw, p. 67.

7. Bernard Shaw : *Don Juan* : Vide preface. A. C. Ward : B. Shaw, p. 110.

8. J. B. Coates : *Leaders of Modern Thought*, p. 29.

9. Julian Huxley quoted by Coates, *Op. Cit.*, p. 67.

4. Dr. S. C. Sen Gupta. *The Art of Bernard Shaw*, p. 7.

be raised to heights, now thought superhuman and in particular to create a fully conscious person who is no longer the slave to his instincts and animal passions but the master of his destiny.¹⁰ Don Juan declares: "I tell you that as long as I can conceive something better than myself I cannot be easy unless I am striving to bring into existence or clearing the way for it. That is the law of my life. That is the working within me of life's incessant aspiration to higher organization, wider, deeper, intenser self-consciousness and clearer self-understanding."¹¹

The purpose of sexual love, according to Shaw, is not the achievement of romantic happiness for the lovers but the central purpose of breeding the human race to greater heights—a purpose which is now hidden in a "cloud of love and romance and prudery and fastidiousness."¹² In "Arms and the Man" Shaw scorned the current belief that a more romantic love between two lovers can ever form a satisfactory basis for a happy conjugal life. In his "Man and Superman" Tanner, the realist, recognises that the instinct of Ann is set on marrying him. So he finally gives way to it because "the Life-Force enchants him". Tanner calls Ann a *boa constrictor* and solemnly avers that he is held powerless in the grip of the Life-Force.¹³ In his "Caesar and Cleopatra" Shaw develops further the subject of the superman. The Shavian hero, Caesar, is a superman who is represented as a man free from self-deception and conventional morality who merely acts naturally in little things as in great, 'does good things nobly and mercifully and his whole life is devoted to good work. "He does what must be done, and has no time to attend to himself. That is not happiness but greatness."¹⁴ It is a good sketch of a Superman that Shaw presents us in this play. As we read it through, we cannot but attach to it some autobiographical significance, for like all Shavian heroes, it is after all an admirable self-portrait of Shaw that he has drawn as in Bluntschli.¹⁵

Caesar is admitted by one of the greatest experiments of the Life-Force. He not only con-

quers others but also effects self-conquest. Although he has risen to eminence through wars and conquests, he feels himself rather cramped within the limitations of a warrior's profession. He is sick of Rome and regards the devastations of war with a sickening disgust. He cries out to Cleopatra, "Shall I make you a new kingdom and build you a holy city there in the great unknown?"¹⁶ "The mortal and impermanent part of Caesar's Life is taken up with wars and conquests; the constant and immortal part is silent, full of thoughts. The interaction between the two is not the least important of the themes of Shaw's drama."¹⁷

What Shaw preached, he practised himself in life devoting his life to great causes in the service of the Life-Force and maintaining throughout his dramatic works that true happiness is to be found in such service. "This is the true joy of life; the being used up for a purpose recognised by yourself as a mighty one; the being thoroughly worn out before you are thrown on the scrap-heap; the being a force of Nature instead of a feverish, selfish little cold of ailments and grievances complaining that the world will not devote itself to making you happy."¹⁸

Schopenhauer says that constant change is the characteristic of the world of phenomena, which has no reality except as an object of perception and that the answer to the riddle of life is in the will which is the essence of Life in all its forms. This Will is that Bernard Shaw calls Life-Force, which is blindly active and is an unconscious agent even in human beings and will become conscious in "Superman."¹⁹ In his "Back to Methuselah" there is a more complete picture of the action and evolution of the Creative Will or Life-Force. It presents a picture of man's futurity. It ends with the evolution of man in the dim and distant future, when he almost gets rid of his body and even then there is no cessation of the process of Creative Evolution, for man will take many many generations yet to develop into a

10. Bernard Shaw : Don Juan : Preface. A. C. Ward : *Twentieth Century Literature*, p. 162.

11. Bernard Shaw : Don Juan.

12. *Op. Cit.*

13. Bernard Shaw : *Man and Superman*.

14. Bernard Shaw : *Caesar and Cleopatra*.

15. Bernard Shaw : *Arms and the Man*.

16. Bernard Shaw : *Caesar and Cleopatra*.

17. Dr. S. C. Sen Gupta : *The Art of Bernard Shaw*, p. 119. Also Ward p. 100.

18. Bernard Shaw : quoted by Coates, p. 30.

19. Dr. S. C. Sen Gupta : *The Art of Bernard Shaw*, p. 11. R. Williams—*Drama from Ibsen to Elliot*, p. 110.

higher species of being.²⁰ Throughout his works there is a firm conviction that unless man in his present imperfect stage of development learns to live and to put his world-house in order, the Life-Force (i.e., creative Will or Nature or Providence or Driving Power of the Universe) will in the end destroy man and replace him by some superior creature or superman, even as the mammoths were destroyed and superseded by man for lack of brains. The salvation of man lies in his being possessed of a mighty purpose behind creation, further elaborated by the eminent

biologist, Julian Huxley, who thinks that the further advance of man is capable of extension by the application of eugenic principles. Already we find individuals, with supernormal intelligence gifted with the insight of prophets or greater capacity for disinterestedness and the control of impulse or the gift of telepathy or a high development of special mental powers and higher mental processes.²¹

Being synopsis of a Lecture to a seminar for Post-graduate Students.

20. Dr. S. C. Sen Gupta : *The Art of Bernard Shaw*, p. 110.

21. Coates : *Leaders of Modern Thought*, p. 73. A. Nicoll : *A History of Late 19th Century of Drama*, Vol. I, p. 69.

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BOOK REVIEWS

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ENGLISH

POLITICAL LIFE OF PANDIT GOVIND BALLABH PANT: By Shyam Sunder and Savitri Shyam. Published by Shailanil, 5, Darulshafa, Lucknow.

The authors—husband and wife—have put in joint labours to produce the book under review. They have set up rather fantastic claims for Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant inasmuch as they say that 'There should be full appreciation of the fact that Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant will go down to history as **the greatest statesman of his or any other time**' (bold letters mine). It is, however, wise of them not to omit to note, at the same time, that 'No man living today

except Pandit Nehru has played a greater part during the last half a century'. Should Dr. Rajendra Prasad or Shri Rajagopalachari happen to read it, he may be pardoned looking a delicate shade of pink.

As an ounce of fact is worth a ton of assertions, the authors would have done well to vouchsafe us a few illustrations of either of the Pandits' acts of statesmanship in any crisis. Rather, in chronicling the events of history, they have had to take note of at least one of their suicidal bunglings. "It has been stated", the authors write, "that the seeds of Pakistan were implanted in U.P. in July, 1937, at the time of forming the U.P. Cabinet when the approach of the Congress leaders instead

of being realistic and practical became doctrinaire and unrealistic by excluding the Muslim League leaders from the Congress Ministry in U.P."—Page 242. Historically, this implanting of the seed is not correct; it only stepped up the process that had begun ere long. But any way, to call a man, whose lack of statesmanship implanted the seed of Pakistan as 'the greatest statesman of his or any other time' is just an illustration of how hero-worship glides to such paganism as offends the sense of delicacy. Pandit Pant, again, in refuting the charge made by Mr. Jinnah regarding the non-generosity of the Congress towards the Moslems, had the hardihood to say, 'You will be surprised to know what was done by the local officers during the course of the Holi and the Muharram. The district authorities did not impose any new restrictions on the Muslims—rather in certain places they were relaxed. There were, however, several places where such restrictions were imposed on the Hindus. **They were forbidden to worship in temples, to perform arti or puja and to blow a conch or sound bells.**' (bold letters mine), page 240. This is one of the many glaring instances of pusillanimous appeasement, which the talk-bigs of the Congress party have confused with statesmanship. To instruct officers to relax restrictions on one community and to impose new ones on the other to the extent of debarring them from following their religion in the age-old customary way is just kowtowing most shamefully to the pampered and making them intransigent. Nothing can be more thoughtlessly conceived to bedevil the relation between the two communities and stab the morale of the administration. And this is the Chief Minister, who, according to the authors, is, what Morley speaks of Gladstone, 'the strongest of his time in the main branches of executive forces'; I leave severely alone the other flamboyant things of the quotation. History, however, will never fail to record that it is such strength that led to the division of India, which tore off millions of our people from their hearth and home with such colossal aches, misery and humiliation that really no language can describe.

Be that as it may, I welcome the authors—they are our Sydney and Beatrice Webb—into the arena of our political writings. They have suffered for the country, and there is in the book the print of their patriotic yearnings. They have

taken great pains to present Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant in the best possible attire. And if Dr. Johnson is to be considered happy in having Boswel as his biographer, Pandit Pant must be eminently lucky to have fallen in such kindly discerning hands.

It is for the authors to consider what inconsequential details have added to the bulk of the book—398 pages, but not to its weight. By way of illustration, I would refer to the Simon debate and dinner. The authors write, "The visitors galleries were overcrowded. There was record attendance of members. There were scenes of wild enthusiasm. Every available inch of space in the five galleries reserved for visitors was occupied. They were crowded far beyond their capacity. The special gallery reserved for ladies was fully occupied. Maj. Paterson, Private Secretary to the Governor, was present in the Governor's gallery". So on and so forth for another five or six sentences.—Page 101.

Regarding the dinner at Kanpur in honour of the victors of the debate in the U.P. Assembly, they write, "Pandit Pant was at Nainital. He started by car in the evening of 25th March to participate in the dinner at Kanpur. When he reached Kathgodam, the train had left. He proceeded further in the car to catch the train. When he reached Bareilly the same fate awaited him. The Lucknow train had left. There was no option except to proceed by car or abandon the idea of joining the dinner. To the surprise of all Pandit Pant reached Kanpur by car".—Page 105.

I wish the authors would look up to see if Lord Curzon wrote, 'Responsible Government' in the 'original draft' of the 1917 August Declaration. The position is, possibly, the other way about. The original draft contained all right the word 'self-government'; and it was at the instance of Lord Curzon, then Foreign Secretary, that 'self-government' was changed to 'responsible government'. It yielded scope to a die-hard like the Home Member Muddiman to say that 'responsible government is not self-government'.

The authors have lionized Pandit Pant for his move against the duly-elected President Subhas Bose at Tripuri—"the eyes of the whole audience was centred round him". Unless a metaphysical explanation is attempted, is Gandhiji's reaction, 'The more I study it (the resolution), the more I dislike it', any compliment? Obviously, their over-zealousness was not to his taste. Mr.

Nehru (the authors may not write Pandit Nehru; he himself has openly discarded it), it may be recalled, telephoned Gandhiji to request for postponing its consideration, as the President was running high temperature.

I do not grudge the authors feeling, as they say that U.P. has 'enjoyed the proud position in the history of the Congress movement for its striking contribution to national evolution'. What, however, are the credentials? For long 33 years of the pre-Gandhi period of the 'Congress movement', i.e., from 1885 to 1918, U.P. has given us only two Congress Presidents. Of these two, Pandit Bishan Narayan Dhar was elected in 1911 at the last moment, when Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, the president-elect, failed to attend for the sudden death of his wife. Of course, the position of U.P. is very different today. And it is due to only one man—Mr. Nehru. For a coincidence of circumstances, it is no place to discuss, not even a wink of his eye-lid is necessary to make his daughter the President of the Congress. For the last three consecutive terms, he has drawn for his Cabinet the largest number of people from U.P., and has, at the same time, filled high offices of trust and responsibility by U.P. people, much in excess of any other province. And this has, without question, given a new shape and colour to our 'national evolution'.

Joges C. Bose

INNAMINCKA : Nurse's Autobiography of A Mission. By Elizabeth Burchill. Foreword by Mr. Menzies, the Prime Minister of Australia. Hodder and Stoughton, Melbourne, Australia. Pp. 176. Price 16s. net.

"This girl ought to be a nurse", said the old Minister, an amateur phrenologist. He had gone over her scalp before making the above announcement. The emotional impact, however, remained in her mind. And like an unseen force she was drawn towards the profession of mercy and compassion when she joined the Australian Inland Mission). The A.I.M. (the Australian Indian Mission) was established by John Flynn in 1912. And the present book by Elizabeth Burchill recounts the work of this Mission in Innamincka. She has told us about her personal experiences but to the reader, it is the story of her nursing companion Ina Currey. In fact, it is the story of hundreds of gallant sisters in the mission of mercy and compassion, for Christ and the country. Innamincka is an outpost in the North-East of South Australia. The place became famous when

the well-known Australian explorers, Charles Sturt, Burke and Wills, as the memorable outpost of the stony desert.

This writing was prompted by an innate desire on the part of Elizabeth Burchill to leave a memorable record as to the hazards which border nurses had to face just like the early explorers. It was a long journey from the hub of metropolis. It was a long journey for these sisters to leave the conventional civilisation and serve humanity, where the bleak nature offered them nothing but hardship. Although Australian Inland Mission has closed their mission in the above place, the book leaves a record of a pioneering work. As Mr. Menzies has pointed out in his foreword that, "no country can become great without great pioneers", the book really justifies its publication by telling us how the pioneering work was done. The writing is simple, unostentatious and free from all pretensions. It is readable and worth preserving.

Rajani Mukherji

THE ART OF LIFE IN THE BHAGAVAD —GITA : By H. V. Divatia. Published by Bharatiya Vidyabhavan, Bombay-7. Pp. 179. Fourth Edition, 1960. Price Rs. 2/-.

The *Bhagavadgita* typifies the message of true Indian mind. The humanistic philosophy that it preaches has influenced Indian thought through ages. As a popular religious poem of Sanskrit literature it conveys lessons on philosophy, religion and ethics. We are happy to find in the book under review a critical dissertation on the teachings of the *Gita* from this angle of vision. The author has treated in this book the *Gita* as the source of inner religion of man and also as a moral and social code of life. Stress has been laid on the social aspect of the teachings of the *Gita* rather than its religious side.

The book is divided into ten chapters in which the author has discussed the psychology, epistemology, cosmology, metaphysics and the ethics of the *Gita* in all their implications. The last two chapters appear to be interesting to a student of modern science, in which the author endeavours to show that the view of the world-order as propounded in the *Gita* does not run counter to the recent discoveries of science. In this chapter specially Sri Divatia, an eminent jurist and a student of philosophy as he is, has exhibited impassionate and balanced outlook.

The author has also critically dealt with the old controversy of determinism *versus* free will and has, in this connexion, met all the charges against the Vedantic conception of *Maya* and the

doctrine of *Karman* to the satisfaction of a critical mind. The dissertation on the theory of *Karman* is simply illuminating. In the chapter on the religion of the *Gita* the author has discovered the truth underlying the teachings of his great work when he says:—"If humanity is to be treated to be as one and indivisible and if there is one God in the universe, it follows as a necessary corollary that there can be only one religion for all—the religion of Humanism". (p. 131). To him, Faith and Scientific Knowledge have no distinct sphere but on the other hand faith begins where knowledge ends. Reason guided by knowledge, devotion and faith should always go together so that highest type of knowledge may be attained. Thus the main aspects of the *Gita*, with which the author is chiefly concerned are its emphasis on the importance of the observation of duty, disinterested service and above all the art of life that it depicts.

The book as a whole compresses within its limited compass a varied source of learning and critical judgment. It is the outcome of erudition, precision and a close acquaintance with the different philosophical systems, Eastern and Western. The reviewer feels no hesitation in commending the book to all lovers of Indian culture, specially to those who have no access to the original text of the *Gita*.

Gopikamohan Bhattacharya

SANSKRIT

PRAKANDHAPARIJATA : By Sri Chamarajendra Sanskrit Mahapathasala Vidyarthinilaya, Chamarajapeth, Bangalore-18. Price Rs. 2.

This, the second instalment of the work, is not like the first, already noticed in these pages (September, 1959), but a mere collection of short essays on different topics. Besides essays on topics like Tyagaraja, the saintly poet of the South, and Govindasagara of the Bhakra Nangal Project, it contains interesting summaries of the principal *Upanishads* and *Bhagavadgita* using the words of the originals as far as possible. These summaries are presented under titles *pathavali* or lessons and *rupaka* or drama(?). The latter appears to be a new form, especially with regard to the teachings of the *Upanishads*, with distinguished students making their appearance and giving dissertations on particular sections. In the case of the *Gita*, the *rupaka* has four scenes including an introductory one of the prologue type. The second scene gives the preliminary conversation of Dhritarashtra and Sanjaya. The third summarising the main theme is in the form of a dialogue between Arjuna and Krishna. The fourth, a very

short one, gives expression to the joyful reaction of Sanjaya to this dialogue. The publication reflects credit on the inmates of the Sanskrit College Hostel of Bangalore.

Chintaharan Chakravarti

BENGALI

DARSAN-CHARITRA : By Dr. Sudhir Kumar Nandi. Asoke Pushtakalaya, Calcutta-9. Price Rs. 3/-.

The book under review comprises ten essays written on different aspects of philosophy. Subjects have been carefully chosen for psychology, ethics, politics, metaphysics, theology and philosophy of education. We are celebrating the Tagore Centenary and it is only in the fitness of things that the book closed with a discussion on the intricate issues raised in Tagore's metaphysics. It is redundant to point out that Tagore was a great philosopher. What we need is a neat and careful analysis of Tagore's philosophy. The author has attempted in this direction and we are glad to say that his attempts have been amply rewarded.

The essays on political philosophy, a couple of them at least, help us to understand how the political philosophy of Hegel and Marx influenced the political philosophy of the East and the West. The author has rightly characterised this influence as both positive and negative, somewhere the positive influence dominating and the negative influence dominating somewhere else.

The seventh chapter gives us an analytical account of the different philosophical theories as applied in the field of education. This discussion provides us with an opportunity to find out how far these philosophical theories work in the sphere of education. It is really gratifying to see an ardent student of philosophy assessing the merits of different philosophical theories in the light of his experiences as a teacher for more than a decade. The fifth chapter offer a comprehensive and comparative study of Bankimchandra's Hinduism and the Humanism of the European type. The second and the fourth chapters give us an opportunity to read an analytical account of Moore's concept of good and Comte's positivism. The sixth chapter compares psychology and the philosophy of education. The third chapter enunciates certain characteristics which, according to the author, must characterise all good definitions of philosophy.

We recommend this book to all lovers of philosophy who care to read abstruse philosophical discussions in Bengali.

Manindra Nath Das Gupta

HINDI

BIHAR KEE KAUMEE AG MEN (In the midst of communal flames in Bihar) : By *Manu Gandhi*, translated from Gujarati by *Ramnarayan Choudri*, Pp. Crown 8vo. 384. Price Rs. 3/-.

PANCHAYAT RAJ : By *M. K. Gandhi*, compiled by *R. K. Prabhu*. Pp. Crown 8vo. 42. Price 30 nP.

JIVAN KA PATHEYA (Things that sustain life), edited : By *Maganbhai G. Patel*. All Published by *Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad*. Pp. Crown 8vo. 74. Price 50 nP.

JANGAL MEN MANGAL (Good out of Curse) : By *Maganbhai Prabhudas Desai*, translated by *Nirmala Parlikar*. Published by *Gujarat Vidyapith, Ahmedabad*. Pp. Crown 8vo. 36 Price 40 nP.

To appreciate a great man see him at his trifling things. Very few had the privilege to see Gandhi at his daily round. The book under review admits us to this posthumous privilege. Here is a meticulously kept authentic (because each day's entries in the diary were checked and attested to by Gandhi with his signature) record of a brief but epic period (81 days from 5.3.'47 to 24.5.'47) of Gandhi's life. It shows that there is no jump from emptiness to greatness. It has to be deserved by hard, harsh discipline.

Did Gandhi perceive the approaching footsteps of death! "He said one day." The authoress records, "... I am unable to convince people of the importance of this *Yajna*, but it is by far the greatest of my life', and as though by way of emphasizing the point he at times said how his death would come." p. 278.

Here is a poignant piece of history in the great man's own words :

"... is about to disown me ... has already forsaken me. As assault after assault comes upon me, I feel the stronger for it, and find that of them all I am the only true one."—P. 49.

In these pages the reader finds the loving Bapu (pp. 290-91), the humorous Gandhi (pp. 167-70), the hard bargainer (p. 173), the democrat par excellence (p. 280), the miser with a purpose diligently searching for a two-inch fugitive pencil at 12 P.M. (p. 79-80).

The next instalment of the diary will be looked forward to with eagerness. The book opens with a benediction from Dr. Rajendra Prasad, and has a foreword by Shri Morarji Desai.

The printing is good.

A timely publication. There is so much talk of Panchayats all about us. The booklet will show

that we are studiously going in for the shadow rejecting the substance. By Panchayat Raj, Gandhi meant a small village republic with all the functions of a state—decentralization of political power. The present Panchayats are lengthened tentacles of the Octopus.

A string of 35 stories of permanent value compiled from the addresses delivered by that revered saintly old man of Gujarat, Sri Ravisankar Maharaj in connexion with Bhoodan Yatra. The stories show how saturated life in the lower level is with high spiritual values, and moral excellence of the teaching of saints. A very good little book.

An outline of that children's classic Robinson Crusoe. Ably condensed it contains the essential elements of the engrossing story, aided by the illustrations designed to fill in the gaps. Children and adults for whom it is written will read the booklet with avid interest.

Birendranath Guha

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Indian Periodicals

The Congress

Referring to the resignation of Mr. Mohanlal Saksena, M.P., a former Union Minister from the Congress, on the ground that he found the Congress had become, "a machine for capturing power and holding on to it, somehow," *The Light of India*, a monthly journal edited by Sri Sat-cowriepati Roy, a veteran Congressman, says,

"It is the experience of all genuine constructive workers in the field that unless there is a radical change in the government, that is, unless Mr. Nehru is removed from the Prime Ministership of India, no real constructive work is possible. The villages must be given full freedom and facilities to do their own constructive work. But as they have lost all initiative and the habit of working together for the common good, they must be guided and helped by Social Service Organisations. But this cannot be done by the government as the present government is doing it under various guises; for the first concern of the ruling party will not be the interests of the people, but the perpetuation of its own power. For the same reason, no political party can be allowed to do this work, for they also will inevitably work to serve their political purpose overlooking the true interests of the villagers."

Light of India thinks that the villagers can be regenerated only if the Congress gave up its power hankering and gave up government and reverted to its old Gandhian role of public service. For the "evil days of the Congress began when Mr. Nehru, against the express will of Mahatma Gandhi captured" the Congress in order to use it as an "instrument for maintaining himself and his party in power" in the various *raj*s that he has set up in free India. "Now the Congress has become a means of self-aggrandisement, that is why the rot has set in. The Congress is now identified with the government and in all cases of conflict of the people with the government the Congress supports the government and the Communist Party rushes to fill the vacuum and stand by the side of the people." This sympathy, of course, is the party policy of the Communists and the people will suffer total loss of liberty and well-being too by following the Communists. "The remedy is to remove Mr. Nehru from the leadership of the Congress and to turn the Congress into a Lok Sevak Sangha as desired by Mahatma Gandhi." Mr. Nehru, during the coming elections will try to oust further Congressmen from positions of importance in order to consolidate his own bloc of "Socialist" Congressmen, who will

give Mr. Nehru whole-hearted support in his campaign to achieve a virtual totalitarian form of government with a democratic facade. *Light of India* believes that "Mr. Nehru should leave the National Congress and form his own party of Socialists to contest the elections; he has no right to use the Congress organisation to serve as an instrument of his power" politics.

Mr. Nehru

Light of India gives a good analysis of Mr. Nehru's qualifications for leadership of the Indian people. Mr. Nehru has "good intentions, but Hell, it is said, is paved with good intentions. What else but Hell is it—the Assam and the Jabalpur riots and the smashing of the head of a son on the footpath of Calcutta by a father who could not hear the child's cry for food?" Mr. Nehru continuously contradicts his sermons to others by his own actions as well as by his inaction. "He is crying himself hoarse condemning casteism, communalism, linguism" and "he supports linguism in Assam, casteism in Madras and communalism in Kerala. Nothing is of any importance except what will perpetuate his Prime Ministership." Mr. Nehru is self-willed, whimsical, autocratic, intolerant and gullible. He is not a clear thinking and intensively well informed person. He changes his lines of approach to various problems all the time and, thus causes a tremendous drain of public money and national resources. Indians are intensely religious and "Mr. Nehru is innocent of all religions, he is a Marxist materialist who does not believe in spiritual values and always talks of technology and science; as if these can solve the intricately complex problems of human life." India needs a "spiritual synthesis" of divergent views and beliefs and Mr. Nehru has not the ability or the desire to approach the matter of Indian disunity from that angle. He can only build up "a huge bureaucracy to carry on the affairs of the country leaving no initiative to the people at all. He has usurped all the fields of social service and brought them under his sole authority through such agencies as the Bharat Sevak Samaj, Central Social Welfare Board, Indian Council of Child Welfare," etc., etc., which are "virtually" "limbs of the government. Huge sums of public money are being spent on them with insignificant results, as is testified by various inquiries undertaken Mr. Nehru wants communism in India but certainly does not want that Ajoy Ghose should sit on the throne of New Delhi." Mr. Nehru only knows one side of democracy. He wants a majority *raj* but does not like an opposi-

tion to function constructively and honestly. "When the Chinese made incursions into the country he hid the fact from public knowledge. Twelve thousand square miles have been lost to the aggressor. No military action has been taken to recover the territory. It has been surrendered for good to the enemy. Yet we rush troops to Congo to set right matters there." In the opinion of *Light of India* Mr. Nehru has betrayed the Congress and true democracy. All Congressmen who continue to support Mr. Nehru are helping in this great betrayal.

Is Nehru Anti-Communist?

The Indian Libertarian does not think so. It says, "our leaders Nehru and Menon are not very apprehensive of Communist penetration but give the local Communists free scope as being *good nationalist democrats*! They criticise them only in so far as the Communists might impinge on their monopoly of power. They are opposed to them only in an election sense but not so as of philosophy, polity and humanist or *inhumanist* economy, and lackeys of a world power."

Nehru's Views and Actions

The above journal has printed a short article by Mr. S. R. Narayana Ayyar who has quoted Nehru's spoken words to show how the Prime Minister thinks. He said on the 1st of January, 1951, "I value the unity of the country more than anything else. More than Five-Year Plans and the various projects. . . . I feel sad when I find that even after thirteen years of Independence, the people have not become *Pukka Nationalists*." He said in Roorki on the 25th of November, 1949, that "some of our provinces behave as if they are almost independent countries." Mr. Narayana Ayyar says "Though he had realised even at that time that trend, it is unfortunate that all the subsequent actions of his party and even of himself have only encouraged this behaviour among the leaders of the provinces. Now we have 16 Hindu Pakistans, with more in the making. They are openly exhibiting their jealousies and quarrels to the laughter of the whole world, about certain cities, river waters and boundaries, as if they did not belong to one and the same country. . . . Hence none can dispute the fact that at present we have not even one thousandth of the unity which we had before 1947."



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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

China's Threat to Russia

Donald S. Zagoria writing in *The New Leader* gives a very clear exposition of the growing tussle between Russia and China for leadership in the Communist World with particular reference to underdeveloped countries. The following excerpts are indicative of the conclusions the writer draws from his analysis:

"The controversy over strategy in underdeveloped areas is a critical part of the larger debate which Moscow and Peking have been waging since 1957 over world-wide Communist strategy and tactics. This debate originated in divergent evaluations of the degree to which Soviet advances in weapons development in the fall of 1957 altered the East-West balance of power in favor of the Communist bloc. The essence of the Chinese view was that these advances gave the bloc a decisive strategic superiority which, combined with its growing economic power, dictated a more militant and revolutionary world-wide Communist posture accepting the risk of local wars with the West. Such wars, the Chinese contended, were "inevitable" in any event, since the West would intervene to maintain or restore the *status quo* in the Middle East, Africa, Asia or Latin America, and the Communist bloc would be obligated to support the anti-Western governments or "liberation movements". But this sort of Communist "brinksmanship," Peking argued, would involve only a minimal risk of global nuclear war because the West, fully aware of Soviet strategic superiority and the rapid deterioration of its own position, would have no alternative but to accept local defeats.

"The Russians apparently differed with the Chinese on the extent to which the East-West strategic balance had been altered, and they certainly differed with them on the policy implications. No Soviet leader or authoritative journal ever endorsed or even

commented on Communist party chief Mao Tse-tung's much-publicized slogan, "the East wind prevails over the West wind," or on Peking's boasts that "the forces of Socialism are overwhelmingly superior to those of imperialism." The more cautiously qualified language used by the Soviets suggested recognition that their military lead might not be permanent, that in any case Western military and economic strength was still formidable, and therefore that the strategy advocated by Mao was too risky. Since the West would be deterred—perhaps even more than the USSR—by the obvious risks of a general nuclear war, Communism could triumph, albeit more slowly, by following a gradualist strategy. This strategy, with Soviet deterrent power as a backdrop, would be keyed to the maximum exploitation of the growing economic might of the USSR and of nationalist and neutralist sentiment in various parts of the world.

"With specific regard to Communist strategy in colonial areas, the Chinese have been much more pessimistic than the Russians—particularly since 1959—about the chances of making gains peacefully. Adhering to the traditional Leninist-Stalinist view that colonial areas can emancipate themselves from imperialist rule only by resort to violence, Peking has stressed the importance of "wars of national liberation" (e.g., as in Algeria) and the "duty" of the Communist bloc to aid and support the liberation struggles even at the risk of involvement in local wars with the Western powers. As for the ex-colonies already enjoying independence, the Chinese have strongly implied that there is slight possibility of advancing Communist aims through the existing "national bourgeois" leaderships in these countries, and that the most effective means of moving the revolution forward lies in encouraging "armed struggle" by the local Communist movements, leading to civil war. Peking has also advocated local military responses by the Communist bloc

in the event that such action results in Western military intervention.

'Moscow, on the other hand, seems to regard increasing Soviet economic power—and not armed violence—as the key to long-range Communist strategy in these areas. The Russians have been cautious in their support of wars of national liberation and have minimized the need for local "armed struggle." They have generally been more optimistic than the Chinese about the practical value of continuing to exploit the "national bourgeois" governments, and they have emphasized Soviet might as a deterrent to Western military intervention. . . .

'Peking has strongly assailed such an assignment of priority to diplomacy and non-violent struggle, standing firm on Lenin's prediction that revolutionary violence will be necessary in a majority of cases because no ruling class ever gives way without a struggle. The Chinese do not, of course, argue that revolutionary violence is the only means of advancing the Socialist revolution. They appear to believe, however, that a peaceful transition to power is possible only in the rare circumstances when "in a given country a certain local political power is already encircled by revolutionary forces, or when in the world a certain capitalist country is already encircled by Socialism." The Moscow Declaration of last December represents in this case, as in others, an attempt to smooth over Sino-Soviet differences. On the one hand, it cites the classic Communist "theoretical" justification for violence—namely, that "Leninism teaches, and experience confirms, that the ruling classes never relinquish power voluntarily." On the other hand, it asserts that "the Marxist-Leninist party seeks to achieve the Socialist revolution by peaceful means."

'Not only do the Chinese urge increased emphasis on local armed struggle in the colonial areas, but they also urge armed responses to any Western military intervention in these areas. In Peking's view, the very fact that Soviet military might deters the Western powers from contemplating global war makes it all the more likely that they will undertake "last-gasp" local wars, particularly in the colonial areas. This contrasts sharply with the USSR's position that its deterrent power discourages Western intervention anywhere, and that local wars are therefore becoming less rather than more likely. Thus, the Soviet theoretical journal **Kommunist** wrote in late 1960 that

it is "really possible to prevent the interference of world reaction in the course of a revolution, at least in the form of open intervention." A concrete test of the divergent Sino-Soviet positions on this issue was provided by the dispatch of U.S. and British troops to Lebanon and Jordan in the summer of 1958, following the Iraqi coup of July which brought General Abdul Karim Kassim to power. The Anglo-American action posed a crucial dilemma for Khrushchev: to use force, if necessary, to keep Kassim's revolutionary regime in power, or to back away in the face of American intervention in a critical area, Khrushchev sought to escape this dilemma by issuing an appeal for an emergency summit meeting at the United Nations. Official Soviet statements between July 15-23 stressed the necessity of urgent and vigorous international measures to curb the Western "aggression." Although the spectre of unilateral Soviet military intervention was raised, there was every indication that Russia was not prepared to intervene militarily.

'The Chinese gave numerous indications, both during the critical period of July 15-23 and well into the fall of 1958, that they disapproved of Khrushchev's tactics and favored a vigorous military response to the Western intervention. **Jen-min jih-pao** (People's Daily) editorials on July 21-22 did not endorse Khrushchev's July 19 emergency appeal for a summit meeting. The second editorial also stated that the West was making sport of the UN charter "without meeting counterblows," and seemed to suggest outside contributions of arms and "volunteer armies," presumably by the Soviet bloc, to protect the Iraqi government and drive the Americans from Lebanon. . . .

'Potentially the most significant aspect of Sino-Soviet conflict in underdeveloped areas is the incipient struggle for power between pro-Soviet and pro-Chinese factions in the Communist parties of Asia, Africa and Latin America. In some of the older Asian parties, it is true, there have long been divisions between "Right" elements which wanted to postpone the showdown with bourgeois nationalism and "Left" elements which sought to hasten it. But as long as Moscow remained the sole and undisputed voice of world Communist authority, such factionalism was relatively innocuous. What makes the present Left-wing splits in some Communist parties so portentous is the fact that the "Leftists",

now can and do find an ideological rallying point in Peking. So long as the Russians and Chinese continue to vie for influence and to disagree on strategy, such intra-party factionalism cannot be quelled; and if either of the opposing factions manages to wrest control from the other in one or more of these divided parties, the effect can only be to aggravate the strains on the Sino-Soviet axis.

The split in the Indian Communist party, for example, has received wide publicity in the Western press. The "Left," pro-Chinese faction, led by B.T. Ranadive, has its strength concentrated largely in West Bengal, Andhra and the Punjab; the "Right," pro-Soviet group, led by Ajoy Ghosh and S. A. Dange, seems to hold a tenuous majority among the party rank-and-file; and there is still a third group, led by former Kerala Premier E. M. S. Namboodiripad, which has sought to remain neutral. The seriousness of the split was evidenced in May, 1960, by Ghosh's temporary withdrawal as party leader in favor of Namboodiripad.

Generally speaking, the Ranadive group would like to lead the Indian party in a more or less open revolt against Nehru and the Congress party. While this would probably not mean an actual, immediate attempt to seize power, it would certainly involve a greater resort to strikes and direct action tactics. The Leftists are critical of the party's failure in Kerala, where the Communists gained and then lost local Government control by electoral processes, and are skeptical of Khrushchev's whole thesis of parliamentary take-over. They are also blatantly pro-Chinese on the border question. According to a competent Indian observer, Ranadive is in close contact with the Chinese Communists and transmits their influence to the party. The Rightists, while conceding the increasing domestic conservatism of the Congress party, point to Nehru's neutralist foreign policy and argue that the "Right" strategy needs more time to come to fruition.

Moral Awakening in Britain

The fear of an atomic clash with Russia has upset the British mind during recent months. The British have become

critical of the Americans, started "Gandhian" demonstrations against nuclear weapons and weapon carriers and begun a campaign of friendship with those who had been "total outsiders" for the last forty-four years. In the *New Statesman* of 12th May, 1961, we find the following passages in a leader with the caption "Cloak and Dagger Morals":

"Since the late 1940s, the United States has deliberately chosen to use subversion. The Central Intelligence Agency not only gathers intelligence but employs 20,000 'operatives' overseas. It claims a number of shady 'successes': The overthrow of Mossadeg in Persia and of Arbenz in Guatemala, more recently the disposal of Patrice Lumumba. Against these must be counted some notorious failures, which have brought humiliation to the West and peril to the world: Laos, the U-2 affair and Cuba.

"Secondly, in attempting to subvert suspect left-wing regimes—or to bolster 'reliable' ones—the C.I.A. has identified the West with the most reprehensible elements of feudal privilege and reaction. The consequence is that even in countries where it has temporarily succeeded in imposing pro-Western governments, it ultimately increases Communist influence. Persia may soon illustrate this danger."

Feudal privilege and reaction are not the only reprehensible elements with which the West has identified itself through the activities of American, British and other personnel that they send out to underdeveloped countries. Bribery, corruption, engaging in local politics, supplying foreign hospitality and even bank accounts to the dignitaries of backward countries; also come into the picture. In India, foreign aid goes largely into the pockets of the ungodly bazar umrahs. The *New Statesman* continues:

"Finally, the C.I.A.'s methods weaken the West's strongest weapon: its determination to uphold international order. This is founded not only on deeply-felt morality, but on commonsense too: the Americans, after all, personify the world's property-owning classes, and the prime function of law is to protect property. If they help to destroy international legality, they will be the first to suffer."

We cannot agree that the Americans have a monopoly of subversive activities. The Russian-Chinese bloc can give quite

a few lessons to the British-Americans in this fifth column and **agents provocateurs** business. Communist agents are far more numerous and widely scattered over the globe than the C.I.A. operatives. Japan, Korea, Indo-China, Siam, Burma, Malay, Ceylon, India, the Near Eastern and the African countries have large bands of Communist agents who are constantly trying to bring about revolutions. The Americans may be trying to emulate the Russo-Chinese and their fault is inefficiency; not immorality.

The *New Statesman* then proceeds to say:

"Britain, by contrast, has never possessed a subversive organisation. But we have, in common with all other powers, indulged in spying, often with success. Can this practice be defended? We must answer, yes—within limits. If we agree that the policy of deterrence has helped to maintain peace, then clearly accurate information about Soviet targets must be obtained if the Western deterrent is to remain credible".

We cannot credit the British with the moral superiority over the Americans that the *New Statesman* appears to claim. For, we have a long experience of British paid **agents provocateurs** who used to start communal riots in India during the thirty years preceding 1947. The creation of Pakistan by the British, which caused the murder of over two million men, women and children, the kidnapping of more than two hundred thousand women and the brutal violation of the right of property in a million gruesome cases are too recent to be forgotten and the British cannot escape the blame for "dirty politics" just by heavily underlining a few American lapses here and there. British Imperial history and the history of imperialism in France, Belgium, Portugal and other countries provide ample evidence of the activities engaged in by paid "operatives". The history of Communist expansion is no better in this respect than the history of imperialist expansion. The Communists have also used well-equipped armies to operate in Hungary and Tibet to "liberate" the people of those countries. In Korea and Indo-China, "operations" have not always been in keeping with the highest principles of international relations.

Giving Women Food for Thought

Women's equality before the law and in the professions is taken for granted in much of the world today, and guaranteed by more than one national constitution, including the Basic Law of the Federal Republic. But it was no less than 250 years ago that a pair of enterprising German editors started campaigns to bring women into public walks of life. In that day and age, the idea was so novel that the first editor who backed it had to pretend that he was joking. Here is the story:

The editor of the "Patriot", as his magazine was called, alleged that his women's page was so good because it was written by women for women. As if that were not novel enough, he also announced that his female staff-members were paid handsome yearly fees—and, moreover, that they were scattered throughout the towns and villages of the province to provide an extensive coverage of public opinion.

The whole thing was a pleasant hoax with a purpose. Unfortunately, the correspondents with elegant-sounding feminine names were ultimately discovered to be men, and a minor scandal ensued. But the "Patriot" had made its point: Why not women on the staff? (Incidentally, the editor had really tried to hire women writers, but could find—this being the year 1724—not a single female daring enough to let her name and ideas appear in print.)

"Academy for Females": The "Patriot" came out openly for education of females; and as a sly guise for this revolutionary idea, the editor pretended to have found an elderly woman who wished to bequeath her fortune for the erection and maintenance of an "Academy for Females". The women's page carried in great detail "her" plans for the educational programme and conduct of this Academy. The proposed curriculum consisted of "languages and writing, music, conversation, logic and reasoning, natural sciences, ethics, arithmetic, surveying, geography and astronomy", balanced by tours of duty in the kitchen, pantry and sewing room.

But the prospective students of the mythical academy were warned that a donning of the dunce cap would be the fate of any young lady who indulged in make-up or beauty patches, wore a décolleté more plunging than a hand's breadth from the neck, laced her corsets too tightly, pinched

her toes in tight shoes, wore a provocative excess of petticoats, or partook of snuff.

Such admonitions were fashionable at this time, but the "Patriot's" approach was far more subtle than that employed by many other popular publications. The run-of-the-magazine at that time addressed itself principally to men, and made editorial capital by belittling the brains, character, manners and morals of the fair sex. This disparaging attitude toward women and their attributes indirectly reflected the disapproval in Puritan circles.

"The Judicious Censors": The "Patriot", which opened its doors in 1724, closed them only a year later, and the name of its editor perished with the magazine. However, a new and far more serious effort in the same direction was undertaken in 1725 by Johann Christian Gottsched, who launched the first women's magazine to appear in Europe. He named it **Die vernünftigen Tadlerinnen** (The Judicious Censors). Gottsched hoped to elevate the status of women both by arousing their interest in national affairs and by awakening their latent enthusiasm for letters and science.

His magazine's content consisted chiefly of letters—as was the custom in the 18th century—along with true stories on the lives and problems of contemporary women. Each issue dealt with a new question of interest to women. Moreover, the lives of outstanding Greek and Roman women were discussed in detail and high-lighted by quotations from the classics.

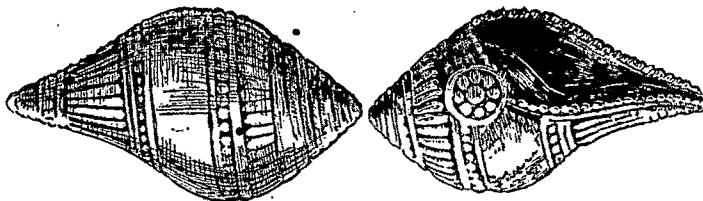
His Wife a Journalist: Gottsched suffered from the same dearth of feminine collaborators as had the editor of the "Patriot". He too was forced to resort to

masculine talent. At this time he unfortunately had not yet met his future wife, Adelgunde Viktoria Gottsched, who was to become Germany's first woman journalist. "The Judicious Censors" went out of business long before the Gottsched couple married.

Now the tide was rising. Women's publications became a popular phenomenon in the latter half of the 18th century. None of them, it is true, attained the high literary and educational standard of "The Judicious Censors". They were mostly of pseudo-serious, popular nature. **Die Braut, wochentlich an das Licht gestellt**. (The Bride—In the Spotlight Once a Week) began to appear in 1742, **Theresie und Eleonore in 1769**, and **Der Frau Mutter Handkorb** (Madam Mother's Hand-Basket) in 1789. They could best be compared to modern magazines that offer advice-to-the-lovelorn and family-counsellor columns, interspersed with short stories and epigrams.

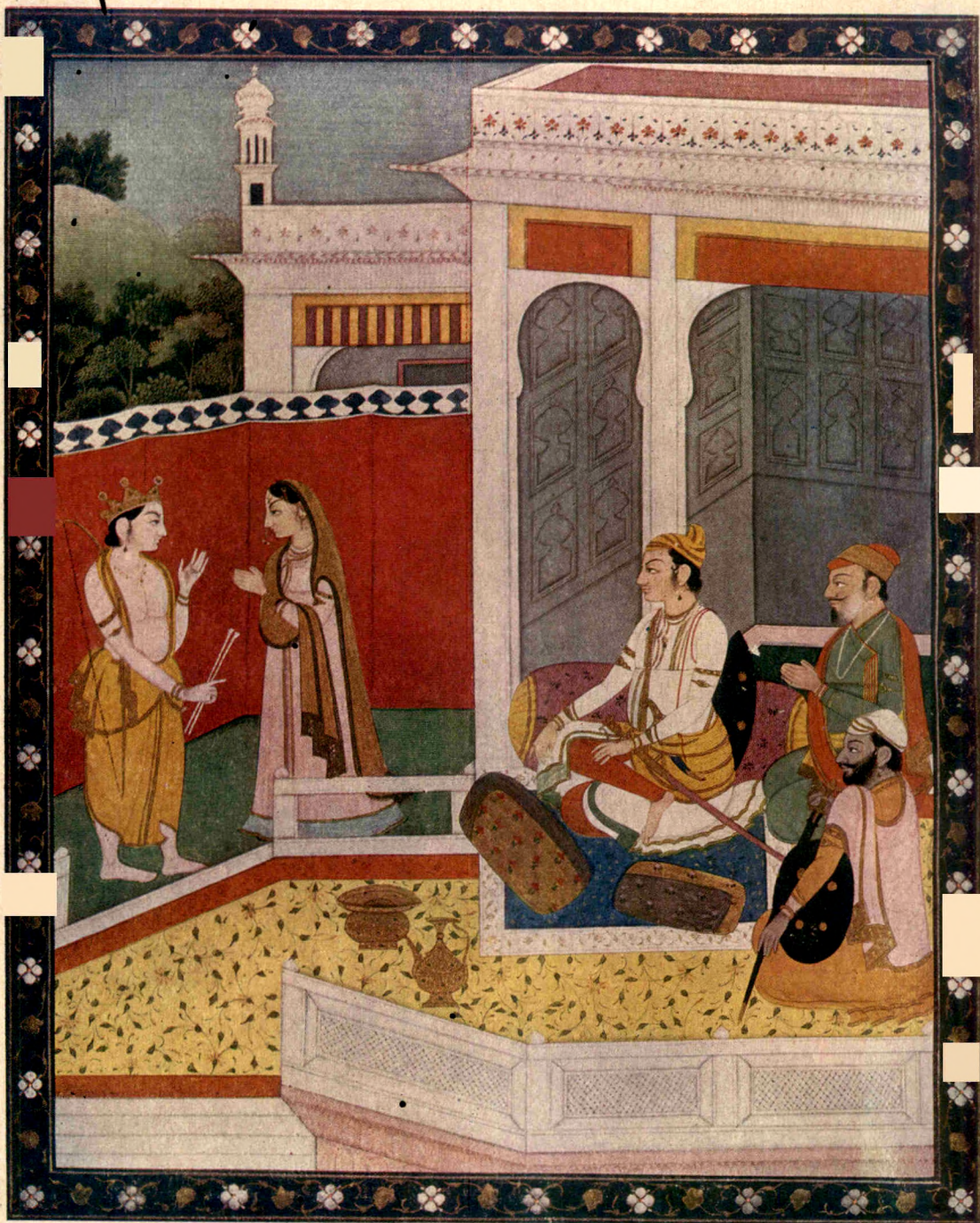
A literary note was set from 1775 to 1780 by the **Akademie der Grazien** (Academy of the Graces), which carried theatrical criticism, poems and educational articles. In 1782 the **Magazin fur Frauenzimmer** (Magazine for Women) was born in Strasbourg. It featured a woman—Sophie Laroche—who was to become famous in journalistic circles, and eventually inspire many other women to enter the field. Finally, towards the end of the 1790s, **Euphrosine and Taschenbuch fur Damen** (Pocket-Book for Ladies) re-introduced magazines that were not only for women, but for women of high intellectual standards.

—The Bulletin, May 16, 1961



Editor—Kedar Nath Chatterji

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NOTES

The World

The latest trouble-spot in the international sphere is located at Bizerta, a French naval and air-base on Tunisian soil. The actual naval and air-base is located about a mile out from the north Tunisian town of Bizerta.

The first news about the trouble came through from Paris on July 19, when it was reported that Tunisian forces "fired with individual arms at French planes taking off from Sidi Hamed air-field in the Bizerta base perimeter today." According to the French authorities the French forces did not retaliate.

The news was somewhat conflicting as Tunisian radio had charged that French planes had dropped paratroopers on Bizerta and had strafed Tunisian anti-aircraft defences with machine-gun fire.

It was known from sometime before that there was likelihood of trouble cropping out of the demand made by Tunisia for the evacuation of the French forces from the Bizerta base, and the Sahara outposts in the South of Tunisia. There were Tunisian forces encamped near the base, evidently preparing to back with force the Tunisian demands. The French Government is said to have informed the Tunisian Government that it will not be "chased out" from the Bizerta base, but is prepared to negotiate on the issue after current demonstrations are ended. In the meantime the French Government had decided on the reinforcement of the Bizerta base by paratroop units.

The news on the next day was far more serious as there were reports of intensified land and air fighting around the naval and air base.

The Tunisian Government severed diplomatic relations with France as the fighting became intensified. President Bourguiba said real war operations had been set on foot since July 19, and accused French fighter planes of launching indiscriminate attacks, on civilians and troops alike, with rockets and bombs. He criticized the French Government for its aggressive actions at Bizerta which had started a "stupid war" according to him. He further said that "this showdown may have results which President de Gaulle has not foreseen."

The French Premier referred to the situation as a "deplorable quarrel which Tunisia provoked" and stated that the French were always ready to complete the improvement of relations by an agreement on Bizerta. He pleaded that the international situation had imposed certain obligations on France and that amongst them was the obligation to see that the Bizerta base cannot be used against the security of the free world. He admitted, however, that a problem exists on the status of Bizerta.

On July 20, Tunisia asked for a meeting of the U.N. Security Council meeting on the Bizerta crisis, as was reported in the papers on July 21.

Reports of fierce fighting in the streets of Bizerta, which had been "intensively bombed" by French planes before, came pouring in the next day. The U.A.R. and the F.L.N. immediately offered aid to Tunisia. President Bourguiba announced that he had rejected a French ultimatum to evacuate Bizerta and had ordered the garrison to resist by all means the French offensive. He also declared that he would accept the offers of aid from neighbouring Arab countries. He gave

reports of fighting in Sahara near the French oil-ticks which were claimed by Tunisia.

The Security Council met and a Liberian compromise resolution, calling for a cease-fire, was approved by 10 votes to nil, with France abstaining. The Council, accordingly, called for a cease-fire on July 22. Late at night of the same day the French Government ordered its troops at Bizerta to cease all military operations. There was no mention, however, in the official announcement of the U.N. action, nor was there any move to evacuate the city and to bring the French forces back within the perimeter of the naval and air base.

On July 23, Paris reported that there was a difficulty about choosing a meeting place, where the talks about the implementation of the cease-fire could be held between Admiral Amman of the French forces and the Tunisian Governor of Bizerta.

The Secretary-General of the U.N., Mr. Hammarskjöld, went to Tunis, by air from New York, to discuss the position with President Bourguiba. Meanwhile, both sides were accusing each other of breaches of the cease-fire order.

At the time of writing these notes there had not been any appreciable change in the situation. Admiral Amman had not met the Governor of Bizerta, nor was there any move to vacate the town of Bizerta visible on the part of the French forces. The reasons for this sudden violent flare-up brought on by the French forces also remain unrevealed. It is indeed a dreadful affair, as Pandit Nehru has said, and explanations called for by the U.N. remain unanswered as yet.

The Tunisian Government has accused the French forces of bombing Bizerta indiscriminately, starting from the noon of July 21. The communique said that the French were engaging in deliberate genocide. The Tunis radio stated that French aircraft was machine-gunning the civilian population of Bizerta.

The French sources, on the other hand, said that aircraft were not used in support of attacks inside the town, and only the Tunisian military barracks had been strafed. It was further stated that Bizerta having been taken and, there being no further immediate objectives to reach the French forces would remain in their present positions and would not move unless they were attacked.

And so the impasse continues, the only hope

for a peaceful solution to the tangle being provided by the tacit acceptance of the U.N. call for cease-fire, which has enabled the Secretary-General to visit the scene personally, in order to act as a negotiator. French prestige will not be enhanced if this regrettable affair continues.

The threat to the sovereignty of Kuwait, launched by Iraq's dictator, General Abdul Karim Kassem, seems to have been somewhat toned down by his utterances at the third anniversary of the revolutionary regime. He repeatedly stated that he would not use force to "liberate" Kuwait. Evidently the opposition of Saudi Arabia and of the U.A.R. and most other members of the Arab League to the Iraqi demands have forced him to alter his views somewhat. Meanwhile Britain has withdrawn some of the forces sent into Kuwait by it and there were talks about an all-Arab force to replace the British forces, which would place General Kassem in a ticklish position, if he did want to use force, for Iraq is a member of the Arab League.

It has been announced on July 25, that French and Algerian negotiators had reached agreement on that day on working methods for peace talks. This, according to the French spokesman, marked the start of negotiations in the resumed peace talks at Evian, which were halted by order of President de Gaulle about a month back for "reflections."

Early in the month the F.L.N. called for a general strike in Algiers to protest against the proposal for partitioning Algeria. This strike was complete and despite threats by the French authorities that they would fire on demonstrators, demonstrations took place in the sea-board villages. In Constantine demonstrators in thousands flung themselves on massed French troops. At the end of the strike there were 88 Moslems dead and 14 French casualties. It had been stated by the French Official Press Chief in Algeria, that the support for the rebels in Algeria was total, which was proved by the strike. So possibly there is no longer any question about a plebiscite conducted by the French, in Algeria, on the question of the control of Algeria.

The French have lost a valuable supporter in President Bourguiba, who was so helpful in bringing on the negotiations, by the hasty and drastic action at Bizerta.

In the Congo, things were at a deadlock. The Parliament did not go into session thanks to the

action of Moise Tshombe, the separatist leader of Katanga. The main source of trouble, of course, has been the attitude of Western diplomats, who chose to block every attempt by the U.N. Secretary-General to bring in sanity to the separatists. Rajeshwar Dayal was baited and slanged by irresponsible journals of the type of *Time*, without any regard for consequences. As a result, the Congo is facing an economic collapse within a year of attaining independence, with exports dwindling down to a third of the pre-independence average and food prices up by 20 per cent.

Belgian intrigue, blindly given tacit support by other members of the N.A.T.O., and actively aided by Western newshound's slanted reports, has been the root cause of this unfortunate situation. The present impossible situation does not show any signs of lessening or improving. On the other hand the Tunisian unit being recalled home, India has been asked to reinforce her troops in the Congo, to make up the deficit!

In South Korea, there was another—and somewhat minor—*coup d'etat* last month. In May last a military group, under Lieut-General Chang Do Yung displaced the Civil Government. Early last month the military Junta leader Chang was displaced—and probably imprisoned—by his deputy, Major-General Pak Chung Hi. who was, it is now stated, the real strongman behind the May Coup. The new leader has started a witch-hunt, in the familiar dictatorial fashion, much to the discomfort of the U.S. officialdom.

Recent news from Angola, seem to indicate that the Portuguese programme of "blood-and-iron" treatment of the African rebels, is not meeting with the success that the ruthless colonial administrators expected. The neighbouring free Republic of Senegal has broken off diplomatic relations with Portugal after some Portuguese forces had fired across the frontier on the Senegalese guards.

But the greatest threat to World Peace today lies in the crisis that is developing around Berlin. That city is in a peculiar position, due to what President Kennedy has termed "fortunes of war and diplomacy". Part of it is under control of West Germany and another part is under East German administration. Besides that there are "N.A.T.O." troops, which stay there under terms of an agreement signed at the time of partition. The position, as stated by President Kennedy's "report to the nation" on Berlin and the world

situation, as delivered over the radio-TV network over the U.S.A. on July 25, is as follows:—

"Seven weeks ago tonight I returned from Europe to report on my meeting with Premier Khrushchev and the others: His grim warnings about the future of the world, his aide-memoire on Berlin, the subsequent speeches and threats which he and his agents have launched, and the increase in the Soviet military budget that he had announced, have all prompted a series of decisions by this Administration and a series of consultations with the members of NATO."

"In Berlin, as you recall, he intends to bring to an end, through a stroke of the pen, first our legal rights to be in Berlin, and secondly, our ability to make good on our commitment to the two million people of that city. That we cannot permit."

"We are clear about what must be done—and we intend to do it. I want to talk frankly with you tonight about the first steps that we shall take. These actions will require sacrifice on the part of many of our citizens. More will be required in the future. They will require from all of us courage and perseverance in the years to come. But if we and our allies act out of the strength and unity of purpose—with calm determination and steady nerve—using restraint in our words as well as in our weapons—I am hopeful that both peace and freedom will be sustained. The immediate threat to free men is in West Berlin. But that isolated outpost is not an isolated problem. The threat is worldwide. Our effort must be equally wide and strong, and not be obsessed by any single manufactured crisis. We face a challenge in Berlin, but there is also a challenge in Southeast Asia, where the borders are less guarded, the enemy harder to find, and the dangers of communism less apparent to those who have so little. We face a challenge in our own hemisphere, and indeed wherever else the freedom of human being is at stake."

"Let me remind you that the fortunes of war and diplomacy left the free people of West Berlin in 1945, 110 miles behind the Iron Curtain. This map makes very clear the problems that we face, and as you can see from the chart, West Berlin is 110 miles within the area which the Soviets now dominate, which is immediately controlled by the so-called East German regime."

He further went on to define the rights by which and the reasons why the NATO forces are there in the following words:—

"We are there as a result of our victory over Nazi Germany, and our basic rights deriving from that victory include both our presence in West Berlin and the enjoyment of access across East Germany. These rights have been repeatedly confirmed and recognized in special agreements with the Soviet Union. Berlin is not a part of East Germany, but a separate territory under the control of the allied powers. Thus, our rights there are clear and deep-rooted. But in addition to those rights, is our commitment to sustain—and defend, if need be—the opportunity for more than two million people to determine their own future and choose their own way of life."

"Thus, our presence in West Berlin, and our access thereto, cannot be ended by any act of the Soviet Government. The NATO shield was long ago extended to cover West Berlin—and we have given our word that an attack upon that city will be regarded as an attack upon us all."

"For West Berlin, lying exposed 110 miles inside of East Germany, surrounded by Soviet troops and close to Soviet supply lines, has many roles. It is more than a showcase of liberty, a symbol, an isle of freedom in a Communist sea. It is even more than a link with the Free World, a beacon of hope behind the Iron Curtain, an escape hatch for refugees."

"West Berlin is all that. But above all, it has now become, as never before, the great testing place of Western courage and will, a focal point where our solemn commitments, stretching back over the years since 1945, and Soviet ambition now meet in basic confrontation. It would be a mistake for others to look upon Berlin, because of its location, as a tempting target. The United States is there; the United Kingdom and France are there; the pledge of NATO is there; and the people of Berlin are there. It is as secure in that sense as the rest of us, for we cannot separate its safety from our own."

As is well-known now, these matters were personally discussed by President Kennedy, during his visit to Europe some eight weeks back, with Mr. Khrushchev, with President de Gaulle and with Mr. Macmillan, but without any solution being found. The war of nerves has reached a new height with the announcement by the Soviets of an increase in their armaments and a stoppage of the demobilization of a substantial part of the standing army and fighting forces, as was announced some time back. This halt in the scheduled dis-

armament programme of the Soviets has resulted in a stepping up of the U.S. defence budget, which, according to President Kennedy's report to the U.S. nationals, will mean a total defence budget of over fifty billion dollars—almost 25,000 crores of rupees!

The Soviet reaction to the above statement has not been received fully as yet in India. But there is no doubt that a lot depends on how Mr. Khrushchev responds, for the initiative lies with him.

Both sides, East and West, want a peaceful solution, there can be no doubt to that, though the militant Communists of Red China are still bent on a programme that will mean war eventually. But at the same time this challenge and counter-defiance, over an issue that is primarily of prestige—and that on an artificial basis—has brought about a progressive degeneration in international situation, which threatens to go out of control.

The Soviet news agency *Tass*, in reporting President Kennedy's speech has called it "belli-cose" and has also said that he has used this threat to Berlin, "allegedly from the Soviets", as an excuse for an armament race. *Tass* also said that President Kennedy has "made his contribution to war hysteria", by explaining measures of protection against a nuclear attack.

Ayub Khan's Visit to the U.S.A.

President Ayub Khan of Pakistan, of which state he became the dictator after the coup in October, 1958, recently paid a visit to the U.S.A. He was a state-guest of President Kennedy at Washington for three days. He had long talks with the U.S. President, which were described non-comitally in the final joint communique as being "frank and cordial". It was stated that the two leaders reached agreement on "several major issues" and President Ayub Khan was reported to have been highly pleased with the talks.

The New York Times, which prides itself on publishing "All the news that's fit to print", carries, in the July 16th issue of its International edition, the report of the visit in six terse paragraphs,—of which the last one is a mere list of the engagements of the Pakistani President for the last four days of the seven day stay in the U.S.—under the caption "Ayub's Visit". Even the anti-Indian *Time*, which was evidently delighted at the horrid slanging of India and India's Nehru by Ayub, had to stretch out its report with three

pictures—one of a festive “spread” under a tent, without the guests—the menu, and the concert programme, of the *fete champetre* given in his honour. All the same the *Time*, with its characteristic tact, labelled Ayub’s attempts to stop “military aid” (*sic*) to “neutral India” as “impertinent insistence” to which he found the U.S. President was deaf.

We reproduce the first five,—and significant—paragraphs below, from the *New York Times* of July 16. The only other significant mention of Ayub Khan in that issue is in the form of an extract from his address before the U.S. Congress, in which he pressed for the continuance of aid. The report in the *New York Times* is as follows :—

“The fourteen-year-old Moslem state of Pakistan is allied with the West in the SEATO and CENTO pacts. The United States has aided Pakistan with some \$1.5 billion in grants and loans. Nevertheless, relations between the two countries have recently been prickly.

Pakistan, for example, regards the warm friendship displayed by the U.S. toward neutralist India (including some \$3.8 billion in economic aid) as favoritism at Pakistan’s expense. Pakistan is disturbed by the U.S. refusal to support her case in the dispute with India over Kashmir.

The man who has voiced these feelings with most authority is Pakistan’s President Mohammed Ayub Khan, a 54-year-old former general who became dictator of the country after a coup in October, 1958. President Ayub has enforced some reforms, such as the replacement of corrupt officials and the redistribution of farm land. He stresses that his country is not ready for parliamentary democracy, although he has promised elections—for a rudimentary system of local advisory councils—by the end of this year.

Last week President Ayub, on a three-day state visit to President Kennedy, was seeking answers to his concern over U.S.-Pakistan relations. In a series of talks which the final communique described as “frank and cordial,” the two leaders reported agreement on several major issues. President Ayub was said to be highly pleased with the talks.

In the issue of Kashmir, however, which received most of the leaders’ attention, there was no agreement. President Ayub was said to have sought U.S. mediation in the long-standing dispute and to have been turned down by President

Kennedy, who favors a U.N.-sponsored plebiscite in Kashmir. It appeared that, although the visit had reinforced bonds between the United States and Pakistan, it had produced no answers to the crucial Kashmir question.”

Ayub Khan’s Visit and the A.I.C.C.

Reports about Ayub’s statements regarding India and Nehru, particularly about his petty attempts at vilification, were cabled out to India and provoked Pandit Nehru after making a long refutation in a public speech at Srinagar. It has also been the reason behind a long statement about the Congress attitude towards Pakistan, given in the form of an article in the A.I.C.C. *Economic Review*, by Shri Sadiq Ali under the caption “President Ayub’s Visit to the U.S.A.” A mimeographed copy of the article has been sent to us for publication, but as considerations of space prevent us from complying with the request, we give our comments on it, with relevant extracts, as it has been forwarded in the form of an A.I.C.C. press release actuated by the causation of “fresh concern in our country about the trend of Indo-Pakistan relations” consequent to the “statements of President Ayub made just before and during his recent visit to the U.S.”

The statement starts with a preamble which starts with our basic approach to Pakistan which is defined as being that of “good neighbours and relations” and goes on to say that the Congress agreed to the partition in order to purchase peace and the chance to devote all energies for progress and the betterment of the peoples of the two countries. Since it was known, however, that partition itself being no simple operation. “Some difficult problems were bound to arise.” India’s approach to those problems, it is stated, was “that they should be solved speedily and in a spirit of *mutual trust* and with a *little generosity* from her side, so that *both* countries are left in peace, etc., etc.” There is no explanation as to why the generosity should be unilaterally—and seemingly eternally—for the coming from India, nor is there any specific definition of what constitutes “little”. It is stated, further on, that “Often enough the Government of India invited criticism on account of the generosity it showed in its dealings with Pakistan”. but no specific criticism is cited, nor is there any hint that such prolonged generosity was construed as the payment of blackmail by a weakling at the receiving end and likewise by the rest of the world.

It is only sought to brush aside all criticism and argument by saying "All this was *indissolubly bound up with the outlook we had* developed in the course of India's struggle for freedom. *This outlook* was not modified by partition although the *public mind* was affected by it to some extent."

All this seems clear as mud to us, excepting that the distinction between *we* and the *public* is sharply indicated in the passages quoted and further strengthened by the subsequent passage which goes thus, "The Congress Party and *its* governments, however, chose to stick to the *principles in which their outlook was rooted* and strove hard to carry the *people* with them." But what are those principles, and is the Government of the People or of the Congress Party?

Next comes the statement "The thinking of Pakistan was, however, very difficult." And then, without giving any idea as to what their process of thinking was like or as to how it differed from that of the Congress Party, we are told that these difficulties increased because there was no stability in the governments, because there was no Constitution nor any regular general elections and (therefore) "An unpopular government whipped up feeling against India and sustained itself on popular fear (!) and resentment of the imaginary wrongs of her neighbouring country." But the internal unrest, it is stated, was so deep that "the so-called democratic regime" yielded place to "one man's rule".

Then, after needlessly expressing our sorrow at the collapse of democracy in Pakistan and so forth, it is stated that President Ayub's regime brought some relief and a measure of stability to Pakistan and that he was, in the early days of his regime, full of neighbourly friendliness to India. "His general approach was," it is stated, "that Kashmir need not stand in the way of Pakistan and India. Then follows working in close harmony. . . . "India responded to that approach" and the Indus Waters Treaty was the result. "But, for reasons best known to President Ayub and his close associates, there was once again a spectacular revival of the Kashmir issue." The reason, it might be said in passing, were not exclusively known to Ayub and his associates, it was, on the contrary known to the whole world, with exception of Pandit Nehru and his associates. The process was like the gradual extraction of teeth of which the roots are sound and strong—an almost painless injections of an anaesthetic (friendly ap-

proach) and then a strong pull, and outcomes another chunk of generosity, and then come, the preparations for the next! No lack of any reasoning in this game of "playing Nehru for a fool"—as the Americans call it.

Then follows the most amazing statement of all, in this article. It is solemnly stated that "Pakistan now sees danger in the growing strength of India and whatever helps this process". Are we to take it that the A.I.C.C. is *really and truly convinced* that Pakistan is scared of the growing strength of India, or is that the personal belief of Shri Sadiq Ali? If that be Shri Sadiq Ali's own conviction we have nothing much to say beyond that it is a mis-conception. But if that be the considered opinion of the A.I.C.C. then we must say that that august body is far more advanced in servile decay than we had imagined. Any sane person who has followed the course of Pakistan's "Jihad" against India, through all these years and under different leaders, inclusive of the present dictator, knows that it is play-acting, and that is why the people that count in the U.S., press and administration attached so little importance to it.

Starting with this falacious premise, the article proceeds on to a long, rambling—and somewhat self-contradictory—course of arguments, the purpose of which is to remove the (imaginary) fear of India from the Pakistani mind. Even a defence of India's neutrality is put in, and some contradictions in Ayub's stand—are listed as well. It is useless going into all that for obvious reasons.

It is only at the end that we see some measure of realism, particularly in the statement that starts thus: "Constant and unceasing propaganda by Pakistan has perverted the context in which the Kashmir issue should be viewed." But even these we find needless elaboration of the theme.

In conclusion we have to say that we are unable to see what good such a statement is likely to achieve. Indeed, even Pandit Nehru's speech at Srinagar has only evoked ribald remarks by hostile commentators and sarcasm from Ayub Khan. What is needed is a far more realistic and strong refutation of all Pakistani propaganda—and that without any reservations.

Foreign Grants and Indian Delegations

It has been reported recently that Pandit Nehru does not like Indians in high positions, official or non-official, availing themselves of

foreign grants given by foreign countries to visit them. This piece of news follows a circular letter to the heads of all Departments sent by the Cabinet Secretary, who has laid emphasis on the need for strict economy in foreign exchange at the present juncture. It has been urged that the number of delegations sent abroad should be reduced to the minimum.

In the circular, the Cabinet Secretary is understood to have stated that the Prime Minister felt that it did not appear quite dignified for leading Indians to avail themselves of invitations from foreign countries. Very often arrangements to go abroad were fixed up through the embassies in the capital and it was difficult to interfere at a late stage. In future, people occupying high positions should not make any approaches or have preliminary talks with any foreign embassy until the proposals about their visit abroad had first been approved in principle by Government.

The Cabinet Secretary has stated that it had been brought to the Prime Minister's notice that delegations and important dignitaries were sometimes sent abroad to deal with matters which could have been attended to by the Indian missions in the countries concerned. The Prime Minister felt that it was not desirable for special delegations to go abroad unless it was absolutely clear that the matter could not be handled by the Indian missions in the countries concerned. It had been reported to the Prime Minister that there had been cases when even itineraries were decided with the foreign embassies in Delhi and the Indian missions concerned were neither consulted nor kept informed.

We confess we do not know so much about "important dignitaries" being sent abroad "to deal with matters" that could have been attended to by the Indian missions already there, unless trade, industrial, and economic matters are being referred to. For in most other things, particularly cultural, educational, scientific and other fields of international affairs, the persons that have been sent abroad recently, could hardly be called "dignitaries", even by stretching that hackneyed term to its utmost limit. And in those particular affairs our missions, sent abroad on a long-term basis, are singularly ill-equipped and very poorly supplied with requisite funds and information by New Delhi—which itself is a happy hunting ground for adventurous "specialists," "cognoscenti" and "savants" of a particular type.

Waste of foreign exchange there is, undoubtedly but then this foreign exchange business itself is a standing joke amongst people who know the "ropes"—which is another name for ministerial influence.

THE EDITOR

Galbraith Warns Indian Planners

Prof. J. K. Galbraith, U.S. Ambassador to India, addressed the University of Calcutta recently and described some "important misconceptions of the development problem—misconceptions which experience now allows us to correct." Prof. Galbraith warned India against indiscriminate borrowing of capital as well as of technical methods from foreign countries. He thought that it was definitely wiser to try to increase foreign earnings by stimulating exports than to mortgage the future in order to have spending money now. This probably leads to incautious spending and also dries up the sources which feed exports by emphasising the spending as contra-distinguished from earning and production. Foreign technical methods are not always suited to Indian conditions and foreign experts cannot always guide us better than our experience can. All countries have different patterns of development and what may be very useful in one country at a certain stage, may not be at all useful in another country. India, therefore, should watch her step in coming to conclusions about setting up another half-a-dozen steel plants or some more of this or that type of plant, establishment, institution or development projects. For the possibility of imbalance is there, as well as pitfalls for the unwary sprinter towards any economic goal. For nearly twelve years, the Nehru Cabinet and the Congress have thought that economic planning was a positive science with clearly seen factors by manipulating which one could attain economic development as per recipe. They have made a hash of things many times in many spheres by using the rule of three method in the guise of higher mathematics. Their neglect of the much despised and unscientific rule of thumb methods has cost India hundreds of millions. Their preference for high flown

descriptions, elaborate patterns and grandiose make believes, has kept the people of India out of all development schemes and has enabled every guess or conjecture to assume the proportions of a prophecy. Prof. Galbraith has heavily underlined two things in any scheme of economic development of an underdeveloped country. One is education and the other is social justice. Without these there can be no development. Pandit Nehru has avoided the problem of mass education by cleverly side-stepping it at a provincial level. His ideas of social justice are purely technical and are made to throw large shadows without having any proportionate substance. By adopting a lop-sided program of controlling the nation's economy, Nehru has increased unemployment, destroyed many private industries and interfered with the peoples' occupational distribution. By heavy taxation and capital levies he has injured those muscles and organs of the economy which keep the economy going, make it grow and cure its own ailments. Nehru appears to have obsessions which totally ignore the dictates of commonsense. He has no desire to watch his steps either at home or abroad. In the circumstances Nehru's plans of economic development lack the two essentials mentioned by Prof. Galbraith, viz., a top priority attachment to education and social justice. Prof. Galbraith has no doubt found India borrowing capital indiscriminately, as well as, introducing technical methods and industries in a blind manner and working mechanically under the influence of preconceived notions. If he had not found these faults in India's planning, he would not have spoken as he had. It must be quite obvious to Pandit Nehru that his planning has many faults. But he sticks to bad plans with the same tenacity as he has shown in his staunch support of evil methods of government and continued friendship with the anti-national elements in the different State Governments in India.

A. C.

Economic Growth In India

Mr. S. P. Jain recently quoted from the U. N. World Economic Survey for 1960 to

show how India was progressing very slowly in the economic field compared to other nations. India has progressed at the rate of 3% per annum during the last 10 years on an average. This rate of progress has been much higher for certain other countries, as shown below.

Israel	..	..	..	11%
Iraq	..	..	..	9%
Japan	..	..	..	9%
West Germany	..	..	..	7.5%
Brazil	..	..	..	6%
Philippines	..	..	..	6%
Burma	..	..	..	6%
Italy	..	..	..	5.7%
Some South African Countries	..	..	..	5%
Thailand	..	..	..	4%

It will be seen that most of the above countries have not borrowed heavily from foreign countries as India has done. Nor have they cried from the house tops about their economic progress as India has done. The people in these countries have probably been less corrupt, opinionated, misguided and inefficient compared to many who have been put in charge of nation-building in India by our rulers.

A. C.

The Youngmen of India

While Dr. B. C. Roy studies coal mining in Paris and Tarun Kanti Ghosh enquires into agricultural practice in Moscow; thousands of youngmen in Calcutta roam the streets in search of jobs which they cannot find. The few factories that already exist in Bengal and are being put up here and there by the government or private people, cannot accommodate even 5 per cent of the job-seekers. The state, the commercial houses and other offices may engage another 5 per cent. The rest will have to remain unemployed unless something were done to find employment for them. The Government of West Bengal are, of course, blissfully unconcerned and one cannot expect them to do anything for these hundreds of thousands of unemployed in a hurry. They just have not the ability nor the desire to solve this as a first priority problem.

What is happening in Bengal, is happening all over India to a greater or lesser extent. Youngmen and women are going about all over the country with disappointment and frustration printed on their countenance, and no one is doing anything about it. Certain castes and communities are slightly better off by reason of their closer connection with the bazars of India. But the total number thus excluded from bleak existence of the rest of our youthful population will not be very large. The people of India have shown very little enterprise or discrimination in manning their government and legislatures. They have played up to the imposture that they have been made to face all along the line during the last fourteen years, in a meek and docile manner, which a population normally shows only to an army of occupation. The result has been corruption and favouritism everywhere, and domination by cranks and faddists at high level. Our economy is tottering and we know that nothing is running in a healthy and vigorous manner. Employment is the one thing that shows up the health of the economy. The people of India are in a bad way as is evident from the state of employment in all spheres of life. If a government cannot find employment for its people it should not try to manage the nation's economy governmentally. But our government never believes in caution where its fads and fancies are concerned. It never studies the nation's economic problems directly and on the spot. Our economists work in Moscow and New York in order to find solutions for problems with which they never even come face to face.

Generally speaking if a large number of persons are willing to work, they should be able to produce enough consumer goods to go round and give a fair standard of living to all of them. This can only happen if all the persons are granted full freedom to work to satisfy all active demand for goods and are protected against inroads by outside suppliers or other agencies of a predatory nature. In India, the workers are not given any assistance to meet any active

demand from local buyers; but they are obstructed in every possible manner to prevent them from engaging in productive work. In the circumstance it is quite natural that our people are unemployed or part employed. If the economy can shake off this stranglehold of controls, permits, licences and what not, there may be some hope for the youngmen of India to secure employment. Otherwise our big shots will visit London, Paris, Moscow and New York and our youngmen will roam the streets in search of employment.

A. C.

Anno Domini

It is an accepted principle in the field of employment that men and women who have reached a certain maximum in age will have to yield place to younger people and go into retirement. Whether this is just a cog in the mechanism by which distribution of employment is achieved or whether human beings really reach a point in age where they become relatively useless; we cannot say with certainty. We suppose, both the alternatives have a certain force in deciding who should be retired and when. But, there are certain types of work in which the question of age does not arise with such force as in other kinds of work. The learned professions, for instance, are definite exceptions to the general rules which determine superannuation. No one will say that a learned professor of philosophy or history becomes useless as a teacher when he reaches age 55, 60 or even 65. Similarly, a doctor or a lawyer remains a valuable asset to society for longer years than mechanics or lorry drivers do. In politics, which is not a learned profession but is a great art perhaps; the successful men and women never grow too old to "work".

Good teachers are very hard to get now-a-days. The reason is that good scholars usually go in for the more lucrative professions and only a few really worthy scholars go in for teaching because of their great liking for the profession. Where conditions are like this, it is a waste of social assets to remove a good teacher from

his job because he or she has reached the official age of retirement. There is no doubt whatsoever that such retirements are without exception a loss to society. It is more so, as latterly even lesser numbers of good scholars have taken up teaching as a profession and the idea that an old professor is holding up the progress of better men cannot in any way be proved to be true. We have heard of several cases of forced retirements recently in some of the newly created universities and we think that the authorities should reconsider their decisions before it is too late. Certain incapacities no doubt develop with age; but they are not quite so dangerous to society as the unwisdom that one finds quite often in younger people.

A. C.

National Disintegration

The national disintegration of India began with the formation of Pakistan which was an integral part of India for centuries and whose population was racially, linguistically, culturally and in every anthropological-historical sense homogeneous with the peoples of India. But the Congress politicians failed to carry the Muslim League politicians with them. Whether this was due to the secret machinations of the British or to the unreliable character of the Congressmen who could not convince Mr. Jinnah of their own sense of fair play and justice; is open to discussion and analysis by historians; but Mr. Jinnah took shelter behind a thousand imaginary arguments to establish his two-nation theory and succeeded in breaking away from India.

The present tendencies in Indian politics are of the same nature as those noticed at the time of the pre-partition propaganda by the Muslim League. We are again finding many a "national" group emerging everywhere as political forces of disruption and the Congress leaders are part and parcel of every move that is carrying us nearer the final break up. Whether Indian languages are so dear to their speakers as to force a break up is conjectural. The love of their mother tongues shown by the Indians can be measured to some extent by

what the Indians have done to develop these languages and dialects. The ease with which the Biharis have discarded their centuries old languages like Bhojpuri, Magdhi, Ardhamagdhi, Maithili, etc., as well as the readiness displayed by some Punjabis to accept Hindi as their language, will not convince one of the emotional attachment that Indians feel for their mother tongues. On the other hand, the fight put up by the Assam Bengalis or the Sikhs will support the view that we do love our own languages. However, that may be, the linguistic plank in the platform of provincial politics does not cover the entire platform. It covers very little in fact. The real force behind all this urge for local autonomy is the force of vested interests that have been created in the provinces since Independence. All provincial ministers and their henchmen today are great believers in provincial **raj** by reason of what they stand to gain by their control over the division of loaves and fishes in every state capital. The Congress leaders have failed to uphold the ideals of national service everywhere by mixing business with their ideals. And the real reason behind all this squabble for power is that political power means economic gain. Pandit Nehru knows this and he cannot stop money-making by politicians any more than he can stop the "rake off", the commissions, the contracts, the licences, the permits and all those other things which have made his economic planning and his departments a great source of gain to foreigners as well as to collaborating Indians. The present corruption, nepotism and the widespread ramifications of privilege have shaken the foundations of Indian unity and what we now need is a moral revolution, without which this nation will not be there after a few years.

A. C.

Foreigners In India

When the British handed over political power to the Congress, they insisted that a portion of India should be separated from the main body and be formed into a second independent State called Pakistan. They did not, however, consider it necessary to

form other States inside India for the various other "nations" that dwell in India. For instance there are many Goans who thought they were Portuguese, many Pondicherry people who thought they were French and numerous Anglo-Indians who believed they were British. Later on, under the Nehru raj large bodies of Indians began to think they were different "national" groups; such as the Assamese thought they were entitled to an exclusive ownership of the State of Assam or the Bihari "Hindi" speakers thought they had a right to make all people of the State of Bihar Hindi speakers too. Be that as it may, the British only took up the case of the Muslims of East Bengal, West Punjab, Sindh, Baluchistan and the run away Muslims from other parts of India; and formed a foreign land in the heart of India on the ground that these Muslims were of a different nationality. This of course was utterly false and the Muslims of Pakistan were no more people of a different nationality than the Pondicherry people were French or the Goans Portuguese. Even if the Pakistanis believed that they were Arabs, Afghans or Persians, they were without any qualification totally Indian in every respect. Their foreign origin complex, if it were there, was comparable to the Anglo-Indian belief in their British origin although very few of them had any British connections in the statutory sense. The Arabs, Persians and Afghans did not think at any time that the Pakistanis were their blood brothers; rather they advised the Indian Muslims to stick to their own motherland.

The Pakistanis, however, fed their own obsessions and became so very anti-Indian and "foreign" in their outlook that they really began to believe that they were quite different from the Indians. In the circumstances they should have been asked to quit India and go back to their own country wherever it might have been. But we carved out a country for them inside our own homeland. We might just as well have created an England, a France, a Portugal and a Holland inside India for the convenience of our foreign-minded population. The Pakistanis were, however, not

satisfied with getting a homeland of their own within India. They began to attack, kill and chase out all Hindus who lived in their newly created land, and they looked for other places where they could infiltrate and create newer territories for Pakistan. Thus they tried to occupy certain Indian States including the States of Hyderabad and Junagad. Having been unsuccessful in doing this they put their army in civilian clothes and began marching into Kashmir to occupy it as a part of Pakistan. Here again they failed miserably; but were saved from being completely wiped out by Pandit Nehru's fondness for the U. N. and their mediation in all matters which did not concern them. Kashmir was a part of India and there were no reasons for which the U. N. should have been called in to control some marauders, who could have been liquidated easily by the Indian Army. So, the U. N. marked out a cease-fire line in Kashmir and the Pakistanis put on their discarded uniforms and lived happily on the other side of that line under U. N. protection. After many years the Pakistanis still remained in Kashmir conspiring and plotting to cross the cease-fire line and to occupy the whole of the Kashmir Valley.

Recently President Ayub Khan, who became President of Pakistan illegally by a *coup d'etat*, began propaganda abroad about the Kashmir problem. The British and the Americans, no doubt, encouraged this creature of the Anglo-American bloc, and Ayub Khan began to feel highly qualified to discuss the ethical aspect of politics, forgetting that ethically Pakistan had no right to exist, that the Pakistani occupation of Kashmir was utterly unlawful and that he himself was a political criminal who had kicked the constitution of his country aside to capture power by force. Ayub Khan is now planning to re-enact the old *kawali* invasion of Kashmir by hired volunteers who will have large numbers of the members of the Pakistan army in fancy dress among them. President Kennedy, who is a boy scout in more than one sense, and has found in Ayub Khan a great friend of America, is probably egging on this international law-breaker in a big way. Pandit

Nehru is allowing his mind to wander in its customary fanciful manner, and is doing all that he should not do and not doing anything that he should do to save Kashmir from a second blood-bath. We think that India should demand that Pakistan should return to India all the lands that the foreigners in Pakistan are now occupying by arrangement with the British. They should either stay quietly in India or go away to Arabia, Persia or wherever they thought they came from. The British or the Congress had no right to give away large chunks of India to foreign nationals. The creation of Pakistan was, therefore, illegal and the whole area of that falsely created country should be returned to India. Some one should raise this as an issue before the United Nations.

A. C.

Qualifications

The recent discovery in Durgapur of an "engineer" with "degrees" and "foreign diplomas," who had been working for many years in the company of "engineers", as an engineer; but who was, in fact, only a Matriculate; would show up the fallacy of depending on so-called qualifications for selection of personnel for managerial, supervisory and administrative jobs. In India, it has now become the established practice to select personnel by referring to their paper qualifications and by interviewing the persons to discover their personality, intelligence, alertness, dependability and all sorts of other qualities which they may or may not possess. Generally speaking these interviews are carried out in a manner which enables any person with the gift of the gab and money to buy good clothes, to satisfy the judges. The paper qualifications, now-a-days, can be obtained by engaging college professors as private coaches and by joining institutions which grant first class honours degrees on a provincial and communal basis or on recommendation from Ministers and V.I.Ps. The paper qualifications, therefore, are worth very little and the interviews can be negotiated with a little effort, practice and expenditure. The really hard working, well-educated and thoroughly trained

person, may not get through the selection committees, if he happens to join a college like the Sibpur Bengal Engineering College which grants degrees after very careful examination of merit and from which first class degrees are difficult to obtain. If on top of that the candidate comes of a poor family which has never been able to finance him for going to European restaurants, dance halls and good tailors and, thus enabled him to pick up the ways of the anglicised smart set; the poor man would have no chance to impress his interviewing judges by his personality and all the rest of it. An element of unreality, a very strong element indeed, has crept into our selections of personnel everywhere. Easily obtained first class degrees from accommodating universities and institutions, a little aping of foreign ways and a slight command of English words and phrases would get a person through our selections. If one is related to a highly placed person, that will surely obtain for him what no one else can get. These fake values and unreal tests will soon reduce the quality of our personnel to a dangerously low level in point of true effectiveness.

A. C.

Some National Problems

Some very intelligent people came to see us the other day and discussed our national problems with a view to help India solve the difficulties presented by these. We, of course, had no idea of what problems they wished us to solve and we tried to get some authorised statement about India's national problems, in order to keep the discussions within the limits of facts. A volume of "India—1960" was lying at one corner of the table and we picked it up to see if it gave us some factual data regarding our national problems. It was indeed a revelation to go through its pages and we found problems galore which had not yet been solved by Pandit Nehru's Government. We should first describe our findings and then proceed to tell our readers about our discussions with those high-level thinkers who were so full of sympathy for us.

To begin with, we found we had too many people in India and naturally our thoughts were diverted to the question of population control. We found that two-fifths of all births in India were caused by "improvident maternity" or births

occurring to mothers who have already given birth to three or more children. The incidence of improvident maternity in India and in certain other countries as given in the book is shown below :

1951 Figures

<i>Country</i>	<i>incidence of improvident maternity</i>
India	42.8
U. S. A.	19.2
U. K.	14.3
France	19.7
Germany (F. R.)	12.3
Japan	33.9

Population control as a national problem has not been solved by our government and although some money is being spent on some schemes there are hardly any noticeable changes in the incidence of improvident maternity, even in Delhi. The spread of Hindi is positively correlated to our birth-rate and the more Hindi is spoken in an area, higher the birth-rate is found to be in the area. In South India, for example, four births and births of higher order account for 376 per 1,000 births. But in West India, Central India and North-West India where a lot more Hindi is spoken the average incidence of fourth and high order births come to 431.6 per 1,000 births. This is confirmed by *India 1960*. It was suggested that some American Foundations should come forward to grant scholarships to men and women who would undertake to remain unmarried, but there being more than 15 crores of unmarried persons in India it was considered impractical to carry out any such scheme. Eventually it was decided that a large population was a good thing as the Chinese did not believe in birth-control and they were no fools.

We next found that India had too many religions but as Hindi was only a language (sort of) and not a religion we agreed to ignore this problem. We decided however, that if Hindi ever became a religion, some sort of endowment would have to be made to make Patna the holy city of this religion. For Banaras, Prayag, Hardwar, Dwarka, Tanjore or Madura would hardly give up Sanskrit in favour of Hindi. We saw on page 44 of the book that Hindi included Hindi, Urdu, Hindusthani and Punjabi and we thought there was every hope that Hindi would soon include various other languages too and make India monolingual. There were certain difficulties such as the 45, 14, 737 Marwaris, the 20, 14, 874 Mewaris,

the 15, 88, 069 Jaipuris and 9, 26, 029 Bagris whom it will be difficult to include within the Hindi fold, but these difficulties were of minor proportion. The problem of urbanisation was next studied and was found to be easy; for all Indians were becoming city-minded and were progressively coming to live in towns and cities. It was estimated that in about 250 years we should have no rural population and that would solve the problems of rural life automatically.

Another problem of a rather large size was the presence of Indians in other countries where they had gone to work for low wages; but where they were no longer wanted as they were now earning higher wages everywhere. Ceylon had 8,29,619 (1958), Malay, 7,40,436 (1958), Burma, 7,00,000 (1958), Mauritius, 3,75,918 (1955), South Africa, 3,65,524 (1951), Trinidad, 2,67,000, British Guinea, 2,10,000 (1954), Fiji Islands, 1,69,403 (1958), and Kenya, 1,27,000 (1954), Indians. The figures may be higher now but these people can always become the nationals of other countries and thus avoid being repatriated and classed as D.Ps in their motherland. Only South Africa cannot allow Indians to become South Africans and so the Indians there will have to go to some adjoining country which is more hospitable.

In Chapter III dealing with the Constitution of India, we found no problems excepting in Fundamental Rights which have been described in full without any provisions for guaranteeing them to all nationals. We Indians have no rights and plenty of obligations, and that is why we are called a spiritual nation. We can be kicked by anybody anywhere and prevented from owning property, obtaining employment, engaging in trade or industry according to our own wishes. We cannot of course, be deprived of any of our rights without the authority of the law; but the law is very accommodating and always agrees to authorise the government to take away any rights from anybody at any time. It is, therefore, a master problem whether our fundamental rights should be modified to fit in with our political party programs or whether the political parties should be modified or abolished to preserve our fundamental rights. The high-level thinkers thought that this problem would come to the top soon and would be a fit subject for the U.N. to discuss. They also thought that Russia would veto any positive suggestions.

The question of legislatures, ministries, high courts, etc., came up next for discussion. It was found that we had too many cabinets and superior bodies involved in the management of the nation's affairs, compared to the total availability of suitable talent. The very frequent presence of undesirables in our various cabinets, legislative bodies, etc., was a great problem, any nobody could solve it. Our friends could not suggest any remedy. The matter of defence was also considered. We all agreed that the department was redundant for the reason that India did not defend herself against foreign aggression on principle and, therefore, did not require to incur heavy expenditure just for the mere carrying on of an useless tradition. Our friends thought even the best of people occasionally had to defend their life and property against depredations by less moral persons. But then, did that create a moral problem with a material projection or a material problem with a great number of moral facts? We did not know and could not find any material or moral solution to a moral or material problem which was a great drain on our revenues in any case.

We discovered in this book that education cost very little in India, which proved that the Indians were a naturally proficient in learning everything without spending much. We were told that in 1957-58, we had 235.67 lakhs of students in India in about 4 lakhs institutions which were run by spending, in all, a sum of Rs. 235.67 crores. So, roughly speaking, India was educating students on an average by spending a hundred rupees per annum. In all about one-third of the persons who are young enough to be educated get any education at any institution. The others are not educated and they grow wise without becoming literate. The problem of educating those 6 crore extra boys and girls was no problem to our government for they knew education merely caused unhappiness by widening one's outlook. In fact, the Gandhian idea of limiting the demand for things in order to create "satisfaction" or fulfilment of all "active" demand, was fostered by lack of education. Less educated people had no active desire for a higher standard of living and it was, therefore, good to be uneducated. A. C.

The Glory Of The Public Undertakings

In India, we hear a great deal about socialism and the advantages of doing things as public undertakings as against by private enterprise. Private capitalists in

India are perhaps about the world's worst in point of social morality, and this fact, enables the morally indifferent public men of India to run down their "professional" rivals in the field of economic immorality with an ease which would not have been there had our capitalists been morally sound. The profiteering, the blackmarketing, the tax evasions and the various underhand tactics by which wealth is amassed by a large number of bazar capitalists who have now been lifted up to Conference-Delegation-Chamber of Commerce level by themselves and their paid agents in the Congress and the other political parties; give us a low and degrading picture of our economy; and also enable our bureaucrats to assume high and mighty airs of superiority in point of social morality which, unfortunately, they do not possess. If one made a list of things corrupt, obnoxious, anti-social and contrary to the rules of efficiency and progress; the greater part of that catalogue of evils will be filled by the misdeeds of public servants and their proteges and associates. The Indian Posts and Telegraphs departments with the Telephones attached to them are, generally speaking, not comparable to similar undertakings by private or public bodies in any other civilised country. Telegrams usually do not arrive anywhere with the speed of normal telegrams in other lands. Letters posted in one part of Calcutta usually reach their destination in another part of the city after at least 24 hours, and, often, after a few days. Money orders take weeks to be delivered and registered packets take days. Very large numbers of letters and post cards never reach and are possibly destroyed by the peons to save work. Telephones are operated in a casual and unhelpful manner, which is obnoxious to the extreme. Our railways are similarly inefficient, happy-go-lucky and casual and the mail trains and expresses usually travel hours behind schedule. The goods trains go when they like and where they like and no goods are ever delivered at any place on time. Pilferage, ticketless travelling, robberies with violence, etc., are

rampant in Indian railways, and the risks of using the railways for any purpose are considerable. The Indian police, the Indian administrative departments and the various licence, permit, pass or passport, quota and priority granting organisations are totally iniquitous in their outlook and "influence" prevails everywhere in an uncontrolled manner.

In spite of all these major defects in Government organisation and working of the various services and public utility undertakings, the Governments of the States and the Central Government are quite optimistic about the future of socialism and State capitalism in India. They are going ahead, in a blind fervour, into greater borrowings and widespread economic ventures. They are putting up great factories one after another at a terrifying cost in borrowed money and are squandering money for alleged social services and development projects which are planned and detailed by people who spend most of their time in foreign countries "studying and investigating" things which in their opinion, cannot be studied or investigated in India. In other words, planning has become a great intellectual pastime for many who think nation-building is the easiest job that can be carried out by amateurs who are fond of foreign travel and can talk convincingly to Pandit Nehru. In fifteen years, India will "invest" about thirty thousand crores in material and non-material development work and the greater part of those investments will become invisible "assets" which should have a reaction on the national dividend but might not do so too. Judging by the results of the last many years not only are these invisible assets becoming more and more of a liability to the people of India; but even the visible and grossly material investments are not proving very paying to the country. In our opinion, both private and public capitalism require to be supervised and controlled in India. It is only the people of India who can do so. And they are in no condition to do this due to the activities of the political parties.

A. C.

This Domicile Business

Even during British days the Bihar Government arranged for their Hindi colonisation of Chhotanagpur including the old Bengal districts of Manbhum, Singhbhum and Santhal Parganas. This was done by the ridiculous system of issuing domicile certificates to people living in those areas for over a thousand years. This certificate declared that Mr. Bengali or Mr. Anybody else has been domiciled in Bihar for three, four or five hundred years and whatever it was worth, which was really nothing. The Bengalis of the area, whose motherland it was naturally did not take out these fake domicile certificates and thereafter they were barred from obtaining service under the Bihar Government as well as from getting admission in Government institutions. As a result of this and many other underhand arrangements the whole of this Bengali-speaking area is now manned officially by Bhojpuris and other alleged Hindi-speakers. The Bengalis of Manbhum (Dhanbad), Singhbhum and Santhal Parganas have become "foreigners" in their own mother country. Apart from this the whole area has been plastered with Hindi signboards and every one is being forced to speak in Hindi in courts and other official places. If this is not a violation of the provisions of our Constitution re: safeguarding of the fundamental rights of the people, we do not know what is. This discrimination has had great economic significance in so far as it pushed local people out of jobs and did everything to cut out their children from future employment and full participation in the economic life of the area.

In Jamshedpur, the Bihar Government officials throw their weight about in a manner which may be called obscene in a manner of speaking. The Parsis who have been the overlords of Tatas for numerous years have now been forced to share their privileges with the Bhojpuris, Maithilis and other Hindi-dialect-speakers of the northern areas of Bihar. Generally speaking these people are not the of very best type for industrial administration and business.

management; but their "blue blood", viz., Bihari Bhuian, Kayasth or similar connections, grant them a special distinction and position in this ancient stronghold of the kingdom of Vishnupur. Today the Bihari labour leaders are trying to interfere with the personnel management of Jamshedpur industries and trying to make things **Hindi-Pradhan** to the disadvantage of South Indian, Bengali, Punjabi and Bombay workers. The first round of this battle has already been fought and the Biharis have lost the round but they are getting ready for the next round, and Mr. Michael John, a great figure in the labour world of India, is beginning to feel the impact of the fresh aggressions. The Bihari idea of fundamental rights is "what is mine is mine, what is thine is mine and what is definitely not mine, must be made to belong to me, by hook or crook!"

A. C.

Strikes and Showdowns

The strike of the petrol workers was due to the easy-going ways adopted by the Government departments to collect, keep and disburse the workers' provident funds. The workers feel that they were better off with their employers and that the Government will not only mishandle their funds but will also go contrary to the purpose of a provident fund by not paying it to the claimants when it is most needed. In the matter of Workmens' Compensation too the Government departments have been going about payments in a heartlessly casual manner. Men die of accidents in the factories. The compensations are paid to the Government almost immediately by the factories. The Government pay the heirs or the nominees, their rightful dues, in a manner which has the airs of almsgiving. We do not know how many lakhs remain unpaid to the needy dependents of men killed in industrial accidents due to shilly-shallying by Government officers. The matter of provident fund is just like that too. The Government have utterly failed to rouse any feeling of confidence in

the public mind about the efficiency and reliability of state organisations. They are trying to enforce social security by applying the law indiscriminating and by prosecutions. But what they should do is to began the good work by sacking large numbers of Government servants, Ministers downwards, for acting anti-socially and with a stupid disregard of the principles of public service.

The lorry drivers who clashed with the police were not deserving of any sympathy from the public, for they are as anti-social and public nuisance too, as any Government servants. But one must admit that the ways of check-post officers are easy-going, casual and slow. A lorry which submits to a check loses a lot of time due to these ways of the public servants. Whether they do this to collect bribes, we do not know. If the suspicion is correct, their conduct is doubly reprehensible. But if the police cannot check lorries without causing great loss of time to the lorry-owners and drivers, the fault lies with the Government too. Somehow no Government servant appears to do his job in a manner convenient for the public. And no incumbent is ever sacked for inefficiency and even deliberate delaying. So, the Government have to use fire arms on those who resent the efficient and deliberately annoying ways of Government servants. A stitch in time saves nine. The Government should start working on their own personnel and take disciplinary action against large groups of public servants. Fines, suspensions, demotions and dismissals will soon fix things in Government ranks and firings will not be necessary. A few dismissals among those who are high up, e.g., ministers and their immediate assistants will also help to restore the morale of public servants. One reason for the popularity of Government service is that once a person gets a job with a Government department there can be no question of dismissal for inefficiency.

A. C.

NATIONAL INTEGRATION—A HISTORICAL NECESSITY

By PRAFULLA CHAKRAVERTI

As the *Times* reported in its latest issue June 3, 1961, "as white and Negro Freedom Riders continue their rolling assault against segregation last week, they produced some profound results in South and North alike. In Washington, the Attorney General Robert Kennedy urged the Interstate Commerce Commission to start enforcing the vaguely-worded Federal ban on segregation in restaurants, waiting rooms and toilets at Interstate bus terminals."

In Chicago, Geryhound Bus Lines said "that it will enforce non-segregation in its stations throughout the land. Just a week before, eleven Freedom Riders had been jailed for trying to work against the policy of segregation."

While commenting on South Africa, *Times* again remarked—"Seldom if ever had a new State come into being with less enthusiasm or more foreboding. As the Republic Day began—cold drenching rain poured down on Pretoria's wind-swept streets, reducing the joyous church bells to sodden thumps and the cannon booms to distant plops. A quarter of a million people had been expected to jam the city for the big celebrations, but only 25 thousand showed up in time for the speeches."

Millions of other South Africans—the English-speaking Whites, the Blacks, the coloreds and the Indians could only watch in bitter resignation or sullen silence. South Africa's non-whites could only hope that influence from abroad might some day force Verwoerd to moderate his apartheid rules. But having achieved its dream, Afrikanerdom was hardly likely to turn back now. "Not for us the sudden upheavals—and the struggle of multiracialism elsewhere" declared Verwoerd. "In the search for a solution to the race problem," he added, "South Africa would continue openly to retain the White Man's guiding hand."

In a message to the Parliament, Dr. Verwoerd told on Thursday the 8th June, 1961, that he could not agree to place colored (Mulatto) persons on a common electoral roll because white authority in Cape Province would disappear.

An absolute policy of separate development (Apartheid) was the realistic and the only way to achieve friendship between whites and non-whites, said Dr. Verwoerd.

This is the picture portrayed by the reports emanating from two highly progressive and developed countries of the world—namely—U.S.A. and South Africa and both of them are Republics. The struggle that had been waged in many parts of the country for unfettering the bondage of serfdom and throwing off all disabilities and lack of rights, specially amongst the colored people, who have been trying to assert themselves, is a strange historical factor that can hardly be disavowed. There is a persistent demand for upholding the dignity of man. The banner of freedom has been held aloft. It is a remarkable advancement of the human society that has been stirred to its depth and the forces that lay dormant for long had become restive. The millions who mutely succumbed to their unending tales of agony and distress, chained as they were to ignoble servitude for generations, seemed to wake up from the age-long stupor and abject surrender to utter humiliation.

It has indeed been a great revolutionary epoch that has brought about such a radical change in the outlook of these dumb and distressed millions and gave them the courage to stand upon their own legs facing all vehemence of cruel retaliation. The more they pressed for the assertion of their rights, the more dastardly were the weapons that were hurled on them by the powers that be. Still, the urge goaded them on and the grim determination and unyielding stubbornness made them uncommonly strong in their resolve to face all ordeals in the struggle for freedom.

The people in other regions more favourably placed in life had to be silent spectators, since the international law gave the guarantee to all powers to control the destiny of the people administered by them without any interference from outside. Always the plea was raised that the

dealings with the people in the country had to be conditioned by the social status of different segments of the society and it fell beyond the competence of any outside power to make suggestion as to how the internal policy would be governed. Thereby, the vested interests entrenched in their exploitative greed and untrammelled practice, that became a habit with them, ruthlessly curbed the struggling efforts of these millions, who had been put to utter destitution, as a result of their continued exploitation. Any attempt to militate against the existing order of things was nipped in the bud and the freedom-seekers had to pay severe penalty in the shape of confiscation of their property and the loss of their personal liberty; even the security of their lives was in jeopardy.

Nevertheless, the struggle continued. Sometimes, it came out in the open with sporadic outbursts of violence. There were demonstrative acts of self immolation. The reprisals were terrible but the undying spirit refused to yield.

That is what unnerved the feudal lords, who held privileged position enriching themselves at the cost of the sweated labour of the unfortunate victims of their exploitation and were not in a mood to part with the power they commanded so long or share it with anybody else.

The twentieth century started with a history that underwent considerable changes with each new decade. The first World War was fought by the Allies with the clear objective of "making the world safe for democracy" and the call evoked a wide response. The fighters for democracy and freedom stood side by side and, in their grim struggle, all discrimination of colour, creed and community was obliterated. All over the world new hopes were raised in the minds of the downtrodden, the suppressed and the most backward. The victims of imperialistic and feudal exploitation looked for a new life and fought bravely. The war ended. The Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman Empire collapsed and independent states grew up out of their dismemberment.

The gale of freedom brought fresh invigorating fragrance. Radicalism was in the air and it had its close impact on the body politic. The society got itself reorientated in different regions. There were sweeping changes.

It marked the beginning of a liberal order that refuses to raise barriers between man and man. It was human advancement onwards and

upwards. The citadel of conservatism, that clung to old shibboleths and outmoded tenets, was dismantled. There was vivid pulsation of a new form of life that looked for progress and dynamism.

But one could hardly expect a radical transformation in social ideology and attitude to life within such a short period of time.

This meant a departure from the accustomed ways of social behaviour and it could only be made possible by persistent and hard struggle that would efface the last stain on the social fabric.

The ruthless suppression of the multitude by the privileged section of the community brought in its train a feeling of deep animosity and bitter hatred against the social structure itself that gave unscrupulous people an upper hand in dealing with their fellow citizens in any way they liked. And on most occasions their behaviour was not tinged with sympathy and humaneness. There was a clear recognition of the fact that unless the existing order of things was overhauled completely to make room for a society, which guaranteed every member of the society equal rights, the distress of the people would be augmented all the more and humanity would have no future.

Any attempt to subvert the existing regime was sure to meet opposition from people who gained by clinging to the status quo. There was obvious clashing of interests and the attempted solution was not very peaceful. There were outbursts of violence and a determined section wanted to wrest power at the point of bayonet. Bitterness ran rampant. Chaos and disorder became the rule. The constitutional machinery failed to grapple with the problem. Productive forces came to a standstill. The country suffered and the destitute millions, whose cup of agony was already full, suffered the most.

The lessons of history take time to convey their message to the persons, maddened by the lure of pomp and power and it becomes wellnigh impossible in that state of frenzy to read the writings on the wall. They demur, vilify and, in their senseless fury, they again take up the arms and continue their onslaughts against the helpless people simply because of their offence in claiming to share the rights equally with the privileged few.

The relentless struggle continues until the

outmoded structure falls to pieces. The world has progressed from its primitive form of civilization to a higher stage. The forces of nature have been brought under human control and put to productive use. The improved technology of production inter-wedded to science has enhanced the productive resources and the different countries of the world are striving to reach a highly developed economy and raise the standard of living higher and higher. In this process of transition, one can hardly reconcile oneself to the invidious distinction of race, colour, creed, community or sex—the legacy of the backward state of society which has to be left behind. No longer should the few be allowed to prosper at the cost of many.

Man is trying to be completely free and the urge for freedom provokes him to strike and strike hard at the very root of vested interests. The more opposition, the more determined becomes the less privileged to work for his upliftment. This is the accepted way of life and the bold letters that bear its imprint can hardly be overlooked by a keen observer of history and science. All the lovers of freedom welcome the onrush of these healthy forces that are making themselves felt at every turn of the history.

The latest report from Lisbon as quoted in *Statesman*, June 13, 1961,—states “the rebels in Northern Angola are systematically cutting communications. That means that the rebellion has passed the stage of sporadic insurrection.

“The establishment of Portuguese authority in the interior did not proceed smoothly and the present revolt is by no means the first sign of disaffection.

“Mission-educated Africans are frequently much better qualified than many Portuguese. There has thus arisen a poor-white problem similar to that in South Africa.”

The malady undoubtedly carries with it certain identical features that are seeking to discard the deadly germs that spell disaster both to the possessed and the non-possessed. And the struggle, though taking different forms in different areas, is motivated by the same spirit.

The *Ebony*—the widely circulated Chicago monthly—in its Editorial note in May, 1961, commented—“The Negro knows that his race has no quarrel with his nationality. This is his country too. Here are his interests, his hopes, his future—conflicts he has, but they are con-

flicts with prejudice and discrimination which decree the double standard under which he is forced to live.

“When his white brothers place race first in their thinking, his residentially segregated school in the North is as inferior as his all-Negro school in the South. The boundaries of his neighbourhood are scorched out by bombs and burning crosses. With him, *moonlighting* (holding two jobs) is an old and necessary story. He must work in two Negro jobs, to afford his high rent slum home.

“But having survived and achieved as a Negro, he is more ready to assume the leadership role without malice.

“Having lived as a Negro, he is well-equipped to cope with the problems not only of other minorities, but of the majority group as well.”

The U.S. Negro Musician, Louis Armstrong, narrating how the country has changed, said: “Because I am Louis Armstrong, some big hotels will allow me to check in and provide room service. But the dining room ban still goes. Yet things are bending. It would be nice to say that the South has seen the light too. But their hotels are still lily white.

“However, I am welcomed in some of the cities, but that is because I am L.A. and not because of a new policy.

“I don’t socialise with the top dogs of society after a dance or concert. Even tho’ I am invited, I don’t go. These same society people may go around the corner and lynch a Negro.

“The main thing is: ‘I don’t want anybody to hug or kiss me. *Just treat me like a man.*’

“I can’t play in New Orleans, my hometown. But even with that situation, if Negroes toured the world—they would be so proud. I have travelled all over, in more than 30 countries from Copenhagen to Chile and you would be surprised at the color barriers abroad.”

Shri Homes J. Vakeel in his estimate of D. H. Lawrence—as a social theorist and mystic, in *Visvabharati Quarterly*, Summer 1960,—remarked —“Rarely has an author penetrated so profoundly into the deepest consciousness of a country as he did in the unforgettable writing in ‘Plumed Serpent’.

“There was the passionate enquiry into racial characteristics, the darkness of the dark races which pervades the whole work. He has his doubts about the white races, feels that they

are 'hollow with misgiving about their own supremacy.' He is convinced that the white man had not understood Mexico—'the great, precipitous, dry, savage country and that, in attempting to convert the dark man to the white man's way of life, the white man has fallen helplessly down the hole he wanted to fill up. The only hope for the future lies in a harmonious fusion of the two, a new gem, a new conception of human life, that will arise from the fusion of the old blood and vertebrate consciousness with the white man's present mental-spiritual consciousness. The sinking of both beings into a new being'."

The reviewer commented: "it is a very deep diagnosis of the condition of man and the solution offered is a mystical and biological one—some real and genuine fusion of dark and white, of the traditions and instincts of the different races of the world into some new and fine synthesis."

There has been similar expression of writers and students of social science who, in their candid statements, have made it clear and the progress of humanity depended on a proper appraisal of social forces that are brought into play in different forms in different areas. The most conspicuous factor that has assumed an importance in the study of sociology is that no discrimination in any shape shall be allowed to impede social growth. It is only the proper understanding of historical evolution that paves the path to national integration as a matter of fact.

Mr. Selig Harrison in his latest publication—regarding India—"The Dangerous Decades"—commented: "This social order, caste, is usually seen in terms which would denote an integrating factor rather than disintegrating role.

"The central authority in making planned Economic Expansion possible gives rise to new and perhaps self-defeating forces. It is commonplace that nationalism is a response to the spread of industrialisation and the shift from subsistence agriculture to an exchange economy, a turn to a new form of community to replace old communities that are in the process of atomisation.

"Millions disengaged from their native ground wander through unchartered social realm. In winning the loyalty of the new groupings rising out of the dissolution of the old social order, the political manipulators need only point to scape-

goats and antagonists beyond the linguistic horizon.

"The period now beginning in India presents striking similarities to the rise of nationalism in 19th c.c. Europe, especially the nationalist urge in the Balkans which culminated in the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

"The East European outcome did come as the climax of the same historic processes now occurring in India. More and more education and literacy, more and more popular participation in political life, more and more identity of linguistic and political boundaries and more complicated the problems turn to be.

"But it must be noted that economic stagnation does not rally men together (as logic might dictate) for shared sacrifices and shared progress. In practice—the reverse happens.

"The scramble to see who gets the biggest slice of the Economic Cake in India is an unregulated scramble of regions and regional caste lobbies with none of common over-riding loyalty to a national or feudal hierarchy or an Emperor.

"The social upheaval that accompanies Economic change in India becomes an increasing irritant to social tension, rather than a source of relief—in a society which has yet to achieve a settled level of popularity."

India can hardly find itself divorced from the positive manifestation of the urges that are hungering for self-expression. Immediately after liberation, forces have been set in motion in all their spontaneity and effectiveness and, as a consequence, the society is undergoing a period of upheaval marked by considerable stress and tension. The silence and composure, closely following on the subservient acceptance of an order that places the favoured few in a privileged position, preying on the multitude, has been obviously disturbed. There is a tremor, a commotion—and an anticipation of some unforeseen happenings and the strivings are adding a new tone to the social behaviour. The component elements that form the social fabric are grouping together and giving the semblance of an integrated personality adding unique grandeur and beauty.

But the resultant forces can hardly assume a distinct identity overcoming the initial resistance that is projected by the social hierarchy—an outcome of unchallenged enjoyment of

powers and privileges and that by a strictly limited section of the community.

It is a critical stage—the forces of progress matched against the counter forces of reaction that refuse to admit any innovation and cling to status quo.

Besides, there is the third force that stops midway and in its sitting-on-the-fence policy seeks to wait for the favoured moment when the two forces exhaust themselves by the remorseless struggle waged against each other from their mutual points of advantage. Sometimes, this third force tilts the balance and the society is brought under its domination. The struggle comes to a halt but no end is reached. The undercurrent continues to work in a region remote from the glimmerings of the setting sun. Nevertheless, it retains its virility and motivating power. This generates ultimately a force that appears on the surface in the form of an avalanche—a sudden outburst—an outpouring of current that sweeps everything before it.

The society has to face this upsurge and in a state of unpreparedness, a form of chaos and disorder supervenes the stable order of the society. Obviously, there is an imbalance and the desired integration is not achieved. Rather, the disintegrating forces, which still struggle hard to survive, succeed to a certain extent to exert their influences—sinister and corrosive—on the body politic.

A fresh struggle ensues, that between creation and destruction—between growth and decay—between integration and segregation. Attempts are made to introduce measures to ban the forces of segregation and thereby achieve integration,—of the community. It means that the destination is reached in a circuitous way. That is what has been instanced by the developments experienced in the U.S.A.

The survey made by Mr. Selig Harrison with respect to the social trends in post-Independence India also indicates the same tendency, though operating in a land which stands at a great distance from the developed countries of the world, so far as the national economy is concerned. Practically, India is at the lowest rung of the ladder and it has to mount high through a laborious process and that for a considerable length of time, before it can expect to reach a tolerable level of economic progress.

The struggle becomes all the more intensive

because of the enormity of the problems that beset India—a country with a seething population numbering nearly 450 million and increasing at a rate of ten million per year.

The Indian social structure is unique of its own in the world and the segments of population divided and sub-divided into communities and castes have assumed a character that bears the imprint of sociological factors that had been at play for centuries. The by-product of history—the Anthropology and Ethnology—have sought to trace the evolution of the society in its variegated colours spread over the vast expanse of India and its different regions interspersed with mountains, valleys, rivers, lakes, and forests.

It is so hard to interlink the diverse manifestations of the community—an amalgam of different races with different stages of culture, and avowing different faiths. Naturally, one has to take into account the evolutionary processes which the community life in India had to go through and ultimately assume a tangible form, not certainly distinguished by a pattern of homogeneity. Rather it proudly proclaims to the world that it claims to portray a communal life that bears the stamp of unity in diversity.

This fact devolves a responsibility on the builders of the nation—which has seldom been borne by the architects in other parts of the world. It demands ingenuity, dexterity and a close grasp of the forces, that go to mould the destiny of a nation—both psychic and material—and any looseness and lapse on this score will land the country in a quagmire and bottomless abyss.

The diverse elements of race, culture, community, caste, religion and language are stirring themselves and the society is in a state of ferment. The ugly demonstrations and perverse outbursts of passions seek justifications from their over-zealous adherence to particular creeds or principles and the differences get all the more intensified. The process of the growing integration recedes far from the cherished goal and the evils of disintegration creep in.

Nobody understands the language of the other and the babel of tongues adds different tones. Confusion gets all the more confused.

The social growth is retarded and the country heads for a fall.

Prof. Humayun Kabir in his masterly analysis of India's culture remarked that it had

been always composite in character. The essential character of India's tradition and history has been its resilience and receptivity. It has incorporated elements of value regardless of the source from which they have come and that there was the essential need for a flexible political philosophy which would enable the enrichment of Indian life by the incorporation of new elements from many corners of the world. Any political party that sought to divide India on the basis of race, religion, culture or language weakened Indian Nationhood.

Prof. Kabir regretted that the psychology of the people still persisted at the tribal stage. Certainly, it was a dangerous portent and he further remarked—"If tribal psychology was a danger in the era of nation states, its persistence in the modern atomic age poses a threat to the very existence of man."

The country which has just emerged out of its century-old state of servitude and stagnation has an uphill task to perform before it can expect to achieve social equality. This can only be done by the co-ordinated efforts of all sections of people. It presupposes the steady growth of forces in the country that combat all fissiparous tendencies and disown invidious distinctions nourished by the prerogatives of birth, caste, creed or language. After all, the acceptance and full awareness of the vital necessity of a new outlook of life, reoriented with the changing circumstances and conditioned by a positive philosophy, that can bring into fruition the growth of National Integration.

It is only the achievement of emotional integration in the country that can enable her to take the resolve to root out all fanaticism—whether of caste, religion, region or language.

In commenting on the proceedings of the Muslim Convention held this month in Delhi, with the pronounced objective of mobilising opinion to strengthen the roots of secularism

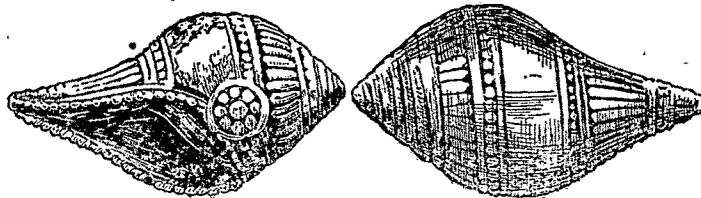
and to secure the co-operation of all secular organisations in this task, the *Statesman* remarked that it was tragic that 14 years after the attainment of freedom, the Muslims of India had come forward with tales of woe and asking justice and fair play.

This evidently marks the changes in the thought-processes of different sectors of the Indian Community—each trying to fulfil itself and giving expression to its feeling of uneasiness so long the desired result is not gained. But one must cautiously observe the extent of genuineness and legitimacy that prompts the particular section of the society to put forward its claims.

Undoubtedly, with the advent of freedom and the development work in its varied form that was undertaken in its wake, with the definite object of building up a new society, rich and purposeful, a new social awareness has been created. The people who had been resigned to a state of inanition and abject misery are now taking the vow to unfetter all bondages—political, economic and social—so that they may make positive contributions to the changes in the economic pattern of life and have a share in the increased domestic prosperity.

With the increased opportunities brought about by the release of creative forces, following on the achievement of Swaraj—there are greater expectations in public mind and they seek an improved quality of life—high standard of living, attended with material as well as cultural facilities.

This is a historical factor that can hardly be overlooked and it is only the close study of these inevitable processes of growth in the country that can remove all sense of frustration and resentment and generate a healthy atmosphere—a sure guarantee of National Integration—and ultimate success of the venture so boldly undertaken.



HAROLD LASKI AND THE CONCEPT OF SOVEREIGNTY

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THE question of the authority of the State and obedience to it has been a perpetual problem of social and political philosophy, and there has been a sharp difference of opinion amongst thinkers on this question. According to what is known as the monistic school of thought, sovereignty is the supreme will of the State which dominates over all other wills, whether of individuals or associations. The great thinkers like Hobbes, Rousseau, Hegel and Bentham belong to this school. But the most logical definition of sovereignty is given by the great juristic thinker Austin.

"If a determinate human superior," says Austin,¹ "not in a habit of obedience to a like superior, receive habitual obedience from the bulk of a given society that determinate superior is sovereign in that society, and the society (including the superior) is a society political and independent."

"To that determinate superior," he continues, "the other members of society are *subject*: or on that determinate superior, the other members of the society are dependent. The position of its other members towards that determinate superior, is a *state of subjection*, or a *state of dependence*. The mutual relation which subsists between that superior and them, may be styled the *relation of sovereign and subject*, or the *relation of sovereignty and subjection*."

Sovereign power, he holds,² "is incapable of legal limitation." "Supreme power limited by positive law," he declares, "is a flat contradiction in terms." The distinctive features of sovereignty, he maintains in essence, are unity, illimitability, indivisibility and absoluteness.

Laski develops his theory of sovereignty as a challenge to the traditional, monistic conception

of sovereignty. He observes that³ "the monistic state is an hierarchical structure in which power is, for ultimate purposes, collected at a single centre," and that, "this is both administratively incomplete and ethically inadequate." Further, the traditional view "has dangerous moral consequences."⁴ "It would be," he maintains, "of lasting benefit to political science if the whole concept of sovereignty were surrendered. That, in fact, with which we are dealing is power: and what is important in the nature of power is the end it seeks to serve and the way in which it serves that end." "The problem before us," he continues, "has become, because of the unified interest of mankind, that of bending the modern State to the interests of humanity." "How far," he asks,⁵ "is there an interest of the whole, a monistic interest, which transcends the interests of the Many who compose that whole?"

"The State has become in sober fact *Leviathan*," Laski warns,⁶ "and millions of men and women accept its decisions without scrutiny as obliging them merely because of the source from which they emanate. Our danger, indeed, is that the conventional is becoming infallible We preach incessantly that we are not responsible for the acts of governments which live by our consent a failure to protest against injustice only makes us the less vigilant against invasion of our freedom."

Laski's ground for attack is centred round the Austinian conception of sovereignty which, he holds, has threefold implications. "The State

1. See John Austin, *Lectures on Jurisprudence or the Philosophy of Positive Law*, Fifth Edition, (Robert Campbell), 1911, Vol. 1, Lecture VI, p. 221.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 263.

3. See Laski, *Foundations of Sovereignty*, p. 240.

4. See Laski, *A Grammar of Politics*, pp. 44-45.

5. See Laski, *The Problem of Sovereignty*, p. 3.

6. See Laski, *The Dangers of Obedience*, pp. 6-7.

for Austin," he says,⁷ "is a legal order in which there is a determinate authority acting as the ultimate source of power. Its authority, secondly, is unlimited. It may act unwisely, or dishonestly, or, in an ethical sense unjustly command, thirdly, is the essence of law. You must do certain things; you must not do other things. Failure to fulfil in either direction your obligation is punished by a penalty".

"Within the narrow field it covers," he further holds, "the Austinian view is a correct analysis of what flows from certain definite assumptions." But "these assumptions make it worthless as an explanation of the modern State for political purposes," and "the Austinian theory is artificial to the point of absurdity" as "no sovereign has anywhere possessed unlimited power." "The Austinian theory of sovereignty," he continues,⁸ "ungenial enough even in its abstract presentation, would as a fact breed simple servility were it capable of practical application." "There can be no servility in a State," he maintains, "that divides its effective governance. The necessity of balancing interests, the need for combining opinions, results in a wealth of political thought such as no State where the real authority is single can attain. The price of liberty is exactly divergence of opinion on fundamental questions."

Refuting the Austinian concept of law, Laski says,⁹ "to think of law as simply a command is, even for the jurist, to strain definition to the verge of decency. For there is a character of uniformity in law in which the element of command is, practically speaking, pushed out of sight."

"We have, therefore, to find the true meaning of sovereignty," he insists,¹⁰ "not in the coercive power possessed by its instrument, but in the fused good-will for which it stands." "Men accept its dictates," he observes, "either because their own will finds part expression there or because, assuming the goodness of intention which lies

behind it, they are content, usually, not to resist its imposition. But then law clearly is not a command. It is simply a rule of convenience. Its goodness consists in its consequences. It has to prove itself." Therefore, "where sovereignty prevails, where the State acts, it acts by the consent of men."

Laski denies the unlimited sovereign capacity of the King in Parliament which is the most perfect example of the Austinian view. "In practice legally unlimited power," he says,¹¹ "turns out to be power exercised under conditions fairly known to each generation All the forms of an Austinian arrangement are preserved; but it is upon their saving condition that their substance is surrendered."

Laski thus assumes that it is impossible to make the legal theory of sovereignty, as developed by Austin, valid for political philosophy. "Any attempt as with Austin," he says,¹² "to discover the sovereign is a difficult, and often an impossible, adventure. It postulates for the sovereign the possession of qualities which cannot in fact be exercised." And, "law for the student of politics, is built upon the general social environment."

Laski appears to be more concerned with the political nature of sovereignty than with its legal aspect and declares¹³ that "unlimited power is nowhere existent," and that "the will of the State cannot be an irresponsible will." "There is," he emphasizes, "no permanent right to power. Every government must submit itself to the judgment of those who feel the consequences of its acts. The reason for such submission is the simple historical fact that unconditional power has always proved, at least ultimately, disastrous to those over whom it is exercised." "Every government," he thinks, "is built upon a contingent moral obligation. Its actions are right to the degree that they maintain rights." "The only ground for obedience to the state," according to Laski,¹⁴ "is where its purpose is morally superior to that of its opponents. The only ground upon which the citizen can give or be asked to give his support

7. See Laski, *A Grammar of Politics*, pp. 50-51.

8. See Laski, *The Problem of Sovereignty*, pp. 273-274.

9. See Laski, *A Grammar of Politics*, pp. 51-52.

10. See Laski, *The Problem of Sovereignty*, pp. 12-13.

11. See Laski, *A Grammar of Politics*, pp. 52-53.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 55.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 56-57.

14. See Laski, *The Dangers of Obedience*, p. 16.

for the state is upon the conviction that which it is aiming at is, in each particular action, good."

Laski does not believe that the idea of undivided sovereignty is a remedy of all ills. "We seem in genuine danger," he says,¹⁵ "of going back to an ancient and false worship of unity, to a trust in an undivided sovereignty as the panacea for our ills. Surely the vitality of political life depends rather on the conference (*sic*) of final responsibility where there is willingness to assume it and the capacity to assume it wisely. . . . the good of the universe is manifold and not single. We are as travellers breasting a hill, and we reach its summit by a thousand devious paths."

Laski also denies any claim of superiority of the State over other associations within it. "Men are members of the State," he observes,¹⁶ "but they are members also of innumerable other associations which not only exercise power over their adherents, but seek also to influence the conduct of government itself." Further, "all voluntary societies are seeking to make solutions peculiar to themselves general solutions accepted by the State. They are minority-wills seeking, through the channels of legislation, to become the legally declared will of the majority." He assumes¹⁷ that "the allegiance of man to the state is secondary to his allegiance to what he may conceive his duty to society as a whole." And "the will of the State obtains pre-eminence over the wills of other groups exactly to the point where it is interpreted with sufficient wisdom to obtain general acceptance, and no further." "I shall find," he further insists,¹⁸ "again and again that my allegiance is divided between the different groups to which I belong." Associations, according to him,¹⁹ are "as natural to their members as the State itself." And these associations are "in their sphere, not less sovereign than the State itself; with, of course, the implication that their sovereignty is similarly limited by the refusal or willingness of the individual member to accept their decisions."

The monistic theory of the State, he argues,²⁰ "making it sovereign and, therefore, absolute; runs counter to some of the deepest convictions we can possess. I have urged that it will ask from us sacrifices it is against our consciences to give." But "the history of recorded experience seems to show that this kind of dogma is the stumbling block in the way of all progress."²¹ "The State has sovereign rights," he says, "and those who manipulate it will too often cause it to be used for the protection of existing rights. The two get identified; the dead hand of effete ancestralism falls with a resounding thud on the living hopes of today." "In the monist theory of the State," he remarks,²² "there seems no guarantee that man will have any being at all. His personality, for him the most real of all things, is sacrificed to an idol which the merest knowledge of history would prove to have feet of clay."

Thus his theory of sovereignty in its political aspect assumes a different form and accepts the idea of limitedness. He maintains²³ that "unhampered enjoyment of power by a minority will always result in a selfish use of power." "That is why," he observes, "the conception that authority not merely is, but ought to be, limited, is fundamental to political philosophy." For "if we once admit that a body of men can enjoy unlimited power, we are, in geographical fact, exalting the local divisions of mankind above all other aspects of human fellowship." And "that is an illegitimate exaltation." Laski does not approve such an exaltation of the power of the State and thinks that associations are necessary to secure the chance of self-determination.

To Laski,²⁴ "the legal theory of sovereignty is worthless." "Once we are in the realm of actual life," he says, "it is upon the limitations of sovereignty that attention must be concentrated. What then impresses us is the wide divergence between legal right and moral right." "There is . . . a vast difference," according to him, "between what Dean Pound has admirably called 'Law in books' and 'Law in action.'" And "it is with

15. See Laski, *The Problem of Sovereignty*, pp. 284-285.

16. See Laski, *A Grammar of Politics*, p. 59.

17. See Laski, *Authority in the Modern State*, p. 122.

18. See Laski, *The Problem of Sovereignty*, pp. 14-15.

19. See Laski, *A Grammar of Politics* p. 60.

20. See Laski, *The Problem of Sovereignty*, p. 21.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 22.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

23. See Laski, *A Grammar of Politics*, p. 63.

24. See Laski, *Authority in The Modern State*, pp. 41-42.

the latter alone that a realistic theory of the state can be concerned."

Laski next warns the society against the dangerous consequences of the doctrine of the ultimate supremacy of the State. "The danger of leaving to the State", he says,²⁵ "a sovereign position among other associations lies in the fact that it must always act through agents and that those agents are drawn from a body of experience which is not necessarily coincident with the general interest of the community." "Power," he states, "has the habit of corrupting even the noblest of those who exercise it; and it follows that to leave to the State the final control of all other wills in the community is, in fact, to leave to a small number of men an authority it is difficult not to abuse."

"The State," to Laski,²⁶ "is not itself an end, but merely the means to an end, which is realised only in the enrichment of human lives. Its power and the allegiance it can win depend always upon what it achieves for that enrichment."

Thus we find that Laski tries to refute the traditional monistic theory of the State and as a realistic political philosopher develops the concept of pluralistic society so as to reconcile the claims of society with those of the individual. But ultimately he could not reject the notion of the supremacy of the State *in toto*; rather he accepts it in a round about way, while discussing the problem of rights, and thus contradicts himself.

"Any system of rights", he says,²⁷ "has three essential aspects from which it must be regarded. There is the interest of the individual always, at least ultimately, finally isolated from his fellow men." Secondly, "there is the interest of various groups in and through which his personality finds channels of expression." Again, "there is the interest of the community which is the total result of the whole pressure of social forces."

"We cannot leave the groups within the community," he admits, "to define their rights by conflict, any more than we can permit individuals so to determine their rights. We must live by common rules. *We must build an organ which enforces and interprets those common rules.*"²⁸ Thus Laski really feels the need of a supreme authority within a society and indirectly admits the inherent weakness of pluralism. It is, therefore, clear that Laski ultimately accepts the essence of the traditional theory of the State. So we find that Dr. H. A. Deane is not wrong when he says²⁹ that Laski "succeeds only in bewildering his reader by both attacking the concept and seeking to retain it with an altered meaning." In view of what we have said above, we do not feel that Laski's criticism of the Austinian theory of sovereignty has any sound and logical basis.

We, therefore, fully agree with Professor Ernest Barker when he says that "the State, as a general and embracing scheme of life, must necessarily adjust the relations of associations to itself, to other associations, and to their own members—to itself, in order to maintain the integrity of its own scheme; to other associations in order to preserve the quality of associations before the law; and to their own members, in order to preserve the individual from the possible tyranny of the group,"³⁰ that "any unqualified theory of the 'inherent rights' of associations is likely to do as much harm as the unqualified theory of the inherent or natural rights of the individual man once did,"³¹ and that "if there is to be a State, it must have the final responsibility for the life of its citizens."³²

This only affirm the Austinian position.

28. The italics are ours.

29. See Deane, *The Political Ideas of Harold Laski*, p. 16.

30. See Ernest Barker, *Political Thought in England*, p. 178.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 180.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 229.

25. See Laski, *A Grammar of Politics*, p. 71.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 88.

27. See Laski, *A Grammar of Politics*, p. 141.



STANDARD IN LITERATURE

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

There can be no dispute about the fact that human nature has changed in modern times from what it was in former ages. When the modern man tries to solve some problem of life, his process of thinking is essentially scientific; his bent of mind is analytical. For this reason, the intellectual stuff has grown enormously and in a diversified manner. It is not possible for it to have all the room it wants within the perimeter of poetry. When the weaver in old times made cloth, he did everything from spinning to weaving in harmony with his simple rural life. As the gift of science, enormous quantities of commodities are being produced today according to the commercial policy of a country. This has necessitated big factories. They are however out of natural harmony with the world around them. As a result, industrial cities are growing out of all proportion to their environment. They are encircled by and penetrated with smoke, soot and filth and resound with the roar of machines. With these are found slums of labourers like clusters of carbuncles. On one side the stupendous power of machines has been belching out endless quantities of materials and on the other squalor and hardness have been accumulating in sight, smell and sound. No one can belittle their power and size. This might and largeness of factories with all their accompaniments have manifested themselves in novels. Whether we like them or not, the modern civilization has not been able to set apart within its boundaries a well-defined place for its crowded factories. The lifeless matter blowing out in many ramifications has driven in to a corner the very substance that sustains its life. Novels also share the same fate. The beauty of the human soul has been weighed down by the pile of thought. You may say that it is inevitable at present. But then you cannot say that this is literature. Man had to give up his homestead for expanding the market-

place. But you cannot say that market is human habitation. I would not deny the fact that the tendency of the human mind today is towards intellectual problems. This intellectual welter is noticeable in his words, thought and conduct. The characteristics of the society of Chaucer's day have found expression in the Canterbury Tales. It is not true that these traits cannot be found in the modern man. So far as feelings are concerned, they still exist in us in a great measure, but our thought has gone far beyond them. When, therefore, man appears in the literature of today, it would be quite inconsistent to present him as one imitating the sentiments, speech and ways of those earlier days. The element of thought will always assert itself in his life. To fulfil the demands of the times, the novels of today must, therefore, be charged with thought. Let it be so, but the fundamentals of literature are for all times the same. In other words, the principles of artistic enjoyment are a part of man's unchanging nature. If he comes to a gathering where stories are to be told, he will, if he is in his senses, like to hear only stories. What is the vehicle of this story? It is the living human character. We want to know it most intimately. In other words, the man in me is anxious to know fully all about the man in the story. Perhaps through the vicissitudes of time, the man in me has been too much overclouded by politics. As a result, perhaps he is pleased to hear in literature the political clichés of his own liking by keeping in the background the true nature of man. One cannot expect a correct assessment of literature from a person in this state of mind. Of course, if the writer has to depict a character given too much to politics, he has to put in his mouth the slogans of politics. But the writer's anxiety to do so must not impel him to furnish his characters with shibboleths but to portray their character. The

fact that depiction of character has been relegated to the background and that the demand for catchwords has become prominent proves that the modern man is very much engrossed in the task of loosening the tangles of life. To please him, therefore, it is not necessary to be a literary artist in the true sense of the term. Even when he had just started to learn the alphabet, Prahlād¹ was overwhelmed with the sound of the letter **Ka**² because it reminded him of Krishna. He should understand that just as the letter **Ka** is to be found in Krishna, so also in **Kokil** (cuckoo), in **Kak** (crow) and Calcutta too. Speculative matter in literature should be viewed in this way. It is impersonal. If one is overwhelmed with it, one would not be able to go ahead with the study of character. The concrete form of character belongs to literature. Formless discussion has no place in literature since it aims at delight.

Let me give an illustration from the Mahabharata. There is no doubt that it fell into many hands (of interpolators) in different ages. Considered as literature, one notices that there was no end of irrelevant assaults on it. If, however, it still exists as literature, it is because of its extraordinarily strong build. It is quite apparent that the character of Bhishma³ is highly ethical. This aspect of his character can be made quite clear if it is brought out at the right place by hints and suggestions, by a proportionate discussion as also by contrast with opposite characters and by subjecting him to hostile circumstances. We want this while we read literature. But it appears that there grew

up in our country at one time an unusual interest in ethics. That is why, without any protest from the reader, Bhishma, lying wounded upon his bed of arrows, flooded the story of the battle of Kurukshetra with a long canto of moral discussion. As a result, the character of Bhishma sank under the weight of sermons. Compare this with the novels of today. The trouble is that these sermons do not rouse our soul today as they did in their day. Today's cry is different and in course of time it will also become old. Even if it does not, whenever discussion enters into literature, it will never be pardoned if it violates the standards of literature, the demands of the times notwithstanding. The **Bhagavad Gita** has not yet become old, perhaps it will never be so. But to recite the whole of the **Gita** by holding up the story of the battle of Kurukshetra⁴ is certainly not an artistic way of presenting Shri Krishna as inspired by the sentiments of the **Gita**, and it may not be belittling the importance of the latter if it is pointed out that literature has been sacrificed to satisfy the temptation for homily.

The picture of Rama which we see up to the **Yuddha Kanda** (the Canto of War) in the Ramayana reveals no doubt his character as it was. There is a good side to it as well as bad, and much inconsistency, which has been sought to be explained away. There is a good deal of weakness in it. Although Rama is the principal character, nothing has been done to show him as a character conforming too rigorously to the laws of greatness according to the conventions of that particular age. In other words, he does not stand at the readers' bar as a witness to testify truthfully to the laws of the **Shastras**. If it is argued that he brought about the death

1. A devotee of Shri Krishna who started crying at the very mention of his name.

2. The first letter of Sanskrit consonants.

3. The Nestor of the Kurukshetra war, he was opposed to the fratricidal war between the Kauravas and Pandavas but had to fight on the side of the former most unwillingly. When severely wounded and in death-bed he spoke at length to the contending warriors assembled round their dying kinsman on the duties of a king.

4. The fratricidal war was fought between the Kauravas and Pandavas in that field in ancient times. Arjuna, the third Pandava was dismayed at the thought of killing his own kinsmen. Therefore Krishna, his charioteer, expounded the philosophy of immortality emphasising that bodily death does not bring about the annihilation of soul.

of his father⁵ in the enthusiasm of fulfilling one of his vows and in his loyalty to the spirit of the Sacred books, the killing of Bali⁶ is supported neither by the scriptures nor by ethics. Nor has the ideal of his greatness been maintained when on a certain occasion he makes an oblique comment on Lakshmana in relation to Sita. The ideal of hundred per cent excellence which Bengali critics demand when judging the integrity of a character in literature does not apply here. The poet of the Ramayana has not created the character of Rama by grounding it upon the logic of any doctrinal consistency. That character has emerged out of nature, belongs to literature and does not need a pleader's advocacy.

But the **Uttara Kanda** (the last canto) came with the cant of a particular age. It did away with character just as the beetle makes an end of the cockroaches. The social needs of the day made a serious demand on it; these were the problems of the day. A time for the rigidity of conduct came and Sita could not be taken back home after her long sojourn in Ravana's house without an expression of disapproval. That this would be wrong and, in obedience to popular opinion, she ought to be exiled to the forest and last of all must undergo the ordeal of fire were suggestions made to meet those problems. These now sit like a hag on the back of literature. The listeners of those days certainly applauded the poet because they thought that those were commodities of a very high order. As a result of that applause the patchwork canto still adheres to the living corpus of the original Ramayana.

Let us think of a similar problem of

5. Dasharatha, the king of Ayodhya and Rama's father, had to exile him most reluctantly in granting a boon to queen Kaikeyi, Rama's step-mother. Though Rama went to the forest willingly to fulfil the vow of his father, the latter could not stand the shock and died of broken heart.

6. The king of Kishkindhya whom Rama unjustly killed to place Sugriva his friend on the throne.

our own day. Suppose a chaste Hindu wife is abducted by a Muslim and forced to live in his house and is later on rescued. The novelists of the old and modern schools while writing may pile up long arguments in support of their respective viewpoints. It is sometimes said that the treatment of this sort of molestation is permissible in fiction but not in poetry. It is to be noted that the task of maintaining the purity of Hinduism is left to women and not to men. But if the tenets of Hinduism are a real commodity, they should be defended by men as well as women. The canons of literature are things of the same nature. They must maintain their own truth in all circumstances. We must always demand in literature the essential beauty of character and spurn as unwanted economics, sociology and politics, whatever their intellectual value, unless they come in humility as subservient to literature. The fact that a man is to be depicted in a novel as an intellectual being, or that its aim should be to please the intellectuals, does not mean that it should be reduced into a set of questions and answers for M.A. students. A man of a particular character may take back his wife rescued from a Muslim house or not according to the nature of his character. But this acceptance or rejection in a work of fiction must be in accordance with his character and should have nothing to do with a problem.

Life has a natural rhythm and within its limits lie its health, effectiveness and beauty. Man may overstep them by force. This is what is called wrestling. It is an astonishing thing but not healthy and much less beautiful. The peculiarity of wrestling lies in going beyond the limit and to do it the wrestler impatiently beats his time.⁷ Sometimes he achieves the impossible but at one place he breaks down. This fear of break-down has become very strong all over the world today. Civilization has gone so far ahead of nature.

7. The Indian wrestler jumps, slaps his thighs and dances in his impatience to outdo himself.

that it has to make its way through problems at every step, or in other words it is engaged in wrestling. Its load is becoming enormous and its litter is piling up high. The rhythm of man's soul is being attuned to that of the demon. It is now being realized that the musical beats are not reaching their natural pause. Hitherto one was pleased with the excellence of such simple things as double beats and four beats on a drum,⁸ but today, in these days of economics, one realizes that this achievement of which he was making so much ado is no achievement. In the horse-race of machines, horses are stumbling down on their muzzles one after another. In the pride and excitement of this economic success, we forgot so long that the joy of life was tormented by its complex and excessive speed. This bloated world of ours has become diseased, its balance of life has been upset.

The overgrown and unnatural life of the West has had a sharp impact on its literature. Poetry has become anaemic and novels disproportionately swollen. Looking down upon the work of art, they have given themselves up to intellectual gymnastics. There is no grace, no proportion, no beauty in them, but only heaps of discussion. In other words, this literature is to be weighed in the scales of demons and not in those of men. It is amazingly intellectual, perhaps utilitarian too, but not endowed with the spontaneity of life. The gigantic creatures of old have become extinct on account of their disproportionate size. Just proportion is the characteristic of life. It is true also of art. Herein lie the health and happiness of life, in this again the beauty and perfection of art. Greed rejects proportion and cannot see where excess begins. To greed living means the possession of material objects, and not the eternal ones. Material objects pride themselves on extravagance. What is immortal attains its purpose by internal harmony. The immortality of art is to be sought in restraint and symmetry. Its

8. Reference to the simple and unsophisticated music of old.

true nobility cannot be found in the upstart ostentation of intellectual excess. In that it is short-lived and allied to death.

The poem *Meghadoota* is instinct with life. It has within it a well-measured harmony. It is possible to extract a thesis out of it. I have myself done this sort of job. But here speculation is invisibly remote. Kalidasa⁹ has spoken clearly of a purpose in the prologue to his poetical work *Raghuvamsa*. He has sought to illustrate in it the causes of the greatness and downfall of the kingly virtues. If, therefore, it is viewed as a whole, it would appear to be weighed down with its own heaviness. Unlike *Meghadoota*, there is no roundness of form in it. *Kumara Sambhava* has come to a close where it should as a work of art. Viewed as logic, viewed as a problem, it could not end there. The problem is solved only when Kartikeya is born and has rescued heaven (from the assaults of *Asuras*). But to solve the problem is not the aim of art. Its chief work lies in perfecting its beauty. Intellect exults in disentangling the knot of a problem. But to give fullness to beauty is the work of creative imagination. Art dwells in the realm of imagination and not in that of logic.

You have referred in your letter¹⁰ to my novels *Gora* and *Gharey Bairey* (*Home and Abroad*). One has no right to criticise one's own writings. Hence, I shall not be able to dwell upon them at great length. I must confess that in these two novels of mine there are political and psychological discussions. To judge from the point of literature, one must observe whether these have found a rightful place in them or usurped it. When an edible substance is eaten and assimilated in one's body, a unity is established between it and the body. But if it is carried on the head in a basket, it may serve some external purpose, but there would be no harmony between it and life. If in *Gora*, the arguments have

9. The greatest Indian poet of ancient times, the author of *Meghadoota*, *Raghuvamsa*, and *Kumara-Sambhava*.

10. The letter was written by Dilip Kumar Roy, a Bengali writer.

been offered in a basket, however valuable they are otherwise, they must be condemned. If these do not form an integral part of the lives and characters of Gora and Vinay, this patchwork of problems and life, essay and story will not last long in literature. The value of speculations decreases fast. If, however, they swallow up the story, then both speculation and story would go to swell the heap of rubbish in the refuse-room of literature. At one time the plays of Ibsen received not a little appreciation. Has not their colour faded already? Will they catch our eye after some time? What a man feels intensely is for ever the source of his joy. The intellectual matters, however new they may appear at a particular time or in a particular country, wear their lives out in a short-while. If after this a literary work still

retains them, it suffers the fate of a hearse carrying a dead body. Life carries with it to some extent lifeless matters, such as our dress and decorations. But if the latter want to move with the former on, happy terms, they must not weigh down the former. In Europe, the load of the lifeless has pressed down life rather too heavily. This will not endure and its literature will share the same fate. The intensity of its speed enables Europe to carry this huge burden even today. But there is no doubt that its velocity will lose its momentum gradually under its pressure. A bulk which is unreasonably and immoderately large, exacts such a price from life that it makes it bankrupt.

[Translated from the original Bengali by Saroj N. Ray. 1934 A.D.]

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ABANINDRANATH TAGORE : AN APPRAISAL

By PROF. HIREN MUKHERJI

Hardly ten years have passed since Abanindranath died and within these ten years he has been subject to so much onslaught by champions of Modern Art both in India and abroad that the time has come when one should cry a halt to these irresponsible vapourings.

It is an irony of fate that the doyen of modern artists in India has now been branded as a revivalist. The school founded by him has been termed Bengal School (as if reflecting Bengali culture only) and the term has now been an abusive one. His disciples who carried his mantle all over India have been looked down upon as smugglers of petty Bengali culture and now since they have retired, the protagonists of modern art in other provinces have heaved a sigh of relief. One such protagonist writes about Abanindranath and his pupils in the following terms :

'As the pupils of Havell and Abanindranath, who imbibed the Ajanta tradition,

themselves became teachers in the Art Schools of various provinces of India, they brought up generations of students blindly to believe in the lifeless, over sentimentalised and 'spiritual' figures of their paintings, as the models of progress. . . . The consequences of this revivalism, . . . have been tragic in the extreme.' (Mulk Raj Anand, *Marg* Vol. 12 No. 1).

The disparagement of Abanindranath began in his own life time,* however, his towering personality ignored all such trifling aspersions and vilifications. Now since he is dead there has been a new impetus to this onslaught, thanks to the concerted attempt made by some Indian and foreign 'critics', who consider themselves as defenders of Modern Art. The zeal and fervour with which they are fighting for the cause of

* We can trace its origin to the pages of *Sahitya*, the Bengali journal, edited by Suresh Samajpati.

modern art in India often exceed the limit of decency bordering on personal attacks. None of these 'critics' have got the opportunity to study Abanindranath's paintings at first hand, yet nothing would debar them from delivering judgments censuring him. One of these 'critics' who regards him as a Brahmo and pre-supposes his training in an art school writes about him, basing his opinion on a single picture.

'As it (his style) developed over a period of thirty years it became identified with certain qualities—hesitant, indecisive line, misty vagueness of form, sombre murkiness of colour, likings for wistful girlish stances, dainty wanness, anaemic sentimentality. Some of these qualities spring directly from technical weakness—his inadequate training in British technique and imperfect mastery of Mughal idiom, the force of Japanese example. They are also due, in part, to mystical nature of Havell's teaching..... They are the qualities which go with a tepid shrinkage from reality, faltering distrust, a failure in courage' (Archer, Modern Art in India.)

Another self-styled critic writes about Abanindranath and the movement led by him :

'The modern art movement in India was born in the first years of this century in a haze of nostalgia for the past..... The nostalgia only produced a sickly sweet art without bone or nerve. The 'Back to Ajanta' and 'Back to Rajput painting' cries with which the new movement was launched were no more than sentimental slogans. Abanindranath Tagore, the pioneer of the new movement, himself did not go to Ajanta for his inspiration as much as to Persian miniatures, Chinese Scrolls and Japanese Wood-cuts. In fact, neither he nor his students understood the logic of line and colour which gave the Ajanta murals and Rajput painting their power. For the sensitive line of the old works they substituted a lachrymose line. In place of the bright and lively colours of the older works they used dull and often indistinct colours..... Its (Bengal School's) members failed to see that even the best of foods is of no use if the body is allergic to it. The anaemic

body of the Bengal School was not made to take in the rich diet of Ajanta and Rajput art.' (Mr. Shyamlal, Times of India Annual, 1961.)

These learned 'critics' forget that Abanindranath was hardly influenced by the Fresco painting of Ajanta though some of his disciples were swayed by it. As a member of one of the most aristocrat families of the nineteenth century Bengal, he imbibed a good deal of Persian and Mughal cultures at home, and was endowed with a wide imaginative power, a literary taste, a refined and cultured outlook, an aptitude for wit and humour, qualities which found better expression in miniature painting than in the large-scale fresco painting. Later, as a collector and connoisseur of art, he came in contact with masterpieces of Indian miniatures, both Mughal and Rajput, and it is these miniature paintings that thrilled him so much. However, it should be borne in mind that in spirit his paintings are more akin to the miniature paintings of Persia with their story-telling capacity than to the court paintings of the Grand Mughals depicting court scenes and hunting scenes, though stylistically his paintings differ as widely from one as from the other. And it is his style that betrays his genius and originality.

Abanindranath's style emerged as a result of continuous exploration and fresh discoveries. His earlier training in European technique under Gilhardy and Palmer equipped him with fine draughtsmanship, as two remarkable portraits of Debendranath and Rabindranath executed about the year 1893 will testify. About a year later he perchance met some miniatures in Patna 'Kalm' the decorative elements of which charmed him very much and this incident was the turning point of his life. Being greatly influenced by them he drew a series of pictures illustrating 'Krishna Lila', 'Buddha's Life', 'Betala-Pancha-Binshati' and 'Kalidasa's Poems', and though the result was not very satisfactory (the artist himself admitted it) yet one does not fail to recognise that the artist had developed a fine sense of colour. The figures are some-



His Excellency Mr. Lyndon B. Johnson, Vice- President of the U.S.A. and Mrs. Johnson with Dr. S. Radhakrishnan and Shri Nehru at Palam



Dr. Rajendra Prasad, inaugurating the All India Sanskrit Sahitya Sammelan at Calcutta



The Paranjyoti Chorus, during a concert given at Over-seas House, London



Mr. Douglas Ritchie with a young friend

what stiff and awkward lacking Indian feeling, and the artist fails to create the proper atmosphere. However, it was an important step forward and it would be apparent to any one who would look at these pictures, that the artist was groping in the dark in search of a new path being weighed down by the heavy burden of his training in European technique.

At this very juncture he came in contact with Havell who revealed to him a new vista by showing him a few miniatures in Mughal and Persian 'Kalm' (not more than five) one of them being a remarkable bird study (to be seen in the Indian Museum). He was overwhelmed with its delicacy and refinement. He himself records :

"I was spell bound That such a thing exists in our art was a revelation to me, and I (without knowing this) was searching all these years in vain ! There is plenty of riches in these old paintings, gold and silver have been used profusely. But they lack one thing, that is emotion (Bhava) Now it is my task to infuse 'Bhava' in these pictures."

The result is to be seen in his famous painting, 'The Passing Away of Shahjahan' (C. 1900). He has infused 'Bhava' no doubt but it has too much Mughal in it. Abanindranath's genius is still to assert itself.

From 1900 to 1910 Abanindranath struggled hard to evolve a new pictorial style achieving some success in the illustrations from Omar Khayyam (Fitzgerald's First Edition). If we compare them with his earlier 'Passing Away of Shahjahan' we shall see that Mughal elements have far less handicapped him. In 1911, he visited Puri and painted some landscapes and seascapes. One notices in these paintings a new turn in his artistic activity. What a sense of colour ! The blue of the sea and grey of the beach are in perfect harmony. He is the first Indian landscape painter, as landscape painting for its own sake had no place in Indian pictorial art. Side by side he continued to illustrate myths and legends, Tagore's dramas and also devoted a considerable time to his favourite subject of bird and animal study. In 1919-20, we get

another series of brilliant landscapes of the mighty Himalayas. Within a couple of years he finished a series of imaginary portraits of some important personalities belonging to the house of the great Mughals which according to some critic are "devoid of both strong conviction and real enthusiasm". The critic has altogether missed the point as Abanindranath had no desire to copy portraits of these great Mughals. These portrait-drawings are ideal ones, though not completely imaginary. In his Shahjahan, we see a poet, a dreamer, a man of vision. In his Jahangir, we see an emperor who is a true disciple of Omar Khayyam ; to him a flower garden is more precious than a piece of land in Afghanistan or Balkh. Thus any one who does not possess the necessary outlook will fail to appreciate Abanindranath's Mughal portraits. About 1925, he painted a series of animal drawings which have nothing Mughal in them except their delicate lines. His next important work is a series of Bengal landscape which truly breaths the smell of Bengal's soil. In 1930, he illustrated some of the stories of Arabian Nights and attained a success as he never achieved before. If we compare them with his earlier Omar Khayyam series we shall see how much the artist has evolved. Not only there has been a noticeable change in the figure drawings but also in the colour schemes and the use of space. Despite repeated washing colours retain their brilliance and lustre. The figures are drawn at perfect ease and the artist has nowhere failed to create the atmosphere. The pictures are a revelation with their sensitive delicate line and their lyrical feeling. In 1938-39, he painted two more series illustrating 'Kabi Kankan Chandi' and 'Krishna Mangal' which are in no way inferior to his earlier series on Arabian Nights and in some way superior to it with their poetry, humour and the artist's intimate love for animals. The year 1941 marks the final phase of the artist's creative activity as a painter when he trod a new path by indulging in abstract manner to depict Tagore's last journey. In depth and feeling these paintings (only two in number) have no equal. Thereafter the artist keeps himself

busy in making toys out of odd picked up materials where his genius finds a new way of expression.

If we attempt to analyse his style we shall see that the delicacy and refinement of the Mughal Kalam had attracted him from the very beginning, but as Mr. O. C. Gangoly justly remarks, "the range of his vision and the breadth of his palette was not confined to or restricted by the narrow outlook of the Mughal School." He adopted the one-hair brush technique of the Mughal masters, and their calligraphy so much fascinated him that he himself imitated them in inscribing his pictures. But the influence ends here: he adopted a technique that was radically different from that of the Mughal masters. He discarded tempera medium in favour of water-colour with a wash technique devised by himself.*

It is his water-colours with their mysterious wash that evoked so much criticism. The critics were baffled since they were not accustomed to such a wash technique distinct from the Chinese or Japanese manner where a thin layer of wash is applied to draw a curtain of mist over a lofty mountain or a panoramic valley. In Chinese or Japanese painting landscape occupies the most exalted place, man and animal being an insignificant part of it, whereas in Persian painting man and animal are the chief objects of interest, landscape being thrown into the background serving as a stage on which the drama is enacted. As we have already mentioned, in mood and temperament Abanindranath had more affinities with the pupils of Bihzad than with the masters who painted the frescoes of Ajanta or the large-scale silk scrolls of China and Japan. He executed several series of landscape paintings no doubt, some of them very fine indeed, but mainly he was interested in man and animal relating some story as in the Persian book of fables.

* There is a false notion among many artists and art critics that Abanindranath learnt the use of wash from the Japanese artists Taikan and Hishida. He got the idea from Taikan no doubt but the technique was his own.

'Illustration' has now been a depreciatory term in fashionable art criticism. But before sneering at illustrations one should remember that a large part of Oriental painting and the masterpieces of Italian painting are all illustrations. An artist's ability is judged not by what he paints but by how he paints. And in this respect Abanindranath had few equals.

Abanindranath, instead of applying a thin wash on his picture, used to keep it immersed under water, take it out after some time, repaint it over and again dip it under water. This process was repeated until the paper attained a pitiable condition, when he would take it out give it a final touch and dry it up. The intensity of colour was thus softened down (though bright colours were used when the situation demanded as in his Arabian Night series), the figures merged into the background distinguished only by a fine but not very sharp contour. The effect of depth was achieved by a gradation of tonalities. The process of repeated washing and applying a fresh layer of colour made the colours permanent.

It has been alleged that Abanindranath never dealt with a serious subject (Tagore's last journey being perhaps the only exception). It is foolish to ask a Persian master to draw a picture such as the great Mahaparinirvana (Kongobuji, Koysan, Wakayamaken) executed by an anonymous Japanese master of the Heian period; it is equally futile to expect from a Japanese master such a little gem as the Humay meeting Humaun (Musée Des Arts Decoratives, Paris). Abanindranath had within him an eternal child who looked at this world with simple innocent eyes wondering at its varied beauty; the mediaeval stories appealed to him so much, because the child within him was thrilled with them. It has been also pointed out that he did not draw his subjects from the life of the people around him. This too is equally uncalled for, as contemporary life had neither thrill nor romance to attract him.

Some people have sought to explain his success with the light of social and political background. According to them

his fame is due more to his nationalistic outlook than to his intrinsic merit. This theory is so much over simplified that it need not be considered in detail. Suffice it to say that Abanindranath was never swept away with the rising tide of nationalism, his 'Bharatmata' was but a passing phase of his creative activity, and the picture clearly indicates that the feeling was foreign to his temperament. He was nationalist no doubt but not in the narrow sense of the term; he freed Indian pictorial art from foreign yoke, transfused fresh blood in it, gave it a new language to meet the demands of modern age, adapting everything adaptable from the art of other countries (not confined to Asia alone) with a catholicity that is rarely met with.

The earlier critics stressed too much on his spirituality and Indianness; that was the need of the hour. Now with an unbiased mind we should re-evaluate his contribution

in the field of Modern Indian Painting and give him his due place of honour. If some of his disciples have failed to proceed along the path laid out by him that was not his fault. They failed as they lacked the power and imagination of their great 'Guru'. His pictures, now mostly in the collections of Rabindra Bharati, Calcutta, and Kala Bhaban, Santiniketan, are waiting for correct appraisal. He has so long been "very much misrepresented and, therefore, inevitably misunderstood in cheap tri-colour reproductions, which vainly attempt and miserably fail to convey the subtle grace of his lines and mystic and evanescent flavour of his colour-schemes." The crying need of the hour is to bring out an album containing some of his masterpieces reproduced through the most advanced process of colour reproduction now current in Europe, America and Japan, and make it known to the wider circle of art-lovers.

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THE CONGO STORY

7 (a). "To Win or Lose It All"

By CHANAKYA SEN

In New York, the Security Council met briefly as soon as reports of Lumumba's murder reached U. N. Headquarters. Mr. Hammarskjöld gave the members the news. Stevenson deplored Lumumba's murder and said that it would shock the entire world. When the Chief American delegate was speaking on February 15, his maiden formal speech to the United Nations, he was interrupted by spectators in the galleries who shouted slogans against Hammarskjöld and U.S. policies in the Congo. Stevenson broke off as shouts of "Vive Lumumba" and "Death to Hammarskjöld" erupted from the galleries. Then followed a scene of wild disorder which the *New York Times* described as "the worst in the history of the United Nations." U.N. guards grappled and exchanged blows with some fifty demonstrators, most of them Negroes. Sir Patrick Dean of Britain, who

was presiding, had the chamber cleared of spectators. "It was the first time such an order had been issued since the founding of the U.N.", reported the *New York Times*.

There were pro-Lumumba demonstrations and rallies in many capitals of the world, including Brussels where Socialist parliamentary deputies accused the Belgian Government of responsibility for the murder of the Congolese leaders.

The Soviet Government launched a vitriolic attack on the United States, the United Nations and particularly on Mr. Hammarskjöld, holding them responsible for the murder of Lumumba.

A statement issued in Moscow on February 14, described the death of Lumumba as "an international crime incompatible with the United Nations Charter"; the responsibility lay entirely with

the colonialists and above all, the Belgians, encouraged by the Western powers. "The tragic death of Patrice Lumumba and his associates lays bare with fresh force the disgraceful role played in Congolese affairs by the United Nations' Secretary-General and his subordinates in the Congo." Mr. Hammarskjöld had been assigned the role of the "executioner" in the assassination of Lumumba. But the blood of Lumumba would become the banner of the continuing and strengthening movement for Congolese independence. The Soviet statement demanded five specific measures: (1) The U.N. must condemn the actions of Belgium which resulted in the murder of Lumumba; (2) Men like Tshombe and Mobutu must be immediately arrested and put on trial and their forces disarmed; (3) All Belgian troops and personnel in the Congo must be immediately withdrawn; (4) Within one month the "so-called U.N. operation" in the Congo must be called off and all foreign troops withdrawn, "so as to leave the Congolese people themselves to settle their own internal affairs"; and (5) Hammarskjöld—"a miserable lackey of the colonialists"—must be dismissed from the office of Secretary-General for his responsibility for the murder of Lumumba. On its own part, the Soviet Government would maintain no relations with him and would no longer recognize him as an official of the U. N.

The Soviet statement also announced that after the U.N. operation had been called off, the Soviet Union "together with other states friendly to the Congo Republic will be ready to render all possible assistance and support" to the legitimate Government of the Congo, by which the Soviet Union meant the Stanleyville Government under Mr. Antoine Gizenga. This Government was recognized by the Soviet Union immediately after the murder of Lumumba.

This threat of Soviet intervention brought forth from President Kennedy his strongest statement thus far on the American policy in the Congo. He declared at a press conference, "I find it difficult to believe that any Government is really

planning to take so dangerous and irresponsible a step . . . I would conceive it to be the duty of the United States . . . to defend the Charter of the United Nations by opposing any attempt by any nation to intervene unilaterally in the Congo."

Thus, in spite of his efforts to initiate a new policy, the murder of Lumumba forced President Kennedy to use the same dialogue with the Soviet Union which had been practised for eight years under the Republican Administration.

An acrimonious debate raged in the Security Council. Taking his cue from the Moscow statement, the Soviet delegate, Zorin, mounted his severest attack on the United Nations and particularly on Hammarskjöld. The epithets flung at the Secretary-General included "blood-stained," "fraud," "puppet," "disgrace," "foul betrayer," "criminal," "miserable lackey," "saboteur," "political hack" and "murderer." In the typical cold-war scrimmage, Zorin tabled a resolution demanding, among other things, the dismissal of Hammarskjöld and withdrawal of the U.N. from the Congo within thirty days.

With Russia and the United States at loggerheads, attention focussed at the end of week's debate on Afro-Asian proposals for a settlement. The three Afro-Asian members of the Security Council, the U.A.R., Liberia and Ceylon, introduced a resolution, after considerable back-stage negotiations among themselves and with delegates of the big powers as well as the Indian representative. The resolution was constructive rather than negative. It rejected the Soviet demand for the withdrawal of U.N. troops from the Congo; on the contrary, it clearly wanted the operation to succeed. It gave a vote of confidence to Hammarskjöld inasmuch as it left the conduct of the operations to his care. But it asked Hammarskjöld in clearer terms to see that the mandates given by the Security Council implemented, and it authorized, for the first time in the history of the United Nations, the use of force by U.N. troops in given circumstances without the approval of the host Government. The resolution also demanded the immediate withdrawal of all Belgian mili-

tary and para-military personnel. The Liberian delegate, George Padmore, one of the moving spirits of the resolution, even proposed that the Security Council "hold its next meeting in the Congo or in some neighbouring country to establish U.N. prestige and authority." The proposal was supported by Stevenson but was not incorporated in the Afro-Asian draft resolution. In the voting the Soviet resolution got only one vote, that of the Soviet Union. There was some misapprehension that the Soviet Union might use the veto on the Afro-Asian resolution. But it did not. Russia and France abstained, and the resolution was carried on February 21 by nine votes to nil.

A significant feature of the debate in the Council was the reply given by Hammarskjöld to the attack upon him by the Soviet delegate. He said he would resign without hesitation if he had lost the confidence, in normal circumstances, of any of the major powers. But the Soviet Union was interested not only in his removal but in paralyzing the office of the Secretary-General itself, by substituting it with a triumvirate. It was, therefore, not an attack on him personally but on the United Nations as a whole. Mr. Hammarskjöld said, "It is not the Soviet Union or indeed any of the other big powers that need the United Nations for their protection; it is all the others. In this sense the organization is first of all **their** organization and they will be the people to use it and guide it. I shall remain in my post during the term of my office as a servant of the organisation in the interest of **those other** nations as long as they wish me to do so. . . . The Soviet Union has created a situation in which I could not resign unless it were to be the wish of the uncommitted nations that I do so."

Hammarskjöld, in effect, offered a revolutionary interpretation of the changed role of the United Nations since it was brought into being fifteen years ago. The U.N. was born out of the wartime alliance between the Western powers and the Soviet Union and it was to all practical purposes a Victory Club of the wartime

Allies. It rested on the principle of unanimity of the five founding members. Mr. Hammarskjöld sought to make the United Nations an organization of the smaller countries of the world, particularly those who belonged to neither power bloc.

The Security Council authorized the United Nations to use force to prevent civil war in the Congo which might burge on into an international conflict. The threat of civil war lay in the presence of four independent armed factions, apart from numerous armed tribal groups. The four factions were headed respectively by Joseph Kasavubu, who controlled at least 7,500 troops in Leopoldville and Equateur province; Antoine Gizenga, head of the pro-Lumumba Stanleyville Government with 7,000 troops; he held Orientale and Kivu provinces and parts of Katanga and Kasai—nearly fifty per cent of the Congo; Moise Tshombe, the Katanga leader, who had 5,000 Belgian-officered troops under his command; and Albert Kalonji in South Kasai, who had a private army of one thousand men.

Against these warring factions was pitted the U.N. force now armed with the mandate of keeping these armies from each other's throats by force, if necessary. The U. N. force, 20,000 strong, at one time, was now depleted by Afro-Asian withdrawals to 16,500 and was scheduled to lose another 3,000 within the next few weeks. And then the previous order of the Security Council that it were to maintain law and order without intervening in the Congo's internal affairs had not been withdrawn. This made the U.N. task all the more difficult.

The resolution of the Security Council led to varying reactions in different parts of the world. In the Congo, it brought about a kind of unity or alliance between Kasavubu, Tshombe and Mobutu who put up first an attitude of opposition and then open defiance of any U.N. move to apply force. The Belgian Government reacted sharply to the criticism of its policies contained in the resolution, to the call for immediate withdrawal of all Belgian per-

sonnel and also to the decision about use of force.

The American attitude was somewhat more sophisticated. The United States had supported the resolution, but not without reservations. It was aware that implementation of the resolution would involve considerable difficulty, and in any case, Mr. Hammarskjöld had no particular taste for the application of force. If the Congolese leaders opposed the use of force, the situation would get even more complicated. There was thus little chance of the resolution being applied in the immediate future and, in the meantime, American diplomacy could be employed on a desperate search for some kind of order out of the Congo chaos.

The February resolution brought about a significant change in the Afro-Asian stand on the Congo. As already noted, India took a leading part in the framing and passage of the resolution, although she was not a member of the Security Council. Another country which took considerable pains for the success of the resolution was the United Arab Republic. The U.A.R. had announced its decision to withdraw troops from the Congo. The resolution softened the stand of the U.A.R. and other countries for it was realized that if the United Nations had to use force in the Congo, adequate force must be made available to it. Having provided the United Nations Command with "teeth", the Afro-Asian countries could not, at the same time, take away the troops which were essential for the functioning of the U.N. in the Congo, not to speak of carrying out the resolution.

Speaking in New Delhi less than a week before the Security Council resolution was adopted, Prime Minister Nehru, had lamented the U.N. "failure" in the Congo and said that it would be the height of folly to carry on policies which had ended in failure. Mr. Nehru was inaugurating a seminar on problems of emergent Africa and most of his speech was devoted to the Congo. He said there was a state of civil war in the Congo and the trouble mostly arose from the manner in which the old colonial power was again trying to function

in the country. The recent events in the Congo had cast their tremendous shadow over the whole of Africa. "There is this tremendous shadow of the Congo in its present-day conditions with all kinds of other shadows, ghosts of the past, ghosts of today, haunting it; and behind it all, perhaps, are the big guns of the big countries also showing their ugly noses. It can be said that the policies pursued in the Congo have failed to achieve the results aimed at . . . These policies were not right policies, whoever might have been responsible for them and however good their intentions might have been—perhaps the intentions also were not always good." Policies which had failed could not, in any case, be carried out because that would lead to greater failures. "I wish to lay stress on the fact that policies pursued in regard to the Congo have failed and the responsibility for that may be spread out. It may be to some extent on all of us, members of the U.N., but to a greater extent on some." Nations had realized that things had gone completely wrong in the Congo and there was a great deal of confabulation amongst countries in search of new policies. "But some other great countries still stick to previous policies. They talked in what I have ventured to call pious language but, behind that seeming piety, there was still the smell of the old way of functioning."

Mr. Nehru deplored the murder of Lumumba and said that it had created more than international shock. "It has become an international crime. . . . It has become, I imagine, in this history of Africa, a turning point. It has become an event of historic importance. . . . Even Mr. Lumumba, a leader of his people, liked greatly by a large majority of them, has, within a few days of his death, become a historic figure, an almost mythical figure. There are some figures that grow because of circumstance and affect millions of people's mind. That is what has happened and it should be realized by those who were trying to crush him, push him down, because a dead Lumumba is infinitely more powerful than a live Lumumba."

Mr. Nehru's speech, of course, gave no

clue to what he was thinking about the Congo's future. But it was significant that Lumumba's murder should have persuaded him to describe the entire U.N. operation in the Congo as a failure. And yet, he, and other leaders of the Afro-Asian community, did not wish to see the U.N. fail. "If the United Nations goes from the Congo", he said a few days later, "there is no hope for the Congo in our lives. A vacuum will be created which will undoubtedly be filled by the great powers sending their armies and they will fight each other. So these foreign elements must go, except those under the control and direction of the United Nations."

The Indian stand from the very beginning of the Congo crisis had been clear on certain fundamental requirements of a stable settlement. These had been spelled out by Mr. Nehru in his address at the U. N. Assembly itself. The fundamentals were: Withdrawal of all Belgian political and military personnel, no intervention outside the United Nations, disarming and disbanding of the warring armies by the United Nations Command, reconvening of Parliament under U.N. protection and the acceptance of the decisions of Parliament as the basis of the Congo's political future.

Towards the realization of these objectives India was prepared to co-operate. She had lent some senior officers to Mr. Hammarskjöld for work in the United Nations and she had sent a complete hospital unit to the Congo to fill, at least partially, a dangerous vacuum in the field of medical services. She was exercising whatever influence she had at the United Nations and elsewhere to uphold the Congo's independence and integrity, the sanctity of its basic law and the sovereignty of its Parliament. She had carefully avoided taking an extreme line at any stage of the crisis. She was unable to support the Soviet line, and also the American line; she even did not agree fully with the solutions offered by the more radical African school led by Ghana and the United Arab Republic. As a result of all this her position had become delicate. She

was resented and wooed by all, but yet not completely trusted by any.

When the Prime Minister explained his work at the United Nations before the Lok Sabha in November, 1960, he took care once again to enumerate what he considered to be the fundamental requirements of a Congo settlement. The one central fact in the Congo was Parliament elected by the people, the symbol of the Congo's hopes and aspirations, of its new status. "So, I submit...the first basic thing is that Parliament should meet." The second basic thing was interference from outside. "Primarily it is Belgium, but the other countries also who have occasionally interfered, not so obviously as Belgium, but certainly interfered." Mr. Nehru wanted this interference to go and then the Congolese Parliament to meet. But everything must happen through the United Nations. An important Opposition member had asked what the Government of India wanted to do in the circumstance, and the Prime Minister's reply was, "I am venturing to do something by expressing the opinion of this Government and this House . . . as to what should be done by the United Nations, because this is a matter in which the U.N. is deeply concerned; it is tied up, and we as members of the U.N., are, therefore, concerned to express our views, to advise, to help and to co-operate with the United Nations."

The February resolution of the Security Council raised afresh this question of co-operation. Faced with a serious depletion of the U.N. force Mr. Hammarskjöld had already privately sounded Mr. Nehru for Indian combat troops for the Congo. India had in the past assumed a considerable amount of international responsibilities in several danger spots of the world—Korea, Indo-China and Egypt; but nowhere had she sent combat troops. It was a painful and difficult decision to take and the turn of events in the Congo had made a negative decision almost certain. But the U.N. could not be allowed to fail; the situation had to be retrieved; and there was the resolution of the Security Council of February 21, largely an Afro-Asian.

effort. So the Prime Minister of India gave fresh thought to the question of sending combat troops. The decision to send troops was taken within a few weeks of the February resolution and India offered a full brigade of soldiers—more than 3,000 fighting men with equipment and ancillary personnel, the whole force totalling nearly 5,000.

Before sending the troops Mr. Nehru had sought and obtained certain clarifications from Mr. Hammarskjöld. The Indian troops were not to be used to further the interest of any Congolese faction; their employment would be only for the purpose of realizing the U.N. objectives as defined in the February resolution of the Security Council. They would not be split into small groups which might make them ineffective; and while their deployment would be the responsibility of the U.N. Command, India would keep a careful watch on how they were being used. They should be quickly transported to the Congo, preferably by air, and if the situation in the Congo again deteriorated, India reserved the freedom to withdraw them.

The decision to send Indian troops gave rise to immediate complications. As we have already noted, no country except Morocco had sent three thousand soldiers to the U.N. Command. The Indian fighting men with their great reputation of efficiency were a formidable force against even the combined strength of Katanga and Leopoldville, and if the Indian force was employed energetically to restore order, the Congo situation would immediately improve. The despatch of Indian soldiers was, therefore, unbearable to Kasavubu, Tshombe and Mobutu and also to a host of Western countries. The decision to send them drew a storm of protest from Kasavubu and Tshombe; they were determined to oppose them even by force. Mobutu became provocative and belligerent. The Western Governments did not openly oppose but a smear campaign against India, and particularly against Mr. Rajeshwar Dayal, was started by the Western embassies in Leopoldville. Charges were made that India was out to

colonize the Congo. Mr. Dayal was accused of harbouring pro-Lumumba sentiments, of provoking civil war, of trying to bring down the regime of Kasavubu in Leopoldville and Tshombe in Katanga. The New Delhi correspondent of the *Hindu* said that even while the Government of India had decided to send troops to the Congo they were "greatly worried about the extent of anti-Indian feeling prevalent in the Congo. Reports which had been reaching India for the last few months have created the impression that anti-Indian sentiments expressed by Kasavubu and Tshombe truly reflected the general feeling among the Congolese population. Official circles in New Delhi do not share this apprehension. They think that agency messages sent out from the Congo gave often distorted and sometimes exaggerated pictures of what was actually happening. It is thought that the anti-Indian feeling may, perhaps, be confined only to a handful of people at the top who might either have developed vested interest or have come to feel that a change in the present position might mean their political ruin. There is a feeling that in course of time as India's position and basic intentions are correctly made known to the Congolese, even those who now vehemently expressed themselves against India might change their stand." (*The Hindu*, Madras, February 24, 1961.)

This was a rather optimistic estimate of what was happening in the Congo. On March 11, the Press Trust of India in a report from Leopoldville said, "Anti-Indian feelings are being worked up by the Congolese leaders and some Western embassies on the eve of the arrival here of the Indian brigade . . . Some Commonwealth embassies have been speaking openly and privately to the Congolese that the arrival of the Indian brigade amounted to colonization of their country. A section of the Congolese press today said that Indian troops were the forerunners of the arrival of two hundred thousand Indian immigrants in the Congo. The attacks on India which had been suspended during Queen Elizabeth's visit to India have been re-

sumed by some embassies here." (*The Hindu*, Madras, March 12.) It was also reported in the Indian Press that the United States Ambassador in Leopoldville, who is a former American Consul-General in Bombay, took an active part in the anti-Indian propaganda.

A main target of attack was Mr. Rajeshwar Dayal. We have already said that his first report to the Security Council as the Special United Nations Representative in the Congo had been suppressed. The Prime Minister in a speech in the Lok Sabha on November 22, read some extracts from this report. Mr. Dayal had offended Belgium by stating that there was "clear evidence of the steady return . . . of Belgians to the Congo, and within this framework, of increasing Belgian participation in political and administrative activities whether as advisers, counsellors or executive officials." Mr. Dayal had also added, "Belgian influence is also seen in the military field. A Belgian colonel, who recently arrived from Brazzaville, acts as an adviser to the Leopoldville Ministry of National Defence . . . In Katanga, Belgian influence is omnipresent . . . In the so-called autonomous state of South Kasai there is also considerable Belgian presence." In fact, Mr. Dayal had pointed to the most unpalatable truth that Belgium had practically reoccupied the Congo after the fall of Lumumba. No wonder that the report was suppressed.

Within a week of the passage of the February resolution of the Security Council Mr. Dayal circulated another report saying that although there was some improvement, the grave risk of civil war still persisted. It was a difficult task to bring the various armed factions under control and Tshombe and Kalonji were openly "assuming aggressive postures." Kasavubu's reply to this report was that it was Mr. Dayal who was fomenting civil war in the Congo.

There was some difficulty even with the transportation of the Indian brigade. An adequate number of aircraft was not available and part of the troops had to be transhipped, not straight to the Congo, but

first to Madagascar where they were made to wait for some time before being airlifted to the Congo. The United States, which had offered to transport the entire brigade by air, explained that unforeseen difficulties had arisen in the matter of airfield facilities and other technical details, and apparently the Government of India was satisfied with the explanation.

When the Indian troops arrived in the Congo they were not assembled at one particular place but were divided between Leopoldville and Katanga. The Congolese soldiers under Mobutu were determined to wage war on the United Nations and vastly superior forces under his command drove the Tunisian troops of the U.N. force out of the two important U.N. supply ports of Matadi and Banana on the Atlantic. Mr. Dayal made a strong protest to Kasavubu who complained to Mr. Hammarskjöld that the Indian Special Representative was biased against his Government. Mr. Hammarskjöld rejected the charge and lodged a protest with the Congolese President.

For weeks, however, the ports remained under the occupation of Mobutu's men and, instead of engaging them and throwing them out, which the U.N. Command was capable of, a tortuous process of negotiation was started.

In the meantime, the U.N. General Assembly resumed its fifteenth session in New York, and Mr. Rajeshwar Dayal was summoned by Mr. Hammarskjöld for consultations. On his way he halted in London, where the Commonwealth Prime Ministers were in conference. He briefed several Prime Ministers on the Congolese situation. It was made known that Mr. Dayal would spend about a fortnight in New York and then return to Leopoldville.

Mr. Dayal himself told a news conference in London on March 14 that "a well-orchestrated campaign" by "a certain section of the press" aimed at securing his withdrawal from the Congo—a situation which "would suit a certain national point of view." But he was responsible to Mr. Hammarskjöld only, who in turn was responsible to the Security Council. He said

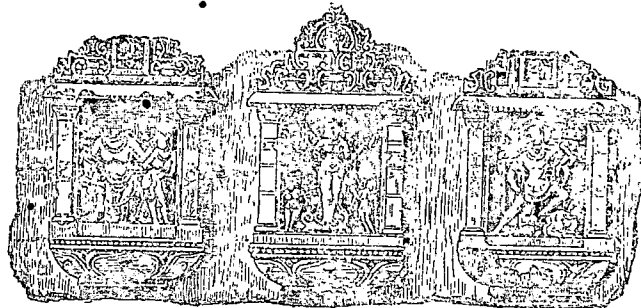
he had been at great pains to see Ministers in the Congolese Government and explain to them the Security Council resolution of February 21. "Only President Kasavubu has not responded to my requests to see him." His difficulty with Kasavubu was that the Congolese President had wanted the U.N. to use force against rival leaders in other parts of the country—something the U.N. could not do under Security Council resolutions.

Mr. Dayal listed three main objectives to be pursued under the resolution. The first was the withdrawal of Belgian military, para-military and policy-making advisers and of mercenaries. This was a matter for diplomatic action and the U.N. would be greatly helped if members who voted for the resolution set a good example. Interference could take all sorts of forms, like building up by press propaganda of Mobutu into a "strong man". Mr. Dayal said, in fact, Mobutu was "intrinsically the weakest strong man I have ever seen." The second main object was avoidance of a civil war situation which would lead to no clear-cut decision but to tribal and genocidal warfare. And the third was reorganization of the Congolese armies.

Mr. Rajeshwar Dayal arrived in New York on March 26. As days passed, Kasavubu adopted an increasingly hostile attitude towards him. The chances of his return to Leopoldville dimmed. At first the

Secretary-General would not listen to Kasavubu's objections. But opposition to Dayal was not confined to Kasavubu, Mobutu and Tshombe. Influential American newspapers took up the campaign against him. The British joined hands secretly. Anti-Indian and anti-Dayal propaganda continued to emanate from certain un-named Western embassies in Leopoldville. Mr. Nehru, however, insisted that Dayal should go back to his post in Leopoldville. Throughout February, March and April, Mr. Hammarskjöld kept up an appearance that he was unmoved by the smear campaign against Dayal. But significant diplomatic moves were afoot in the Congo. The U.S. made Kasavubu the king-pin of its Congo policy. The Congolese President suddenly became suppliant. He offered to co-operate with the U.N. His only demand was that Dayal must go. In May, Hammarskjöld yielded. On May 24, it was announced that Rajeshwar Dayal would not return to the Congo. The Secretary-General had many times in the past asserted that in the matter of appointing his representatives he would not be influenced by any Government or leader. But he ultimately yielded to Kasavubu's demand. In fact, events in the Congo had taken such a turn that there was no longer room for a man like Rajeshwar Dayal.

(To be concluded next month)



• INDIAN BRAND OF SOCIALISM : AGRARIAN ASPECT

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III

DISPOSAL OF SURPLUS LAND

AFTER the ceiling, the problem of the disposal of the surplus land will be important. Who should get the surplus land and why?

The Congress Agrarian Reforms Committee recommended the priority of disposing of surplus land first to the co-operative joint farm with landless labourers, and then to the uneconomic holders.¹ (2) The second view is that in the disposal of the surplus land the first priority should be given to the tenants of such lands who had been cultivating them in the past so many years.² (3) The third view is that the surplus land should be distributed among the landless labourers;³ and (4) fourthly, surplus land should vest in the Panchayats and should be managed through co-operatives of landless labourers and small peasants.⁴ The last two views are most controversial and need examination. The arguments in favour of the 4th view are: (a) "Surplus land would not be much and if that was distributed among the landless each would get a very small plot which he would not be able to cultivate economically. (b) Besides being poor, he would not have the material resources to cultivate the land given to

1. Congress Agrarian Reforms Committee suggested that "the surplus so obtained be used for the purpose of co-operative joint farming We recommend the following priority in respect of the disposal of surplus land—(a) co-operative joint farm with landless labourers to be organised and (b) to be sold out to uneconomic holders. p. 24.

2. "The surplus land in excess of ceiling should be given to the tenants of such land, who had been cultivating it in the past many years." Parliamentary Debates,—*The Statesman*, 12. 1. 59.

3. "The surplus land should be available for cultivation by co-operative groups of landless agricultural workers and the farmers who agree to pool their own lands with the surplus."—*Indian Delegation to China on Co-operation*, p. 185.

4. The Nagpur Resolution of the Congress,—"Surplus land should vest in the Panchayats and should be managed through co-operatives comprising landless labourers and small peasants.

him and that (c) this land would not remain with him and would pass on to some moneyed person in the village. The co-operative on the other hand would assure land not only to him, but to his children and grandchildren. (d) The surplus would not be such as to support the landless labourers or free them from the need for employment. Meanwhile, those whose holdings have been reduced would now be unable to employ others as before and would be hard put to maintain their old standard of living. (e) It is far from certain that majority of landless labourers would turn out to be better farmers than the original owners of the land.⁵

Now, strictly speaking, all the aforesaid arguments are not so much in favour of the Nagpur proposal as they are against the proposal of distributing the surplus land among the agricultural landless workers. If co-operative farming as a result of land ceiling based on the average availability of land per capita and personal cultivation as defined above is to be accepted as the ultimate goal of our agrarian reorganisation, the aforesaid arguments in favour of the 4th view lose their strength and if landownership is to lose its right of transferability, land will cease to be a means of payment either in case of settling old debts or incurring new ones. So far as the argument (d) is concerned, nowhere in this world (particularly in the Communist countries) unemployment problem has been sought to be solved by land redistribution alone. But it should be borne in mind that for a country which aims at being socialistic, which in its turn means even raising agricultural production ultimately leading to the establishment of a self-generating self-sustaining economy, land reforms with land ceiling according to the average availability of land per capita and the distribution of the surplus land so obtained among the landless labourers have been the first step and only the first step in building up the New Economy. And for the solution of the rural unemployment and disguised unemployment, so long as sufficient industrial development so as

5. G. B. Pant,—*The Statesman* (Cal.), 12. 1. 59.

to absorb all the surplus population overcrowding the agriculture today, does not take place, the scope for the gainful employment will have to be found out on land and in agro-industries. The major part of the problem will have to be solved in agriculture itself.

There is also truth in the assertion that conferring ownership of surplus land on Village Panchayats would not benefit the landless labourers because whether it is the co-operative society or the Panchayat, the controlling voice in such bodies would be retained by the richer and more influential classes in the village.⁶ On the other hand if surplus land is distributed among the landless labourers, their vanity of landownership which is so much the source of social prestige in the rural areas will not only be satisfied but will also create a new psychology and enthusiasm among those who by the very fact of their holding small shares of land will like to form themselves into co-operatives with doors open for small and medium peasants.⁷ Only such schemes will pave the way for a socialist rural India. In short, Land Reforms will have to be the basis of unification, democratisation and industrialisation of India after the abolition of (a) concentration of landed property and (b) consequent stratification of the rural society.⁸

A number of States in India, e.g., Bihar⁹ and Orissa,¹⁰ have legislated that the surplus land should vest in the Gram Panchayats, whereas Kerala¹¹ will distribute 50 per cent of the total disposable surplus among landless, 25 per cent, among the small farmers and the rest will be reserved for public purposes.

6. Sabitri Debi Nigam, (U.P.), *Parliamentary Debates, The Statesman*, (Cal.) 12.1.59.

7. "The surplus land should be available for cultivation by co-operative groups of landless agricultural workers who agree to pool their own lands with the surplus".—*Indian Delegation to China on Co-operation*, p. 185.

8. "Land Reform was intended to mean and has meant a complete transfer of power from the landless and allies to the peasant and is the basis of unification, democratisation and industrialisation of China". Dr. Gyanchand,—*New Economy of China*, p. 68.

9. *The Bihar Land Reforms*, (Fixation Ceiling on Land Bill 1959), p. 19.

10. *The Indian Nation* of 15.9.59.

11. *The Statesman of Calcutta* dated March, 27, 1959.

LAND CONCENTRATION

Perhaps, India is one country where concentration of wealth in a few hands is most excessive.¹² According to the Report on Land Holdings, Rural Sector, a little over 20 per cent of all rural households do not own any land; about 25 per cent have a small parcel of land, less than one acre in area. Thus a little less than 50 per cent of the rural households have either no land or own less than one acre land; their share is only a little more than 1 per cent of the land owned by rural households. At the upper end about 12.5 per cent of the households have more than 10 acres with a total share of about 66.6 per cent of the whole area and about 1 per cent of the households own more than 40 acres accounting for 20 per cent of the area. These figures indicate two things: first, excessive ownership or possession of land by a handful of people and second, overcrowding at the bottom of the agricultural ladder. Land Ceiling Legislations must reduce this disparity considerably. To what extent the land ceiling measures will create an atmosphere for capital formation will depend on the nature of land ceilings and re-distribution of land a country adopts. The level of ceiling is important here from the points of view of (a) the amount of surplus land to be obtained and disposed of; and (b) the conditions it creates for increasing planned agricultural productivity with some social objectives. When compared with other countries which have adopted land ceilings and distribution, the amount of surplus land which Indian States will have as a result of their respective land ceiling measures seems to be negligible from the points of view of its effect on the phenomenon of excessive concentration of land in a few hands, and of the percentage the amount of surplus land will bear to the total area. For instance, in Bihar, the total surplus land after fixing the ceiling will be possibly 1.5 lakh acres out of the total cultivated area of 19.8 million acres, i.e., 7 per cent approximately of the total cultivated areas;¹³ only 67,000 acres¹⁴ in West Bengal and 250,000 acres in Orissa.¹⁵

In China, about 40 per cent of the total

12. *Indian Delegation to China on Co-operation*, p. 128.

13. *The Statesman*, (Cal.), 15.9.59.

14. *The Statesman*, (Cal.), 20.3.59.

15. *The Statesman*, (Cal.), 26.9.59.

cultivated area were redistributed and 300 million peasants were actually benefited. Land-ownership was atomised; an average holding was about 2 acres, but co-operative farming became the vehicle of increasing agricultural productivity.¹⁶ In Hungary, the new land reform affected a total of 3.2 million hectares of agricultural and woodland area or 38.8 per cent of the land available, of which some 1.9 million were rapidly redistributed to 642,000 claimants. The Latifunda were thus annihilated.¹⁷ The Reforms introduced in Rumania expropriated all private holdings in excess of 50 hectares. The 1945 reform affected 143,000 estates and involved a total of 1.4 million hectares of which 1.05 millions were redistributed to 860,000 claimants, an average of 1.2 hectares per claimant.¹⁸ Yugoslavia set a limit of 25 to 35 hectares of arable land per holding according to the region, and the total land per holding at 45 hectares. Areas exceeding 3 hectares were taken away from those who did not cultivate the land themselves. In Poland, the land affected by the reform amounted to 21 per cent of the agricultural and woodland areas distributed among 498,000 holdings.¹⁹ In the region as a whole land reforms affected a total of 25 per cent of the total agricultural and woodland areas.²⁰ In Japan, before the Land Reforms of 1946, only 29 per cent of all cultivators owned all the land they tilled and 20 per cent of them were landless tenants. After the reforms were completed 70 per cent of the owners were full owners, less than 6 per cent were landless tenants, while the remaining 24 per cent owned some of the land they tilled. It is estimated that 90 per cent of the land is now in the hands of owner-farmers.²¹

These figures are themselves eloquent enough about the character of the ceilings of land and its redistribution and the social reforms associated with them. When compared with them, India does not seem to have touched even the fringe of the problem. Her measures are, no doubt, not reactionary but also not very revolu-

tionary in the sense, in which the land reforms elsewhere have been. They do not solve even 25 per cent of the problem of concentration or that of the social reform. Wrong property in wrong hands still continues to exist in great measures.

A good deal of wrong notion prevails about the immediate results of the Land Reforms based on low level of ceiling and of the distribution of the surplus land among the landless. Such measures are often opposed on the grounds that (a) they cannot satisfy the land hunger of all the landless agricultural labourers numbering some 60 million people in India; (b) nor can they solve the problem of rural unemployment. Land Reforms have nowhere been meant to achieve these goals, in the first instance. They are more an instrument of social surgical operation than that of the solution of the rural economic problems.²² In fact, the immediate results of the L.R. in the European Communist countries have been the increase in the total number of the subsistence units and dwarf and small estates. The same is true of China. Only in the second instance, when these, 'dwarf and subsistence units' formed themselves into co-operatives they tackled the problems of unemployment and productivity by creating conditions of large-scale exploitation of land and of liquidation of backward methods of cultivation.

PROBLEM OF RESUMPTION

Problem of resumption of land for personal cultivation is indirectly the problem of rehabilitation of those landowners who own lands, but do not cultivate them personally or who get them cultivated by farmers other than sharecroppers or *bataidars* on terms as are settled between them. They are, for all practical purposes, absentee landowners, matters little whether they are residents or non-residents of the village or *Ilaka* in which their lands lie. Those who actually reside near their lands, but, at present, do not actually participate in cultivation should be classed as Resident Absentee Landowners and

16. *New Economy in China* by Dr. Gyanchand, p. 62.

17. *The Economics of Communist Eastern Europe* by Nicolas Spuler, p. 235.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 232.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 232.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 241.

21. *Land Reforms*, U.N.O. 1951, p. 59.

22. "It should be noted that the significant changes in the structure of landownership effected by the reform neither provided land for all the landless peasantry nor solved the problem of over-population in the countryside."

The Economics of Communist Eastern Europe by Nicolas Spuler, 1957, p. 237.

should be allowed to resume land for personal cultivation, as defined above, only within a limited period of them, failing which the land-ownership right should vest in those who actually till them. Those who do not reside near their lands which are cultivated by others should be classed as Non-Resident Absentee Landowners and should, in no condition, be allowed to resume land even for personal cultivation as agriculture no longer forms the main source of income to them. Those who are not engaged in non-agricultural pursuits, but yet reside in towns for some purposes, living mainly on agriculture as the chief source of their income, should be allowed to resume lands for personal cultivation only on the condition that they become, within a specified period of time, actual tillers of their lands, failing which the landownership right should vest in those who actually till them. Unconditional right to resume land for personal cultivation as defined in most of the Land Ceiling Bills in India, permitting the cultivation by hired labour on fixed wages payable in kind or cash, will not release socio-economic forces which will enable the rural society to go ahead with vigour on socialist lines for ultimately having a socialistic pattern.

Now the question is : what should be the quantum of lands their owners should be allowed to resume for personal cultivation? Regional variations in soil-fertility and climatic conditions notwithstanding, uniformity of standard on all India basis, in this respect, would surely ensure equity of justice to all concerned. Uniformity of standard can be had in terms of some standard acre having a certain average agricultural productivity in relation to certain cost, in terms of which all other lands of different fertility are to be expressed. But different states have adopted different standards in determining the quantum of lands to be resumed by their owners. For instance, in Andhra, the quantum is three family holdings; in Assam the maximum limit is 33 acres; in Bombay it is three economic holdings (12 to 48 acres); in Jammu and Kashmir, it is 2 acres of wet land or four acres of dry land and 4 acres of wet land or 6 acres of dry land respectively;²³ in Bihar, it is one ceiling area (30 to 90 acres according to the classification of

land²⁴), etc. Only in the Cochin area of Kerala, the tenants have fixity of tenure and the land-owners have no right of resumption.

These states have, no doubt, legislated according to the directions as given in the First Five-Year Plan regarding the quantum of lands to be resumed by their owners.²⁵ The problem of resumption is related with the problem of ceiling. The higher the level of ceiling, the greater is the quantum of land to be resumed and vice versa. In Japan, resumption even for personal cultivation is not permitted although tenancy is allowed to continue. But complete security of tenure has been assured to the tenants who could not acquire ownership.²⁶ In India, the trend is towards bridging the gap between landownership and cultivation. Tenancy legislations are being made for enabling the various classes of tenants to acquire ownership right within a specified period of time by discharging certain obligations imposed on them. And yet, the transition must be rapid and short, as whatever be the intention of the legislators in legislating land reforms and tenancy laws, the worst of all evils our agriculture suffers today from, is the element of uncertainty the whole rural atmosphere is surcharged with. This uncertainty must go within the shortest time possible, and the consequences of the conditions arising out of the socio-economic relationship must be soon established. The speedy and effective achievement of the objective is conditioned by the amount of

24. *The Bihar Land Reforms (Fixation of Ceiling on Land) Bill, 1959*, p. 7.

25. "Resumption should be allowed only for cultivation by the owner himself or members of his family and upto a limit of not more than three family holdings. A period may be prescribed, say five years, during which an owner may resume for personal cultivation. If he fails to do so during this period his tenants should have the right to bring land they cultivate."

26. In Japan, "as a result of the Land Reforms of 1946, most tenants were conferred ownership. All tenancy lands owned by the absentee landlords were allowed to retain upto 2.5 acres of tenants' lands, but were not permitted to resume it from tenants even for personal cultivation. The tenants, who did not get ownership had thus complete security of tenure." *Indian Delegation to China on Co-operation*, p. 118.

23. *India 1959*, p. 270-271.

genuine interest the land reform machinery takes in the land reforms. It is a matter of great regret that the persons who will be the beneficiaries of these land reform acts are either too illiterate to understand their significance or too unconscious to voice their demands or too poor to take recourse to law in cases of defiance by the landlords or too disorganised to utilise their collective strength to take advantage of these acts. In such circumstances, reforms go ahead of those who actually need reforms and the reformers who intentionally fail to make the needy reforms-conscious of their needs and necessities, and as such social thinking lags behind social reforms. We must cry halt to further legislations and wait till the gains from the previous ones are fully gathered in and consolidated. The thick veil of ignorance, indifference and helplessness on the part of the really needy must be pierced into by means of disseminating the knowledge of technicalities and subtleties of the land reforms acts, prior to the enactment of further land legislations.

THE RATE OF COMPENSATION

In accordance with Article 31 of the Indian Constitution, all the Land Ceiling Bills in India have made provisions for the payment of compensation, at fixed rates to the landowners for their surrendered land in excess of ceiling area and also for their lands to be purchased by their tenants within and beyond the ceiling area. In the first case, compensation under the existing practice in most places is stated to work out to 20 times the fair rent payable in 20 instalments.²⁷ In others, rates have been different for different classes of lands where lands have been classified on the basis of their soil, site, situation and irrigational facilities. For instance, in Bihar, for five classes of lands the flat rates vary from Rs. 1,200 to Rs 400 per acre. In Kerala, the rate will be based on the market value of land to be paid on a Slab basis, i.e., 60 per cent on the 1st Rs. 15,000 of the total market value and a progressive re-

duction of 5 per cent for every succeeding unit of Rs. 15,000 of the market value. Very recently, the Panel of the Planning Commission on Land Reforms have suggested an important departure with regard to compensation, *inter alia*, which should be 40 to 50 per cent of the market value of the particular land and payable in easy instalments with the proviso that compensation amounting to Rs. 5,000 and less should be paid in lump sum. Slab basis is progressive whereas flat basis is regressive. It would be physically more justified if Slab basis is accepted as the basis of the determination of compensation, because that will result in more equitable distribution of wealth in the society and the society will drift along socialist lines.

As regards the purchase price of the land either within or beyond the ceiling area to be paid to the raiyat or to the State by the under-raiyat for obtaining raiyati status, the rates differ in different states. For example, in Kerala, the purchase price payable by the tenants has been fixed under the bill at 12 times the rent payable immediately before the commencement of the Act or at the option of the tenant, 16 times the fair rent determined under the Act. It has applied the principle of progression to the payment of various sums exceeding the sum of Rs. 15,000 as the purchase price to the landowners. For instance, on the first Rs. 15,000 of the purchase price, the full amount may be paid to the landlord but a progressive reduction of 5 per cent for every succeeding units of Rs. 10,000 would be made. On amounts exceeding Rs. 145,000 only 30 per cent need be paid as compensation. In Bihar, variation in rates has been determined in accordance with the variations in the relationship between the raiyat and the state, the under-raiyat and the state, and the under-raiyat and the raiyat and also with the fact whether raiyati status is to be acquired within or in excess of the ceiling area by the under-raiyat and the sums so determined would be paid in 20 equal annual instalments. Besides, the under-raiyat within the ceiling area of raiyat to acquire status of raiyat will have to prove his continuous possession over the land in question as under-raiyat for a period of 20 years prior to the date of the commencement of this Act. The under-raiyat in surplus land, to acquire status of a raiyat, will have to prove that he is an under-raiyat on the surplus land on the date it vests in the state and will have to make an appli-

27. "Compensation shall be payable in cash or transferable bonds or partly in cash or partly in bonds and they will carry interest at the rate of two and a half per cent per annum from the date of issue and shall be payable during a period of 20 years.

The Bihar Land Reforms Bill, 1959, p. 27.

cation in this behalf in the prescribed manner and to pay in the prescribed manner and within prescribed period to the State Government the amount so specified, failing which within the said period he shall be liable to be ejected. If these conditions are not reactionary, they are not revolutionary as well. In view of the existing pitiable economic, social and educational conditions of the under-riayats, it cannot be expected that the under-riayat would be fulfilling all the provisos attached to them for acquiring riyati status. The pre-landlordism bias intended to maintain *status quo* in the existing socio-economic relationship is sufficiently exhibited by not providing easy and effective methods of changing landownership relation between the various parties engaged in cultivation. The effect of these measures on the socio-economic change would be slow and halting, in some cases adverse, while in others, little conducive to the rapid emergence of a society characterised by a land tenure system in which lands belong to those who actually till them. Such measures will accelerate eviction and ejections of the under-riayats who are generally much weaker in all respects, than the riyats. In Communist countries, lands were confiscated without compensation. In Japan compensation was paid but its rate was nominal.²⁸ What is needed in India is the peaceful, but at the same time sufficiently rapid and effective de-stratification of the various categories of people engaged in our agriculture for which genuine and well-intentioned, not window-dressing, land-legislations are necessary.

FIXATION OF FAIR RENT

At present tenants are rack-rented. What should be the amount of fair rent? There are differences between 'economic rent', and 'fair rent'. But before their differences are laid out, social objective of the rent policy will have to be grasped. The fixation of rent should be subjected to a conscious social policy aimed at securing social justice for all without unduly weakening economic incentive.²⁹

The concept of rent so fixed as to yield a certain percentage of return on the market value

of land is rejected on the ground of inter-relationship between the rent of the land and its market value which is itself, more often than not, determined by its rental value. The concept of rent fixed as a multiple of land revenue assessment is also fraught with serious difficulties, such as (a) the absence of any uniform basis of assessment, and (b) the absence of any clearly recognized principles of investigation into the economic rent or net income, which may be taken as a clear surplus, to find out the amount of assessment. So, rent may be fixed in relation to gross or net produce.³⁰ Normally the maximum rent should be one-third of the gross produce,³¹ which should apply in uniformity to all tenancies, variations below the maximum being dependent upon the condition of the land and factors requiring local adjustment.³² Perhaps, one-third of the gross produce does not leave a fair margin of profit for the cultivator, taking into account his expenses of cultivation and other risks. So the First Five-Year Plan suggested one-fourth or one-fifth of the gross produce as a fair rent. Fair rent as determined by the land legislations in the various states of India varies between one-sixth to one-third of the gross produce. In Andhra Pradesh, it is not to exceed 50 per cent of the gross produce for lands under government irrigation sources, 45 per cent in case of dry lands and 28½ per cent in case of irrigation by bailing. In Assam, the crop-share is not to exceed one-fourth where the cost of cultivation is not by the landlord, and one-fifth in other cases. The cash rent payable by a tenant in permanently settled areas is not to exceed 100 per cent of rent payable by his landlord; it is 50 per cent in temporarily settled areas. In Bihar, cash rent is not to exceed by more than 50 per cent of the rental value, if the land is held under a registered base, and 25 per cent in other cases. The produce rent is not to exceed 7/20ths of the gross produce excluding chaff. In Rajasthan, the rent is not to exceed one-sixth of the gross produce. In West Bengal, crop-share is not to exceed 50 per cent of the produce if the landlord contributes the cost of cultivation, and 40 per cent if he does not. In Madras, rent is not to exceed 40 per cent of produce for irrigation

30. *Ibid*, p. XLVII.

31. *Floud Commission Report*, quoted by the F. E. Com., p. 266.

32. *Agrarian Reforms Committee Report*, PEPSO, p. 23.

28. *Indian Delegation to China Co-operation*, p. 118.

29. *Agricultural Legislation in India*, Vol. VI, p. XLVII.

lands (35 per cent where irrigation is supplementary by lift irrigation) and 33½ per cent in other cases. In Bombay, the maximum rent is not to exceed one-sixth of the gross-produce or five times the land revenue, whichever is less. In times the land revenue, whichever is less. In Orissa, the maximum rent has been fixed at one-fourth of the gross produce but not exceeding 4 to 6 mds. of paddy per acre. In the Punjab, rent is not to exceed one-third of the gross produce or value thereof.

This flat rate of fixation of rent is not fiscally justified. Let here also progression be applied and hence there should be exemption limit, beyond which only, rent may be imposed. Progressive scale of Maximum Rent may be as given below :—

Acres of land	Rate of irrigated land as percentage of gross produce.	Rate for non-irrigated land as percentage of gross produce.
00 acre to 5	Nil	Nil
5 acres to 10	1/10	1/12
10 acres to 20	1/7	1/8
20 acres to 25	1/5	1/6
25 acres to 40	1/3	1/4

These rates may be allowed to vary according to the variation in the fertility of the soil. The system will have a double advantage: (a) one is that the rural society will be more egalitarian; (b) the other is that the surplus capacity of even the small and medium farmers will increase, and if properly mobilized by means of a net work of organisations with the purpose of collecting those small savings, the quantum of capital formation will expand so as to hold the economic development of the country. The problem of losing incentive due to progression has been long ago settled, and as such progression will have no adverse effect on agricultural production.

PROBLEM OF TRANSFER

In recent years transfers of land have tended to defeat the aims of legislation for land reforms. In the Second Five-Year Plan only mala-fide transfers were to be dealt with. But in the Third Plan, all transfers, whether they be mala-

fide or bonafide, made after the date of the publication of ceiling proposals or an earlier date, have been suggested to be proscribed.³³ Proscription of such transfers made much earlier than the date of the publication of ceiling proposals would be more effective in multiplying the fraud practised by the landowners concerned. Besides, the future transfer of land, except within the ceiling area both sides must be legally stopped. Bihar is going to do it.³⁴ Here in case of legally permissible transfer adjacent landowners have been given preference to distant ones. Even in Japan the transfers of land have been severely restricted. In China though the transfers were permitted by law, they were discouraged in practice.³⁵ So in India, future transfer of land may be permitted only within the ceiling area both sides, i.e., neither the transferer, nor the transferee, will be permitted to enter into any land transaction, exchange or mortgage, by which he will come to have lands in excess of the ceiling area.

METHOD

In any scheme of Land Reforms, the nature of method to be adopted for the speedy and effective implementation of land policies is of great importance. It may be painful as in Russia or mildly painful as in China or Yugoslavia or painless as is assumed to be in India. The operation being painful, mild or painless, depends much on how soon the expropriating landed gentry adjusts itself to the new way of life imposed upon it willingly or unwillingly. In Eastern European Communist countries, the chief method employed was rousing class antagonism by various peasant strata systematically one against the other and using by the state all the weapons at its command (taxation, obligatory deliveries of grain, credits, disposition of agricultural machinery, etc.)

33. *Third Five-Year Plan*, The Draft Outline, p. 96

34. "No person shall, after the commencement of this Act, either by himself or through any other person acquire or possess by transfer, exchange, lease, mortgage, agreement or settlement any land which together with the land, if any, already led by him exceeds in the aggregate the ceiling area."—*The Bihar Land Reforms Bill*, 1959, p. 12.

35. *Indian Delegation to China on Co-operation*, p. 185.

to dislodge the capitalist element from the village, to bring the medium and poor peasants into agricultural collectives and to increase both the crops and the marketable surplus.³⁶ In China, 'Crowd mind' was brought into play.³⁷ The agrarian society was divided into five categories ranging between landlords and landless. In the first round of the battle, the rest four categories were set up against the first category. The first category was vanquished; the position was consolidated. Then the rest three were set up against the second and again the same process had to be repeated, till the last round of the battle was fought and won. In such countries, poor peasants and landless labourers became the builders of the new social order.

In all the Communist countries, the ultimate aim of land reform had been the end of private property in agriculture consequent upon legal or practical nationalisation of land. This was achieved in Russia by a single stroke, but in Eastern Europe, in a 'succession of moves' due to strong feeling of ownership in land.³⁸

India believes neither in class antagonism nor in the complete end of private property right in land consequent upon its nationalisation. She seeks to achieve the goal of classless and casteless society through 'painless operation' and hence her method of class reconciliation to be achieved by rousing social thinking to the level of accepting social change willingly and voluntarily. Transformation of society through transformation of heart first, and of mind, second, is a very pious and laudable method, but 'painless operation' is a relative concept. Social suffering in terms of human and material losses due to the continuance of land system of feudalistic exploitation of the really active and creative agents of agricultural production is decidedly much greater than what will result from a drastically painful operation. Non-acceptance of such analysis may be controversially justifiable, yet that little enables India to escape the evil consequences of time. India's methods may be ideologically very consistent and spiritually sound and much nearer truth, but

what is more important is that they will have nevertheless to be more prompt, effective, speedy and capable of yielding results much sooner than the alternative ones. That the concept that democracy necessarily involves delay should be outmoded and outdated. The task before it is how to avoid such inordinate delay which causes so much unnecessary troubles. At least the method and machinery (Land Commission or an Advisory body) adopted in India for the execution and implementation of the land policies are beyond doubt much time-consuming, complex and complicated, much beyond the understanding of the person who really needs land reforms. Howsoever much we shun the ideology behind the 'painful operation' in the communist countries for arriving at similar goal, of course, through non-violent means, willy-nilly, we will have to accept the bitter truth that the most suitable persons for affecting reforms will be only those who themselves most need reforms. Land Commissions and Land Advisory Bodies³⁹ as proposed in the Land Reform Bills of various States in India will not satisfy the aforesaid criterion and as such the small and medium farmers⁴⁰ and landless agricultural labourers need be

39. "The Orissa Government shall constitute a Land Commission for the purpose of implementation of land reforms. The Commission shall consist of seven members of whom three shall be officially and four to be nominated by the Government. They shall hold office for a period of three years from the date of appointment."—*The Statesman* (Calcutta), 28. 3, 1959.

(ii) Land settlement Advisory Board appointed at the sub-divisional level will carry the land reforms in Assam.—*The Statesman* (Calcutta), 17. 12. 59.

(iii) "The work of transfer and all decisions pertaining to it were the responsibility of ten-man village Land Commission democratically elected by landlords, owner-cultivators and tenants. Village Commissions elected a 20-man prefectural Land Commission of landlords, owner-cultivators and tenants in each of the 46 Prefectures of Japan. This was an appeals body which ratified the decisions of the Village Commission."—*Land Reforms, U.N.O.*, p. 55.

40. Small and medium farmers are those who have less than 5 acres of land per family consisting of five persons, one husband, one wife and three children.

36. *The Economics of Eastern European Countries* by Nicolas Spulber, p. 225.

37. *New Economy in China* by Dr. Gyanchand, p. 66.

38. *The Economics of Eastern European Countries* by Nicolas Spulber, p. 247.

represented in majority on such bodies. For this, organisation among them will have to be fostered and developed so that they may be able to elect their representatives in requisite numbers to be sent to such bodies. As there is a Graduate-constituency, so there may be small and medium holders, and agricultural landless labourers' constituencies separately for the purpose of electing members of the L.C. Seven out of ten members of the Land Commission on Thana level will be elected by these constituencies and the rest will be nominated by the Government of the state concerned. All the Thana level Land Commissions will be represented on the Land Commissions on sub-divisional level which, in their turn, will be represented on District Land Commissions. They will be represented on the State Level Land Commission, which will be the ultimate body of appeal.

CONCLUSION

A broad outline of the ultimate objectives of Land Reforms in India has been attempted above. Agriculture should be reorganised with a view to not only stepping up food and raw material production both for internal and external purposes, but stepping up to an extent which is needed by the necessities of the Plan and its pattern should be the natural corollary of that of the Plan itself. Acceptance of Russian model of Planning will surely make agriculture the basis of the success of Planning. But unlike Russia, although like China, the major solution of the problem of rural unemployment and under-employment will have to be found out in the rural economy itself, particularly in agriculture Land Reforms will be the chief vehicle to achieve these goals through land ceiling determined on the basis of average availability of land per capita in each locality of more or less same type of fertility of soil and of personal cultivation which will mean active and creative physical participation in cultivation by the landowner in accordance with the principle "those who are cultivators must be owners and those who are owners must be cultivators," in the first round of the battle, in which the objective of social

revolution will be achieved. In the second round of the battle, the economic objective of increased production to a certain extent as determined by the needs of Planning, both internal and external and, of fuller and greater rural employment will be achieved. The ultimate result will be the emergence of a new and egalitarian society characterised by the absence of the concentration of economic power, voluntary and enthusiastically willing co-operation of the rural people in the task of rural reconstruction and increased agricultural productivity and ever-increasing scope for the employment of over-increasing population. There will be no intermediary between the State and the cultivator. Resumption will be allowed to only those who will actually practise personal cultivation within a specified period of time. Fair rent will be based on slab rate, not on flat rate.

The method and machinery of change will neither be nationalisation of land and violent elimination of Kulaks by the decree of the dictatorial State, nor Land Reforms through phased semi-violent elimination of all the exploiter classes by rousing class antagonism against one another. The executive body will be Land Commission or Land Advisory Body or Land Tribunal as against Workers Committee in Russia and Peasants' Association in China. In Communist countries the executive body was manned by those who actually needed and believed in, the Land Reforms whereas in India the 70 per cent of the members of the ruling party which has this programme do not really believe in the programme.

The technique of change will be neither imposition, nor forcing from above, rather rousing social thinking from below and consolidation of the gains from what has already been legislated will be more important than further legislation without consolidation. Land Reforms in a democratic country must not be ahead of social thinking, i.e., thinking of the class which truly needs them, and creating the appropriate type of social thinking for having an appropriate climate for a desired change, the task is more political than economic.



THE ANDAMANS

'The Sister Tenants of the Middle Deep'

By KALI CHARAN GHOSH

THOUGH India is surrounded on three sides by the seas, infinitesimally small number of people have gone far into the sea, a distance which obliterates the sight of the land from view. For centuries past sea voyage for a devout Hindu was banned. And it might have contributed to a large extent in the lack of enthusiasm in visiting the lands that lay beyond the waves. Fortunately for us this injunction has been removed by enterprising people, and the rage for sea voyage has correspondingly increased.

Whenever the question of a sea voyage is considered, one is apt to think of Europe, the U.S.A. and the Far-Eastern countries but there is a group of islands within the sovereign territorial jurisdiction of the Government of India which can satisfy not only an ardent desire of a sea travel but also the hunger for rapturous beauty, novelty and knowledge of men and things that are so close to us. Moreover, the cost can be met from resources of a limited purse. Nature with her verdure, undulating lands, tall towering trees with creepers around and undergrowth of varying sizes, with creeks and surfs eternally playing on the coasts soothing the years with constant music has very seldom been so bounteous in her grace to any other part of India.

These small islands occupying a central position in the Bay of Bengal have acquired strategic significance and is regarded as the "gateway of India from the East." Falling on the trade route they provide a safe and quiet haven to the mariners needing safety and rest.

The first attempt to colonise the Greater Andaman undertaken by Archibald Blair as a penal settlement met with scanty success and the project was abandoned in 1796. During the Second Burmese War in 1852, the idea of developing it into something of military importance was mooted again. It readily took shape in a project for convict settlement in 1855. At the close of 'the Mutiny' the place was thought to be very handy and a commission under Dr. F. J. Mouat was appointed in 1857 to make a survey of the islands as completely as possible. Besides submitting a valuable report, Dr. Mouat wrote a masterly book, *Adventures and Researches among the Andaman Islanders* (1863), which is regarded

as the authority on the subject. The office of the Chief Commissioner was created in 1872 and Field Marshall Donald Stuart was the first incumbent.

The Islands were under uninterrupted occupation of the British, in the name of the Indian Government till 1942, when it was overrun by the Japanese forces during the Second World War.

On the 29th of December 1943, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose landed in the South Andaman to take possession of the Islands on behalf of the Azad Hind Government and unfurled the national flag amongst wild enthusiasm of the local people. On the 8th January, 1944, the administration was taken over by the Indian representative. In memory of the grand occasion and for the services rendered to the Andamanese in protecting them from Japanese atrocities, the *Great Andaman* has been declared as *Subhas Dwip*, though not officially recognised, by the Andamanese themselves. It was re-occupied in 1945 by the British but soon after brought under the Government of India in 1947.

As soon as one begins to lose sight of the land, and the whole attention is engrossed by the vastness of the seas the words of Lord Byron come to the mind :

"Thou glorious mirror, where the Almighty's form

Glasses itself in tempests; in all time,—
Calm or convulsed, in breeze, or gale, or storm,
Icing the pole, or in the torrid clime
Dark-heaving—boundless, endless, and sublime,
The image of eternity, the throne
Of the invisible, even from out thy slime,
The monsters of deep are made; each zone
Obeys thee; thou goest forth, dread, fathomless,
alone."

The dark deep blue Ocean is rolling on from eternity that is past, will flow till eternity that awaits the future without end.

On this vast expanse of water, the Andamans and the Nicobars are like dots and specks of green uneven land raising their heads from a few to a few thousand feet above the surface of the sea. These have been poetically described as

"the chain of islands looking like beads in the bluest of the blue sea of the Bay of Bengal." Unless one has personal experience of the "blueness" of the water, which is inky black, it is difficult to make an idea of the character of the immeasurable dark liquid that surrounds the large number of islands that go to make it a 'beauty spot of India.'

The geologists say that the islands are the visible summits of a 'submarine range connected with the Arakan Yoma of Burma between Cape Negris and Achin Head, Sumatra.' There are two major groups in the division of the islands; the Andamans and the Cocos Is. forming the summit of the one, and the Nicobars of the other.

The Great Andaman (Subhas Dwip) is composed of five islands, four straits dividing the one from the other. Coming from North to South, they are Austen Street, Homfrey's Street, Middle or Andaman Strait and the Macpherson's Strait. The total area of the Andamans is 2,508 sq. miles and that of the Nicobars, 635. Very close to the main island are the Landfalls Is. to the north, Interview Is. to the west, the Labyrinth Is. to the south-west and Ritchie or the Andaman Archipelago to the east, separated by the Diligent Strait. Lying 31 miles south across Duncan Passage and measuring about 26 miles by 16 miles is the Little Andamans. The outlying islands are the North Sentinel, 28 sq. miles, 18 miles off the West Coast; the Barren Is. 1,158 ft. above the sea, a marine volcano; and the Narcondam, 2,330 ft., an extinct volcano, are each 71 miles from the east coast.

The islands forming the Great Andamans consist of North Andaman, Middle Andaman, South Andaman, Baratang and the Rutland. They are composed of hills "enclosing very narrow valleys, the whole being covered with dense tropical jungle."

The hills, which add to the beauty and grandeur of the scenery of the place show a tendency to rise higher on the eastern than on the western side, and some of them disclose not an inconsiderable height. For instance, the Saddle Peak, in the North Andaman, is 2,400 ft. above sea level. Mount Diavolo, behind Cuthbert Bay, is 1,678 ft. in the Middle Andaman. South Andaman possesses three, viz., Mt. Koiob, 1,505 ft., Harriet, 1,193 ft. and Cholongu Range, 1,063 ft. The Rutland has only one, the Ford's

Peak, 1,422 ft. The little Andaman is rather flat in comparison to the Big Brother, exception being noticed in its northern region.

The Andamans is a group of 204 islands, the five going to make the Great Andamans are very close and are treated as one unit. The area is 290 miles in length and 32 miles in width thus measuring about 2,580 sq. miles. The Nicobars is a cluster of seven large and 12 small islands and stand between Little Andaman and Sumatra.

The Andamans has a coast line extending over 1,200 miles and it thus provides a fishing area of about 18,000 sq. miles. There are quite a good number of harbours of which the Port Blair (located in the Chatham Island and connected by a causeway with the South Andaman) is much known for its frequency of visits of the vessel from the mainland. It is 780 miles from Calcutta, 740 miles from Madras and 360 miles from Rangoon. The other points which are regarded to be very near to it are Car Nicobar, 140 miles; Nancowrie Harbour, 225 miles; Great Nicobar, 265 miles; Narcondam, 105 miles and Baren Island, 71 miles.

There are a number of other safe harbours on the coasts which are deeply indented. Starting northward from Port Blair the harbours are principally located on the east coast. They are Port Meadows, Colebrook Passage, Elphinstone Harbour (Homfrey's St.), Steward Sound, Port Cornwallis. On the west coast fall the Temple Sound, Interview Passage, Port Anson or Kwangtung Harbour, Port Campbell, Port Mouat and Macpherson's Strait. Some of these are very capacious and it may be safely said that they do not exhaust some other points which can provide safe anchorages for sea going vessels.

The ports enjoy the additional advantages of being comparatively free from dangerous cyclones, though they fall within the influence of practically every one that blows in the Bay of Bengal. The peculiar position that these islands occupy has been regarded to be "of the greatest importance because of the accurate information relating to direction and intensity of storms" which they are capable of communicating to the vast amount of shipping in this part of the Indian Ocean. There is no other point in the whole Bay which can compare with the Andamans in this respect.

The climate is tropical but the continuous

sea breeze robs almost the whole of its sultriness. The temperature varies between 24°C and 30.5°C. where the average rainfall is near about 125 inches.

South Andaman is the most important amongst all the islands from every point of view. It is the seat of the administration and all the essential offices, banks, markets, schools, hospitals and dispensaries, etc., are located in this island. In the pre-independence days, and so long as it was not declared unfit for safety to its inhabitants, the Ross island harboured the white colony, officers and men of the battalion, government officials including the Governor or the Chief Commissioner. There are still vestiges of pomp and pageantry, the marks of royal style of living, which only speak of days that are gone. Gone is also the British rule over India. But nature has been unkind to it and the large crack or crevice that the island has developed is a sure sign or indication that it should be abandoned; and abandoned this has been. There is one other fairly big island (I forget the name) which was once inhabited with most of the amenities of modern life, but there is now clear proof of its gradual subsidence and it is apprehended that in the course of a limited time it might disappear under the deep blue waters of the Andaman Sea.

In the Andamans would be found "relics of the earliest stages of cultural evolution in the life of the aboriginal inhabitants who are the descendants of tribes that settled here thousands of years ago and are perhaps among the most ancient men living on earth." In the opinion of the anthropologists all these, about twelve in number, come from one race of negritos with one fundamental language for all with variations that are very well marked. It has been accepted by specialists in the line that "the Andamanese are of extreme ethnological interests, as probably, preserving in their persons and customs, owing to an indefinite period of complete isolation, the last pure remnant of the oldest race of man in existence."

The Nicobarese are looked upon as belonging, by closer affinities, to the Far Eastern races. They, most probably owe their origin to the Indo-Chinese, "as distinguished from the Tibeto-Burmese or Malay tribes or nation."

There are about twelve distinct tribes or divisions of the race. These have been broadly

divided into—(i) The Yerwa (northern) group which include the Chariar (or Chari), Kora, Tabo (or Bo), Year and Kede tribes.

(ii) The Bojigngiji (southern) group which have the Bea, Balwa, Bojigyab, Juwai and Kol tribes; and

(iii) The outer Group, or the Onge-Jarwa tribes.

Excepting the Balwa which are principally found in the Archipelago, the Onge in the Little Andaman and the Jarwa in the North Sentinel and parts of the South Andaman and Rutland Island, almost all the other tribes are found distributed over the Great Andaman.

Though all the tribes have something in common in respect of the "forms of the huts, bows and arrows, and canoes, of ornamentation, female's clothing, hairdressing and utensils, of tattooing and language", yet the differences in details are well marked and cannot escape the trained eye of an earnest student.

It is almost certain that the different tribes have no general intercourse and are unable to carry their ideas to others through speech. Their relations to other tribes are not very hostile and are usually courteous if known. With the strangers, they are rather hostile and in this respect the Jarwas have acquired a special distinction. Perhaps this is not without a reason. Most probably "boats from the mainland stopped at one of the islands from time to time searching for water," and as Suydam Cutting says in *the Fire Ox and other Years*, "fascinated by the pygmies, seized with an ambition to take them home as curiosities, the visitors seem to have effected several successful kidnappings, and the Andamanese became increasingly hostile to all visitors." But there are exceptions and it is not often "that the shipwrecked mariners find the people not very hostile but sometimes friendly and helpful."

Intellectually these people fall far below the modern civilized races of the world, while on the other hand they show themselves "immeasurably superior in mental capacity to the highest of the brute beasts." The children show bright intelligence which stage they reach early. An adult would be like a boy of 10 or 12 of the civilized people. They have no gods so to say but harbours in the mind fear of evil spirits of wood, of the sea, disease, ancestors, and would try as much as possible to avoid acts displeas-

ing to them. "There is neither ceremonial worship, nor propitiation."

As in traditional societies, there are certain customs with regard to puberty and marriage and these with some differences are observed by all the tribes in some form or other. Each sect has its own limitations in sexual matters amongst close relations. "The tattooing and painting of the body with clay, oils, etc., are partly ceremonial. By the material and design are shown sickness, sorrow, festivity and unmarried state."

When afflicted with grief the heads are besmeared with a special kind of clay and mourning is observed by refraining from dancing. They have their own peculiar way of disposal of the dead. Babies find a resting place under the floor of the parents' huts. Burial of the dead is common with the exception of respectable persons who are hung up in the trees. In some cases the bones of the dead are kept as mementoes and also used as curative of pain and in prevention of disease.

The Andamanese are rather short statured with 58-58½" for the male and 54" for the female; the average weight of the body is 96/97 lbs. and 87 lbs., respectively. In proportion to the figure the hands and feet are small though well shaped. The skin is smooth, "satiny and sheeny black." The heads are covered with curly tufts of sooty black to yellowish brown hair which look like so

many rings. The figures of men are well developed and muscular and not very odd-looking though not very attractive. The women are given to early stoutness and develop steatopygy—enlarged buttocks. Distended stomachs are common among the children. Each crinkly head has a shaved part, about quarter of an inch wide down the centre. The shaving is done with the help of 'knives' made from fine hardwood.

There are not many domestic implements in the family. The few that are found are wooden receptacles carved from wood. There is very seldom found anything of metal and if there be any it must have trickled down from centres where they are in use.

Of the Andamanese as a whole the Onges show more of community or village life than the others. They construct semi-permanent villages in the jungle just a little distant from the coast line. These huts look like large hives wherein the whole colony swarm like bees. They are a roving sort of people without any fixed abode to stick to. As Cutting writes: "Since sanitation is not one of the achievements of the Andamanese, their villages become filthy after a few weeks. When the stench, largely from decayed sea-food, assaults even their insensitive nostrils, they pick up and move on to another site, for the islands are not over-crowded, and there is an unlimited choice of locations."

There is not much of fight amongst these primitive people and having plenty of food for all and land to spare and also because the wants are few, they find no valid reason to fall out and break each other's heads. It is very easy with them to obtain food and drink and almost with no effort. "Living in a pre-agricultural age," with not much of the benefits of the human race derived from civilization, "they are absolutely self-sufficient."

At the beginning of the present century it was usual with the males to mature at 15, and to live up to 60 or 65. Almost the same was the case with the females. The marriage would take place at about 18 and they would live a little longer



Andaman Adivasis—Onges
Photo : Bhaumen Basu

than their male counterpart. The child-bearing age was considered between 16 and 35. With the lapse of time and not altogether without the little touch of 'civilization' in the middle of the present century: "the life span in these tribes is short. Forty years is a ripe old age. Girls are married off early and sometimes bear children at twelve or thirteen. It is early development and early death," remarks an observer.

Whatever efforts have been made for 'civilising' the Andamanese have so far failed. The pygmies show a positive talent for "picking up the worst traits and afflictions of the civilized men". They contract disease rather quickly. An attempt to establish a colony, strangely enough, by the Burmese, near Port Blair, many years ago, resulted in spreading the diseases of civilization to far distant parts of the islands and it was estimated at the time that it had helped in the decimation of nearly half of the population.

The male display considerable muscular strength but their vitality is incommensurate with physical vigour. They are exceedingly fond of games and have "indigenous blindman's buff, leap-frog and hide-and-seek." They are very fond of chase and fishing which chiefly supply them with a part of their daily diet. Next to chase, they are given to dancing, almost a daily evening or night recreation. It is not uncommon to find the dance being continued through several nights in succession.

They usually are a sort of carefree people and are not given to storing of articles of food, even water. They carry fire with them everywhere having acquired no knowledge for its production. They would carry over long distance a smouldering log in a way that won't let the fire extinguish.

In family life they are monogamous and show a preference for marrying outside the family. Divorce is not very common and rare after the birth of a child. Marriage after the death of the other partner is encouraged. There is no quarrel over caste and intermarriage between neighbouring tribes, preferably arranged by parents, are frequent. Adoption of other's children is very common and it is a bond not only between different families but also different tribes.

They are very good climbers and runners and would cover long distances at a very rapid pace. Hunting for food is the chief occupation in

life; and "all industries arise out of the personal necessities of the people. They make their own weapons, bows and arrows, harpoons and spears, strings and nets of strings, baskets and mats, unglazed circular cooking pots, bamboo baskets, canoes hollowed out of tree trunks."

Strictly speaking they have no 'government' worth the name; nor one is necessary for their way of living. There is one recognised head who is shown much respect. He commands obedience which is guided by the interests of the members of the sept or tribe.

By nature the Andamanese are gentle and courteous to each other; "considerate to the aged, the weakly or the helpless . . . kind to their wives and proud of their children; but when angered, cruel, jealous, treacherous and vindictive and always unstable."

As nature has produced without human labour, the food of the Andamanese consists of a good deal of fruit, roots, etc., from the vegetable kingdom, and the animal world supplies fish, turtle, its eggs, pork and the like. They cook their food whenever possible and show a preference for a steaming food. They have no domesticated animal save and except a dog here and there, a habit introduced by the Englishmen after their advent.

The forests provide the grandeur to the Islands as well as the best revenue. An area of about 2,500 sq. miles, nearly 80 per cent of the total is covered with huge trees and other vegetations including bamboos and canes. The administration budgeted from this source an income of Rs. 1.16 crores in a total of Rs. 1.59 crores in 1960-61. The main timbers are Padauk (*Pterocarpus dalbergioides*), Andaman Red Wood, Gurjan (*Dipterocarpus turbinatus*) and Papita or Papya (*Sterculia campanulata*) found very suitable for matches (boxes, sticks, etc.), box shooks, cores of lamin-boards, insulation boards, packing cases, etc.

Other timbers of considerable value are Kokko (*Albizia Lebbek*), Chuglam (*Terminalia bialata* and *Myristica Irya*), marble wood and satin wood, Pyinma (*Lagerstroemia Flos Reginae*), etc.

Next to timber cocoanuts take the position in respect of economic products with an assured export market. Copra and coir help local industries the products of which are exported.

Rice forms the principal crop of the Islands

and more acreage is absolutely necessary for rehabilitation of refugees in increasing the population rapidly. The climate is suitable and agricultural labour, some with long experience, are available in plenty. Moreover, the region is dependent on imported food, a great drawback in its economy.

Plantations of arecanuts, coffee, tea, rubber have already taken root and are showing signs of promise. Jute, cashewnuts, cloves, oil palms, soya beans and cotton have been introduced especially in the Nicobars and they hold out good prospects of acclimatization.

The common fruits of the islands, some of which have naturally been carried there, the pumpkin, cucumber, lauki, brinjal, beans, lobiya, beetroot, radish, turnip, etc. Papaya, citrus, banana, guava, mango and pineapple (which has the best promise) are rather common. It is doubtful if the soil and climate would take orange very kindly in their fold.

Both the Andamans and the Nicobars have the edible birds' nest, which is nowhere found in the Indian territory and guano or birds' droppings, products which have a ready market. Honey and wax are of secondary importance, though the Andamanese show a special liking for honey.

Fish abounds in the coasts and it forms one of the chief food of the islanders. Sea-cucumbers (trepangs) are common and the people have acquired a remarkable skill in bagging them.

There is not a great variety of animals in the forest, the most common being deer, which is not indigenous, pigs, rats and a few others. Snakes most of which are non-poisonous are found here and there. Birds of restricted variety add to the islands' beauty. There are a few peacocks, imported brand, roaming in the Ross Island, the old seat of the Governor.

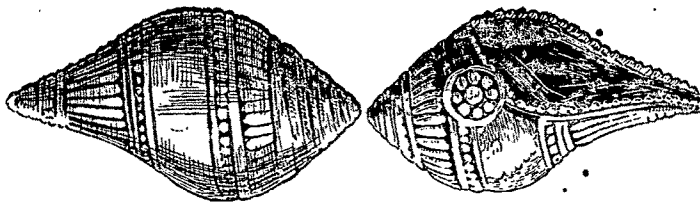
But for its Penal Settlement Subhas Dweep would not have attained the importance that is attached to its name and fame or notoriety. The flower of India, the redoubtable fighters

for India's war of independence, relentlessly fought an unequal fight throughout a period extending over a century outside and within the jails. Some have lived in the dingy cells for over sixty years at a stretch. Most of them languished in the deadly atmosphere of prison life aggravated by the wilfully vicious administration of men in charge, rogues, guarding the destiny of the prisoner, primarily, from a distance of at least 700 miles, or more, i.e. Calcutta and Simla and literally from a distance of 6,000 miles that is London with the help of local devils. Some prisoners have lost their lives in the most horrible conditions and most have been forced to live a life in an inferno worse than the Hell itself. A description of the tortures and humiliations that were showered on those whose only fault was their love of their Motherland would always fall short of actual happenings. Every news had been suppressed and every cry had been smothered, every objection or feeble resistance to the whims and caprices of the jail authorities were met with most cruel treatment than any that a human diabolical brain could devise.

There were also a large number of non-political convicts in the infamous jail, the ferocious nature of some of whom were fully utilized in adding heinousness to the punishment of the politicals that were frequently inflicted with the utmost severity.

Far far away from the mainland and surrounded by the high seas extending over hundreds of miles it would certainly prove to be an ideal place for keeping prisoners who would be snatched away from the contamination of nearness of their relatives. The climate was deemed to be most suitable as a substitute for or a more potent instrument than the gallows because malaria and the others deathly diseases would complete the process of decimation in a very civilised way in a place to which the rule of law had bid good bye.

(To be Continued)



THEY SAVE LIVES ON A GLOBAL SCALE

Doctors and Scientists of the United Nations World Health Organization combine to eliminate disease throughout the world.

By LOUIS CASSELS

Promptly at nine o'clock each morning, seven days a week, 52 weeks a year, a group of medical experts meets in a chart room at the headquarters of the World Health Organization, overlooking the placid blue waters of Lake Lemman at Geneva, Switzerland.

For more than an hour, they study reports that have arrived from distant capitals during the night. Then they draft a fact-filled bulletin which is broadcast over powerful radio transmitters to every national public health office in the world.

This anxiously-awaited bulletin is the daily intelligence summary of mankind's global war against disease. It alerts health officials everywhere to the spread of epidemics. It tells them when special quarantine measures are needed to localize a new outbreak of some ancient scourge like smallpox or yellow fever.

The value of an international warning system can scarcely be overestimated. Jet aviation and other modern means of transportation have shrunk the earth to the point where no nation, however high its own health standards, can afford to be complacent about disease on the rampage in other areas. Today, a typhus louse or a plague flea brushed off the rags of a beggar in an Asian bazaar can be in New York or Oslo, Sidney or Chicago, within a few hours.

The organization that mans the international ramparts against this ever-present menace is known throughout the world by its initials, WHO—World Health Organization. Established in June, 1948, as a self-governing auxiliary of the United Nations, its membership now comprises approximately 100 countries, and its services are made available to more than 20 other small countries, colonies, and territories which cannot afford full membership. Although

WHO maintains close working relationships with other United Nations agencies, it has from the beginning steered its own course. Ignoring the political tensions which beset other international bodies, it wages a single-minded fight against the maladies of mind and body which are the common enemies of the whole human race.

The need for such an organization was vividly demonstrated by a crisis that arose in Egypt while WHO was still in the process of being formed. On September 22, 1947, a frightening message reached the WHO Interim Commission at its temporary quarters in Geneva. A cholera epidemic had broken out among merchants, gathered from all parts of Egypt for the annual date fair at El Korein. Before quarantine measures could be invoked, the merchants had scattered in panic. Cholera is a deadly, highly-contagious disease that can decimate a country's population if it gets out of hand. And, as history has proven repeatedly, it is no respecter of national frontiers.

The message from Egypt caused grave concern at Geneva. For 30 years, quarantine measures had successfully maintained a "west wall" that kept cholera from breaking out of its endemic breeding grounds in Asia. If it now swept uncontrolled over Egypt, the dread disease would almost surely leap over that wall and keep going.

The WHO Interim Commission wasted little time debating whether it had authority to act. Within hours, it flashed messages to vaccine laboratories in Paris, London, and Bombay, asking them to rush every possible dose of cholera vaccine to Egypt. In the United States, stocks of vaccine were rushed to airports with motorcycle siren escorts to clear the way. The U.S.S.R. and India dispatched supplies. Within a short time, 20,000,000 doses—

enough to vaccinate every man, woman, and child in Egypt—had arrived in Cairo.

The "cholera airlift," unprecedented in medical history, saved the day. Although the epidemic took 20,472 lives in Egypt before control measures took hold, WHO was able to advise public health offices on February 18, 1948, that Egypt was entirely free of cholera. The wall had held.

Ten years later, another great epidemic erupted in Asia, and once again WHO provided a striking demonstration of effective international co-operation against disease. On May 4, 1957, an urgent message from its Singapore regional office notified WHO headquarters of an influenza outbreak that had swept down out of North Communist China. Influenza is one of the diseases that WHO watches most closely. Health officers grimly recall the great pandemic of 1918-19, which covered the whole world, taking more than 15,000,000 lives. Since no one knows when an equally virulent strain in influenza may appear again, any new epidemic is the signal for swift precautions.

Samples of the virus were flown immediately from Singapore to the World Influenza Center in London, and to the International Influenza Center at Montgomery, Alabama, both WHO affiliates. Working around the clock, medical technicians in these laboratories and at Walter Reed Army Hospital in Washington, D. C., quickly confirmed that the Asian epidemic was caused by a brand new strain of influenza virus—a mutation of the long-familiar Group A virus.

Health officials knew now that they had to act fast. Quarantine measures are useless against influenza. It would be just a matter of weeks before the epidemic reached America, Europe, and other con-

tinents. Drug manufacturers in the United States and other countries went to work to produce vast quantities of vaccine effective against the new virus. Mass inoculation programs were begun. The American Medical Association, the American Hospital Association, and other leading private health organizations mobilized the nation's



A boy from Saigon, South Vietnam, an inhabitant of a refugee camp, is given an injection as a preventive measure

resources to cope with whatever might come.

The "Asian flu" epidemic spread over the entire world within five months after the first warning. Fortunately, the new virus strain proved to be relatively mild. Although an estimated 80,000,000 Americans contracted respiratory ailments that fall and winter, there was no public panic and the death-rate rose only slightly above normal. Other countries had a similar ex-

perience. The precautions touched off by WHO's alert had proved their value. And had the "Asian flu" virus been as deadly as its 1918-19 predecessor—as it might well have been—the world-wide health mobilization would doubtless have saved millions of lives.

Mustering international defenses against epidemics is one of the more dramatic responsibilities of WHO. But it has also taken on many other tasks of at least equal importance to world health.



Home for abandoned children near Athens, Greece

One of these tasks—which has lately turned into a race against time—is the eradication of malaria. Malaria is the world's most prevalent disease. Spread from person to person by the blood-sucking anopheles mosquito, it afflicts the entire population with chronic, debilitating chills and fever. It causes economic losses running into many billions of dollars each year, and is the greatest single drag on progress in scores of newly developing nations.

When WHO set its sights on the elimination of this ancient curse, 12 years ago, the world's annual malaria toll was 300,000,000 sufferers and 3,000,000 deaths. Since that time, DDT-spraying campaigns carried out with WHO help have eradicated malaria from nine countries, and have begun to bring the disease under control in 51 others. The annual toll has already

been cut to half—to 150,000,000 sufferers and 1,500,000 deaths.

It would be a hopeful picture—if man had plenty of time in which to finish the job of eradication that has been so well begun. But in 1955, WHO began to receive disquieting reports from its field-workers in Java. Instead of dying when they alighted on walls drenched with DDT, some mosquitoes were flying away with impunity.

Similar reports were soon coming in from other areas, including the southern part of the United States. The evidence was unmistakable. Some strains of the anopheles were developing resistance to DDT.

WHO experts took stock of the situation. By alternating DDT with other insecticides, such as dieldrin, they would continue effective spraying campaigns for perhaps 10 more years. But 1965 was the deadline. Unless malaria was eradicated from the world by that time, the golden opportunity would be lost forever.

The expert report was laid before WHO's top governing body, the World Health Assembly, at its annual meeting in 1955. The Assembly voted overwhelmingly to set up a special fund to finance an all-out drive against malaria in the next few years.

Dr. M. G. Candau, Director General of WHO, estimates that a total expenditure of about \$600,000,000 will be required to finish the job of malaria eradication within the next five years. About 55 per cent of the money will come from the public health budgets of the malaria nations themselves. Another 35 per cent is expected from such sources as the U. S. International Cooperation Administration and the United Nations Children's Fund. That leaves upwards of \$50,000,000 to be raised from voluntary contributions from other governments, private foundations, and individuals. To date, about \$20,000,000 in pledges has been received.

"The eradication of malaria is within our reach for the first time in history," Doctor Candau said recently. "Plans for world-wide action have already been prepared. Health workers are equipped with the necessary knowledge and experience. The success or failure of this important undertaking now depends on the extent to which the more privileged members of the world community support it, and on the timeliness of that support."

Malaria is only one of many chronic communicable diseases against which WHO is waging global war. Here are some of the other major campaigns currently under way:

Yaws, a horribly disfiguring disease characterized by open sores on the face and body, afflicts some 50,000,000 people, especially children, in tropical areas. It can be cured by a single shot of penicillin, costing about 25 cents. WHO's first mass campaign against yaws was begun in Haiti in 1950. At that time, surveys indicated that about 80 per cent of the rural population was suffering from yaws. Within three years, the disease had been eradicated. The total cost of the program, financed by the Haitian government with some help from WHO, was only a small fraction of the economic gains achieved during the first year by the return of 100,000 men to productive work. Mass campaigns against yaws are now under way in Nigeria and Indonesia, and programs are being planned in many other countries.

Leprosy, one of man's most-feared maladies since Biblical times, still afflicts about 8,000,000 people throughout the world. But they are no longer social outcasts, condemned to live in equalid lepers' colonies or to walk the streets crying "unclean, unclean." Modern research has shown that leprosy is not, in most cases, a highly

infectious disease, and that treatment with sulfone drugs can cure a good proportion of cases.

WHO experts have been carrying this good news into the far corners of the earth, showing national health offices how leprosy patients can be treated, and very frequently restored to normal community life at an average cost of \$2.80 per person.

Tuberculosis still ranks as one of the



The wife of a pottery maker, about to have a baby

world's greatest killers. WHO has helped 58 countries to carry out mass vaccination campaigns which have given 200,000,000 people effective protection against tuberculosis. In developing countries which lack modern hospital facilities, WHO is helping local health officials perfect methods of treating tubercular patients at home with

the effective modern drug isoniazid.

Trachoma, an eye disease spread by flies, is the chief cause of blindness in the world. Although found in all countries, it is especially prevalent in poor and overcrowded areas. Most cases of trachoma can be cured by treatment with antibiotic ointments. WHO has helped national health offices to launch drives against trachoma in Formosa, Morocco, Egypt, Tunisia, Yugoslavia, and other countries.

Bilharziasis is an enervating disease spread by a small water snail that abounds in tropical and sub-tropical countries. It has been a major handicap to efforts to raise living standards in many newly developing areas. Ironically, some countries have found that irrigation canals dug to increase food production have actually had the reverse effect—because the canals quickly become infested with snails and farmers contract bilharziasis which renders them unable to work. Drugs now available for treatment of bilharziasis are rather toxic and not very effective. Chemicals which would kill the snails also poison the water supply. WHO is conducting a major research program in an effort to find a simple, inexpensive, and effective method of controlling this widespread disease.

Kwashiorkor, a name for a nutritional deficiency, is known throughout the world under 38 different names. It strikes children when they are weaned from their mother's milk and placed on a protein-poor diet. In some parts of Africa and elsewhere, it causes a large proportion of babies to sicken and die before their second birthday.

Attacking the problem realistically, WHO researchers have sought to find, in each country, local sources of vegetable protein which will take the place of the milk, eggs, and other animal proteins which are a standard part of every child's diet in more fortunate countries. The search for a substitute—which must also be cheap, and taste good—has already been crowned with success in Central America, where experts have evolved a local product. It is made of 50 per cent corn mash, 35 per cent sesame seed, nine percent cotton seed oil, three per cent torula yeast, and three per

cent kikuyu meal. It is quite palatable, and works wonders even in advanced cases of nutritional deficiency.

The list of diseases that WHO is helping to fight could be continued indefinitely. Typhoid, poliomyelitis, rabies, brucellosis, syphilis, yellow fever—it would be difficult to name any infectious disease that has not been the target of WHO-assisted research and field control work.

Non-infectious ailments, which loom large in the health problems of advanced countries, also have received their full share of attention. Cancer, heart disease, alcoholism, and mental illness are currently major concerns. WHO recognizes that a great deal of superior medical intelligence is already being focused on these problems in many nations.

Instead of duplicating this complex and costly research, WHO has concentrated on acting as a clearing house through which new findings can be rapidly interchanged. Although it never attempts to dictate to any national laboratory, WHO does bring about a good deal of voluntary co-ordination of research efforts simply by keeping all parties advised about the investigations which are under way in many other nations.

When separate research projects in many countries seem to have reached the point that a face-to-face exchange of data would be helpful, WHO arranges an international scientific conference. Scores of such meetings have been held in the past ten years, covering a wide range of subjects from radiation effects to the dangers of chemical food additives. The most recent of such conference, held in Washington, D. C., brought together experts from 20 countries to evaluate mass field trials of new live virus polio vaccines developed in the United States.

WHO plays the same kind of co-ordinating role in other areas of medical concern. One of its earliest undertakings—and according to professionals, one of the most valuable things it has done to date—was the compilation and publication of an International Pharmacopoeia.

The work involved establishing standar-

dized nomenclature, specifications, purity requirements, and recommended dosage for all the major pharmaceutical preparations now in use. The International Pharmacopoeia, now in universal use, has brought order out of threatened chaos in a field where each nation had previously gone its own way and made its own rules.

WHO also worked out—and persuaded more than 100 countries to accept—a modern and scientifically-sound code of international sanitary regulations to replace the uncoordinated quarantine treaties and conventions that had grown up over the centuries. The new regulations, in force since 1952, have greatly improved protections against the spread of quarantinable diseases, such as small-pox and typhus.

The financing of field projects is a good example of WHO's efforts to stretch its funds as far as possible. Countries asking for help from WHO missions are required to provide as much of the bill as they can reasonably afford—often four-fifths or more of the total. And WHO never tries to send in any more manpower than is absolutely

essential to give necessary advice and guidance in the project. National health departments provide the rest of the staff, and retain administrative control over the entire project, with WHO's experts acting as friendly advisers rather than imported bosses.

Continued support of WHO by the United States seems assured. The National Citizens Committee for the World Health Organization, with many prominent doctors and civic leaders at its helm, is helping to build popular understanding of WHO, and to help Americans see its great value, both as a highly efficient channel for humanitarian aid to less fortunate peoples, and also as a safeguard to America's own health. At its annual meeting in Washington in May 1959, the committee pointed out that world health is indissolubly linked to world peace, since it is only through the conquest of disease that the newly developing countries can ultimately raise the low living standards which are so dangerously exploited by Communist trouble-makers.

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THE PROBLEM OF PRICE STABILISATION IN INDIA

BY PROF. PRAKASH CHANDRA TRIPATHI, M.COM., LL.B.

INTRODUCTION

THE importance of price stabilisation in a developing economy cannot be overstressed more so in our own case where the principal source of livelihood of the majority of population is agriculture. In agriculture, the occurrence of natural calamities is more frequent than that in other occupations. Even the operation of the economic law of diminishing returns is more pronounced in agriculture than in industry which means that to feed the teeming millions, more food can be grown only at increasing costs. Besides, agriculture as an industry is still unorganised and fights shy of modern techniques of production. The agriculturist cannot withdraw with ease the money that he once invested in

agriculture to reinvest it somewhere else, nor can he defer his annual payments in respect of interest on borrowings, land revenue, etc. These hazards of agriculture may be more than offset by assuring the agriculturist a stable price for his produce in all seasons and at all places. The benefits of price stabilisation besides providing incentive to greater agricultural production are far-reaching in many other ways. By stabilising the prices of agricultural raw materials the cost structure of industries based on them remains undisturbed and so the prices of their products do not portend a rise to the satisfaction of the average consumer who is saved from a diminution in his real income. Very soon a fair balance is struck between the prices of agricultural and industrial commodities. This stability in prices

lends competitive strength to exports which begin to rise and protects individual savings from being misdirected and wasted on comparatively less essential channels of investment such as urban building property, gold hoards or inventory accumulations. The objective of a socialist pattern of society is largely fulfilled inasmuch as stable prices do not permit income inequities to grow. In the face of these advantages, the stability in prices of both agricultural and industrial goods cannot be completely left to be determined by free forces of demand and supply more so in the context of the activities of the middlemen and the speculators.

HISTORICAL RESUME

The movement of prices in India over recent years may be seen from the following table which shows the index numbers of wholesale prices compiled by the Office of the Economic Adviser, Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Government of India (revised series, base: 1952-53-100).

INDEX NUMBERS OF WHOLESALE PRICES*

Year	Food Articles	Industrial Raw Materials	Finished Manufactured Articles	General Index
1954-55	94.6	101.9	101.1	97.5
55-56	85.6	99.0	99.6	92.5
56-57	102.2	116.0	105.6	105.3
57-58	106.4	116.5	108.2	108.4
58-59	115.2	115.6	108.1	112.9
59-60	—	—	—	117.1

After April, 1960, the general index number of wholesale prices has further risen to 124.8. This means that the wholesale prices have risen by nearly 25 per cent since the commencement of the Second Plan. Similarly, during the year 1960, the index number of raw material prices rose from 127.2 to 149.6 or by over 22 points (*Times of India*, 25th January, 1961).

The All-India working class consumer price index rose by 2.5 per cent between December, '58, and Dec., '59. The following table shows the

working class consumer price indices for 1950-51 and between 1955-56 and 1958-59.

WORKING CLASS CONSUMER PRICE INDICES*

(Base shifted to 1949 = 100)

Year	All India
1950-51	101
55-56	96
56-57	107
57-58	112
58-59	118

ANALYSIS OF THE PROBLEM

One important cause of rise in prices in recent years has been the expansion of currency and bank credit. Prices need not unduly rise or fall if the expansion of money supply keeps pace with the expansion of output. Inflation results when money supply grows faster than the national product. The current phase of inflation in India resulted wholly from the primary expansion of money born of budget deficits and the relative secondary expansion of bank credit. In the five years ending 1959-60, money supply rose by 41 per cent, national output in real terms by 14 per cent and prices by 32 per cent. In the three years, 1952-53 to 1954-55, we had no inflation, as both money supply and output rose by about 9 per cent each.

It will be seen that although the general industrial production index number (1951 = 100) increased from 103.6 in 1952 to 175.0 in 1960 and the output of agricultural commodities also showed a marked increase (the annual production of rice, wheat, jute and cotton having risen by almost 50 per cent during the 9 years beginning 1951) yet the increase of 16 per cent in the population in the last 9 years substantially neutralised the advantage gained by the increased production in both agricultural and industrial sectors and the increase in national output in real terms came down to 14 per cent only.

The prices of manufactured commodities have also risen on account of the increasing tax

*Source: *India*, 1960 and *Arthik Samneekhha*, 11th Sept., 1960.

*Source: *India*, 1960. The term "cost of living index" was some years ago replaced by the term "Consumer price Index" in conformity with international nomenclature.

burden on their cost of production. According to the Council for Economic Education there is a major indirect tax element in the retail prices of commodities which the consumers pay. Taking all taxes together (*viz.*, excise, sales tax and octroi duty) as much as 61.6 per cent of the consumers' price on matches constitutes the tax element followed by cloth with 40 per cent and sugar with nearly 26 per cent. Vanaspati comes fourth with nearly 25 per cent of the retail price constituting the tax element. For other commodities it varies between roughly 11 to 14 per cent. On the other hand the findings of a paper prepared in the Planning Commission after a study of 11 industrial centres spread over the country reveal that although there has been a substantial increase in tax revenues on account of the introduction of new taxes and an enhancement of the rates of taxation, yet the direct, indirect and sympathetic effects of Union and State taxation (principally excise and sales tax) over the past 10 years on the consumer price index are only of the order of 0.5 per cent per annum, the lower and upper limits being 0.4 per cent and 1 per cent respectively.*

Howsoever assuring these statistics may be there is no getting away from the fact that taxation does add to the cost and the price of the product.

The prices of foodgrains may fluctuate from year to year, from season to season and from region to region. The respective reasons for the last two types of fluctuations are the inadequacy of credit arrangements and the small holding power of the producer and the inadequacy of transport arrangements. It is, however, the first type of fluctuation which is particularly significant from the point of view of stabilisation of prices.

GOVERNMENT EFFORTS TO STABILISE PRICES

During all these years the Government of India have continued their efforts to stabilise prices by changes in their monetary, fiscal and credit policies, but the price policy in a large measure is in a state of flux. Realizing the injurious effect of sharp changes in agricultural prices, the Government appointed a Foodgrains Enquiry Committee on June 24, 1957, to suggest a price

programme for stabilising agricultural prices. The Committee recommended the setting up of a Price Stabilisation Board and a Foodgrains Stabilisation Organisation—the former a policy-making body and the latter an executive body. Similarly the Ford Foundation Team also suggested a permanent machinery which would formulate the price policy and implement it. The pricing agency was expected to determine the minimum prices and the permissible range of their variations and to announce the prices in advance of the sowing season. The minimum prices were to be set at levels which would achieve required production and marketable surplus and would not cause hardships to the cultivators or consumers. While fixing the prices, the Team suggested, that the agency should take into account the domestic and world supplies of foodgrains and on the basis of import prices as well as the domestic demand, the floor should be arrived at. The price guarantees should be with reference to different foodgrains with due regard to competition from other crops and also should take into account the handling margins and fluctuations in production. As the Government cannot divest themselves of the ultimate decision on price policy, a scheme has since been drawn up to set up an Agricultural Commodities Price Advisory Committee instead of an independent statutory body as suggested by the Foodgrains Enquiry Committee and the Ford Foundation Team.

Since the entire array of 'Price Control', 'Restriction on Movements' and 'Procurements' Orders and Fair Price Shops had no effect on the rising trend of prices, the National Development Council in its meeting held in November, 1958, decided for State Trading in foodgrains. It was suggested that as a first step the State should take over the wholesale trade in foodgrains. But even this initial step was not so simple as it was made to appear. The difficulties in the way of its realisation were the stupendous expansion of the organisational set-up required to handle large quantities of foodgrains, huge investment of government funds in holding stocks of foodgrains and the shortage of storage accommodation. Realizing these difficulties, the Government decided that the scheme should be operated by stages. The ultimate pattern of State Trading will consist of a system which provides for the collection of the farm surpluses through the service co-operatives

**Hindustan Times*, 26th January, 1960 and *Times of India*, 6th January, 1961.

at the village level and channelling of the surpluses through the marketing co-operatives for distribution through retailers' and through consumers' co-operatives. In the interim period, the wholesale traders will be permitted to function as licensed traders who will make purchases on their own behalf but shall pay specified minimum prices to the farmer. While the Government will have right to acquire the whole or a portion of the stocks from the licensed traders at controlled prices, the traders will be at liberty to sell the remaining stocks to the retailers at prices not exceeding the controlled prices. In the initial stages the State Trading will be confined only to the two major cereals, viz., rice and wheat. The Government will also set up an agency for making direct purchases of food-grains from the producers. The purchase and sale operations as a whole would be conducted on a no profit, no loss basis. While the fixation of the controlled prices for retail transactions will not be attempted, attempts will be made to influence retail prices by continuing and, where necessary, by enlarging the operation of Fair Price Shops and by the speedy formation of consumers' co-operatives. The provisional scheme is being considered by some States in the light of their local conditions. The State of Orissa introduced State Trading at the wholesale level from January, 1959.

Justification of State Trading in foodgrains rests on the hypothesis that under the system of private trade in foodgrains, the marketing margins are larger than they need be. It would, therefore, be interesting to ascertain the quantum of the marketing margins and their composition under the present system of private trading. In spite of numerous marketing surveys, analysis of marketing costs and price spreads is extremely perfunctory. Some surveys conducted by the Directorate of Marketing and Inspection during 1956-58, however, reveal that the marketing costs of wholesale traders varied from 4.9 to 14.3 per cent of the consumers' price, depending upon the distance between the producing and the consuming markets. The wholesale traders' margin in these cases varied from 1 per cent to 2.5 per cent. As the decision at present is only to take over the wholesale trade, the relevant question for examination is whether the operative costs of the state machinery would be smaller. During the days of food controls, the incidental expenditure incurred by the State Governments in respect of rice varied from Rs. 1.5 per maund to Rs. 3 per maund.

Unlike the private trader, the State cannot buy cheap and sell dear. It will be under constant pressure from both the producers and the consumers. The producer will demand higher and the consumer lower prices. And the Government may have to oblige, if for no other reason, to justify the hypothesis, that the private trader exploits both.

Through different procedures the prices of a number of manufactured commodities and raw materials have come to be fixed. There obtain price regulations on iron and steel, cement, paper, sugar, tin-plate, caustic soda, soda ash, coal, etc. There are many bodies which are entrusted with the regulation of prices, and the standard adopted by each one seems to differ from the others in many ways. The most important price fixing body is the Tariff Commission. The Commission generally takes into account the cost of the representative unit wherever a single price is fixed for the whole industry. However, no uniform policy has been adopted by the Tariff Commission. For instance, in the case of cement industry, ex-works prices payable to producers differ from unit to unit, in the case of sugar industry, prices have been fixed on a regional basis; while in fixing fair selling prices for caustic soda, chlorine, hydrochloric acid and bleaching powder, the Tariff Commission felt that individual prices for producers or even zonal prices would lead to ineffective control and disturbance in the marketing operations. The prices are sometimes fixed disregarding the cost at a level where the return on capital cannot be considered as fair and so the flow of fresh investment into the industry is checked and expansion of production impeded.

SUGGESTIONS TO STABILISE PRICES

(1) *Monetary discipline* :—All fiscal and monetary policies should be attuned to the overall objective of price stability. Monetary controls should be so designed as not to obstruct the development of economy in the long run. Credit expansion should not be squeezed to an extent where it hampers industrial progress being inadequate to meet industrial needs. Sometimes, even in the face of rising prices it may become necessary to resort to a liberal money and credit policy so as to enable industrial units to modernise and renovate. Modernisation will eventually result into higher production which if unaccompanied by any

further expansion in currency and credit will push down prices. Inflation cannot also be remedied by "selective control of credit" for this would penalise honest banking, raise the cost of banking services generally, induce credit control avoidance and drive the business of credit to non-scheduled banks, to indigenous bankers and other agencies.

(2) *There should be control on unproductive expenditure.*

(3) *Forward trading should be checked.*

(4) *Production should be increased:*—The increase should take account not only of the growth in population but of per capita increase in the consumption of food and other articles that usually results from a rise in incomes and purchasing power in the community and the related shift in population to non-agricultural and urban vocations. However, it should be remembered that prices and costs rise and fall simultaneously and, therefore, output, which is a progeny of inflated costs, will also bear higher price tags for some time and will not immediately result in bringing down prices.

(5) *Instead of resorting to State Trading in foodgrains the services of co-operatives should be made use of and better transport facilities provided.*

(6) *Incentives should be given to cultivators to increase "arrivals" in the markets.*

(7) *Wherever possible the price of industrial goods should be fixed for every producer separately, the individual cost of production of his unit rather than the average cost of all the units in the same industry being the basis.** The other bases may be parity price or forward price. A parity price is the price that makes it possible

for the seller of a unit of an article to buy as much of other things and services as he used to purchase with a unit of the same article in a given base period. The principal purpose of parity price is justice, not reduction of price fluctuations. Forward prices are those which are announced well in advance so as to allow producers to adjust their production in response to prices. Unlike parity prices, it has no relation to the past structure of prices. The producers will gain to the extent to which it minimizes the uncertainty of prices. But the execution of the programme is a very difficult job. The main question involved is how to determine what price to set. The fixing of forward prices requires a sound judgment and a well-informed administration to determine prices of individual commodities based on conditions at the time of announcement.

In the case of agricultural produce, however, prices can be stabilised on a regional basis only. This is because in the determination of their prices many other factors besides cost will have to be taken into account. The food habits of the people and the extent of deficit and surplus areas are some such factors.

*This system recognises that the low cost producer is entitled to a larger margin of profit and encourages efficiency since reductions in costs will tend to result in increased profits. On the other hand, if a single price based on the average costs of all producers in an industry or the cost of the representative unit is fixed for all the units in an industry, the producers whose costs are above the averages will have to suffer losses and curtail activity. In such a situation, there will be hardly any inducement for expanding capacities.



“BHARATA-BHASKARAM”

“(The Sun of India)”

By DR. JATINDRA BIMAL CHAUDHURI

[English Translation by Principal Dr. Roma Chaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D. (Oxford)]

Scene XVI

Place—The palace of Sobhabazar-Raj, Maharaj-kumar Benoy Krishna Deb Bahadur, Baghbazar, Calcutta.

Time—1894 A.D. 25th Chaitra, 1301. Sunday
Afternoon. 6 p.m.

(First Anniversary of Bangiya Sahitya Parisat. (President)—Novelist Ramesh Chandra Dutta, Rabindranath (Jt. Vice-President, Age 33), Justice Gurudas Banerji, Justice Chandra Madhab Ghose, Maharajkumar Benoy Krishna Deb Bahadur, Sri Hiren Dutta, Sri Kshitindra Nath Tagore, Balendranath Tagore, Gaganendra Nath Tagore, Sri Debprasad Sarvadhikari, M. M. Mahesh Chandra Nyayaratna, Dr. R. G. Kar, Sri Debendranath Mukherji, (Secretary) and others)

(Enter the above)

Maharajkumar Benoy Krishna—(Welcoming the Guests)—Oh! What a joyful day it is for me. The First Anniversary of our beloved “Bangiya Sahitya Parisat,” founded a year ago, for the propagation of Bengali Language and Literature, is being held in my humble house today. Oh! I am greatly honoured!

Ah, here come three gems of the ‘Parisat’—Novelist Ramesh Chandra Dutta, the President; Poet Rabindranath, the Jt. Vice-President; and Sri Debendranath Mukherji, the Secretary. (Advancing)—Welcome, Welcome to my humble hut, Revered Sirs!

Ramesh Chandra (Smiling)—If this palace be a humble one, then what is a hut?

(All laugh)

Rabindranath—Maharajkumar! the hospitality of your Family is well-known.

Debendranath Mukherji—Yes, you have always been a great patron of learning.

Maharajkumar (Modestly)—Oh, no, no! You are all very kind.

Rabindranath—Ah! here comes the revered Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Mahesh Chandra

Nyayaratna, Principal, Calcutta Sanskrit College. Obeisance to you, revered Pandit!
Mahesh Chandra—Blessings to you.

Mahesh Chandra—

“Lakshmi” “Sarasvati” reign together,
In Your house lovely.
Knowledge-Sun and Devotion-Moon
Rise together merrily.

Such a strange thing happens even
In this modern World
See you all, see around,
And see the hand of God.

Rabindranath—I am greatly honoured.

(Enter Justice Gurudas Banerji, Theosophist Hiren Datta, Dr. R. G. Kar, Kshitindranath Tagore, Balendranath Tagore, Gaganendranath Tagore).

Ramesh Chandra (Jokingly) Alas! Alas! I see a double “Tryaharsparsya” here—a combination of three luminaries on this side—Justice Gurudas Banerji—Law—, Theosophist Hiren Datta—Philosophy—, Dr. R. G. Kar—Medicine. Aren’t we equally afraid of the three—Law, Philosophy and Medicine?

(All laugh)

Ramesh Chandra—(Continuing in the same jocular vein) And on that side, a combination of three more luminaries—Sri Gaganendranath Tagore, Sri Kshitindranath Tagore and Sri Balendranath Tagore—Sky, World, Strength, equally beyond us. (All laugh)

Mahesh Chandra—But, according to our scriptures, two “Tryaharsparsyas” make for good (All Laugh)

Ramesh Chandra—Very well! Very well! We seem all very happy today.

Ah! now it is the time to start. The place is also full. So, let’s begin.

(They mount the rostrum)

Ramesh Chandra—Friends! As President of our beloved “Bangiya Sahitya Parisat,” I have great

pleasure in declaring our First Annual Conference open.

(Utterances of Benedictory Verses)

Mahesh Chandra—

"Yo Deva Agnau"

"In the fire, in the water, in the world all over
In the herbs, in the trees, God who stays for
ever

Obeisance to Him over and over!
Obeisance to Him for ever, "for ever!"

Ramesh Chandra—Now there will be a Bengali song, composed by Sri Manomohan Basu, to be sung by Sri Aghore Chakravarti.

(Song) sung by Sri Aghore Chakravarti

O my Mother-tongue!

Why yet so poor and lowly
Why so shabbily dressed?

Why yet so afflicted
Why so Grief-distressed?

Sitting in the Bower of Poesy
On the Lotus of Muse.

You smiled merrily eternally
In sentiments profuse.

We are striving hard, O Mother!

Your dreams will come true.

All lores will adorn you, O Mother!

Within days a few.

See the beauty here, O Mother!

Bengal's gems scholarly,

Adorned in various gems of lores,

Assembled auspiciously.

(All clap)

Ramesh Chandra—Friends, now Sri Rabindranath Tagore, our Joint Vice-President, will read a paper on "*Bangla Jatiya Sahitya*"—"The National Bengali Literature". He needs no introduction to you.

(All clap)

Rabindranath—(Reading his own article)—

"Today we cannot indulge into a false pride by saying that our young Bengali Literature of

today deserves a place amongst the rich, adult literatures of the world. There are very few celebrated Bengali litterateurs even today, the number of good Bengali books is very small.

But though I admit all these, I never take Bengali literature to be an insignificant one.

All—Hear, hear!

Rabindranath (continuing)—But is that only because of the blind delusion of love? No. A time has come for our Bengali literature, when it itself is fully conscious of its future possibilities. Hence, though at present the perceptible results are trifling, yet it cannot think itself to be negligible.

(All clap)

Rabindranath (concluding)—The new Bengali literature has been born nearly a hundred years ago. After another hundred years, if there be centenary celebrations of "*Bangiya Sahitya Parisat*," the fortunate speaker who will, then stand up to sing the glory of Bengali literature will not have to sing, like us, without any evidences, only out of the hearts' hopes, desires and love, only referring to the unmanifest future glories, in a soft tune, like that of a single bird, suddenly awakened, very early in the morning. But, he will sing gushingly in joy, as one who leads the chorus of many voices and many tunes, in his enthusiasm for present glories, in a brighter sun-light, in the awakened Bower of Bengal. And, no one will, then, remember that once a dark night, reigned supreme, and that we of today oscillating in this darkness between tiredness and restfulness, hope and disappointment, went to sleep, after concluding our songs, in piteous, weak voices".

All—How wonderful! How apt!

Ramesh Chandra—Honoured guests! This excellent article by Sri Rabindranath Thakur (Tagore) augures of future good. All assembled here, today, are very eager for the progress of Bengali literature. May his hopes be realised—this I, too, constantly pray for.

(All clap)

Ramesh Chandra—Now, let's go to another room where arrangements have been made for music-recitals.

(All exit)

TAGOREANA

Contributions and Translations Published in *The Modern Review*

COMPILED BY PULINBIHARI SEN AND SOBHANLAL GANGULI

Continued from the June issue

1917

January

LETTERS

Translations of 83 letters from *Chinnapatra* (no. 1-22, 24-34, 36-46, 48-53, 56-60, (271, 73 75, 77-82, 81-92: these numbers are not necessarily identical with those given to translations) and 1 letter now included in *Chhinnapatravali* (no. 69, 3, Bhadra, 1299), published serially and concluded in the August 1917 issue.

Translations no 1, 8, 10, 12, 15, 17, 19-21, 23, 24, 27-32, 34, 37, 39, 40, 44, 45, 47-59, 63-69, 73, 77, 78, 80, 81, 84, 85, 87 and 90 are included in *Glimpses of Bengal*.

March

TAGORE AND HIS MISSION

An interview reproduced from *The Evening Wisconsin* (U.S.A.) in "Notes."

May

GIRIBALA

A translation of the short story "Manbhanjan".
Translated by the author.

Reprinted in *Broken Ties and Other Stories*.

June

THE SPIRIT OF JAPAN

A reprint of a lecture delivered at the Keio Gijuku University. Published in book form by the Indo-Japanese Association, Tokyo.

Reprinted in *Nationalism*, "Nationalism in Japan".

THE LOST JEWELS

A translation of the short story "Manihara".

Translated by W. W. Pearson.

Reprinted in *Broken Ties and Other Stories*.

Another translation by Surendranath Tagore appeared in *The Modern Review*, January, 1937.

THE SUNSET OF THE CENTURY.

Translation of poems nos 64-68 and 93, *Naivedya*.

Reprinted in *Nationalism*.

July

THE NATION

Reprinted in *Creative Unity*.

A SHATTERED DREAM

A translation of the short story "Durasa".

Translated by C. F. Andrews with the help of the author.

Reprinted in *The Runaway and Other Stories*.

Another translation ("False Hopes") by Surendranath Tagore appeared in *The Modern Review*, October, 1936.

August

THE EDITOR

A translation of the short story "Sampadak".

Translated by W. W. Pearson with the help and revision of the author.

Reprinted in *Broken Ties and Other Stories*.

September

THE DAY IS COME

A translation of the song "Desa desa nandita kari . . ."

Reprinted in *Poems*, no. 59.

THOU SHALT OBEY

A translation of the essay "Kartar Ichhay Karma".
Kalantar.

Translated by Surendranath Tagore.

October

THE MEDIUM OF EDUCATION

A translation of the essay "Sikshar Bahan",
Siksha.

Translated by Surendranath Tagore.

November

THE CONCLUSION

A translation of the short story "Samapti".

Translated by C. F. Andrews.

Reprinted in *The Runaway and Other Stories*.

December

THE SMALL AND THE GREAT

A translation of the essay "Choto O Bado",
Kalantar.

Translated by Surendranath Tagore.

With a note by the author.

IN THE NIGHT

A translation of the short story "Nisithe".

Translated by W. W. Pearson with the help and revision by the author.

Reprinted in *Broken Ties and Other Stories*.

Another translation ("At Midnight") by Anath-nath Mitra appeared in *The Modern Review*, April 1910.

SONG

A translation of the song "Matri-mandira punya angana", sung at the dedication of the Bose Institute.

Translated by Prof. M. Ghose.

TO INDIA

A translation of the poem "Hey Bharat nripatire sikhayecha tumi", *Naivedya*, no. 94.

Translated by W. W. Pearson and E. E. Speight. 1918

January

AT HOME AND OUTSIDE

A translation of the novel *Chare Baire*.

Translated by Surendranath Tagore.

Published serially and concluded in the December 1918 issue.

Published in book form under the title *The Home and the World*.

FOUR POEMS

1. Elusive 2. Adventure 3. Reckless 4. Spring.

Translation of the following songs:

1. "O je dekha diye chale gelo".

2. "Kabe tumi asbe bole".

3. "Orey sabadhani pathik".

4. "Eso eso vasanta dharatale".

AUTUMN

A translation of the poem "Aji hemanter santi", *Naivedya*, no. 23.

Translated by W. W. Pearson.

FREEDOM

A translation of the poem "Mukto karo mukta karo ninda prasansar", *Naivedya*, no. 84.

Translated by W. W. Pearson and E. E. Speight.

INDIA'S PRAYER

I. "Thou hast given us to live"

Though not a translation of any single poem, it is clearly reminiscent of several verses of *Naivedya*.

Reprinted in *Poems*.

II. "Our voyage is begun"

A translation of the song "Amader yatra holo suru".

Reprinted in *Poems* (2nd ed.), no. 44.

February

VICTORY TO THEE, BUILDER OF INDIA'S DESTINY

A translation of the song "Jana-Gana-Mana-Aadhinayaka".

Translated by the author.

A revised version by the author appears in *Poems* (2nd ed.), no. 51.

March

DESPAIR NOT

A translation of the song "Tor apan jane charbe tore".

Another translation ("It may be that your loved ones") by the author appears in *Poems*.

THE PARROT'S TRAINING

A translation of "Tota-Kahini", *Lipika*.

Reprinted in *The Parrot's Training*.

April

THE CAPTAIN WILL COME TO HIS

A translation of the song "Tarite pa dei ni ami".

SPEAK TO ME, MY FRIEND OF HIM

A translation of the song "Balo balo bandhu bala".

The translation is presumably by the author.

See the facsimile reproduction in Edward Thompson, *Rabindranath Tagore, Poet and Dramatist*.

June

THE CONQUEROR

A translation of the poem "Vijayi", *Puravi*.

Reprinted in *Poems* (2nd ed.), no. 60.

THE MEANING OF THE EAST AND THE WEST

A translation of the essay "Svadhikar-Pramatta", *Kalantar*.

Reproduced in "Cleanings" from the *Manchester Guardian*, March 28, 1913.

July

AT THE CROSS-ROADS

Reprinted as a pamphlet.

September

THE OBJECT AND SUBJECT OF A STORY

A translation of "Tika-Tippi" (*Sabuj Patra*, Bhadra 1322).

Written in answer to the letter of a lady criticising the Novel *Chare-Baire* (*The Home and the World*).

The original Bengali article is included in *Rabindra-Rachanavali*, Vol. VIII, "Grantha-Parichay".

SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE'S MESSAGE TO THE WOOD NATIONAL COLLEGE

Reproduced from the *Commercial* in "Notes".
October

HOPE

A translation of the poem "Taba charaner asa ogo maharaj", *Naivedya*, no. 62.

November

VERNACULAR FOR THE M. A. DEGREE [CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY]

A letter.

1919

February

SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE ON INDIAN EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Extracts of a summary of a lecture delivered at Bangalore on January 13, 1919, reproduced from *New India* in "Notes".

SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE ON [V. J. PATEL'S] THE HINDU INTERCASTE MARRIAGE VALIDATING BILL

A letter dated December 19, 1918 to G. R. Pradhan, editor, *Bharat Sevak*.

THE MESSAGE OF THE FOREST

A summary of a lecture delivered on the occasion of the opening of the "Festival of Fine Arts" in Bangalore on January 12, 1919, reproduced in "Notes" from the *Karnataka*.

THIS YOUTH WHICH LIES HIDDEN IN MY HEART

A report of the reply to an address presented by the students of various educational institutions of Bangalore, reproduced in "Notes" from the *Karnataka*.

April

SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE'S VIEWS ON SOME EDUCATIONAL QUESTIONS

An interview (January 1919) reproduced from *The Mysore Economic Journal*, February 1919, in "Indian Periodicals" section.

May

THE MESSAGE OF THE FOREST

A translation of the essay "Tapovan", *Siksha*.

A revised version of the translation appears in *Creative Unity* under the title "The Religion of the Forest".

Another translation ("The Springhead of Indian Civilisation") appeared in *The Modern Review*, December 1912.

May

SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE'S LETTER TO MR. GANDHI

The letter is dated April 12, 1919.

Reproduced in "Notes".

SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE'S LETTER TO A FRIEND

A letter on Gandhiji (to C. F. Andrews?) reproduced in "Notes".

June

THE MOTHER'S PRAYER

A translation of the poem "Gandharir Avedan", *Kahini*.

Translated by the author.

Reprinted as a pamphlet.

Reprinted in *The Fugitive*.

VERNACULARS IN THE UNIVERSITY

An interview at Bangalore in January 1919, reproduced from *The Mysore Economic Journal*, April 1919.

July

LETTERS FROM AN ONLOOKER

A translation of "Batayaniker Patra", *Kalantar*.

Translated by Surendranath Tagore.

Reprinted as a pamphlet.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE'S REPLY TO ROMAIN ROLLAND

See "A Letter from Romain Rolland to Rabindranath Tagore".

Reprinted in *Rolland and Tagore* (ed. Alex Aronson and Krishna Kripalani), "Notes".

RABINDRANATH TAGORE'S LETTER TO THE VICEROY

The letter renouncing knighthood.

Reproduced in "Notes".

August

THE TRIAL OF THE HORSE

A translation of "Ghoda", *Lipika*.

Translated by Surendranath Tagore.

Reprinted as a pamphlet.

Reprinted in *The Parrot's Training and Other Stories*.

September

THE RUNAWAY

A translation of the short story "Atithi".

Translated by Surendranath Tagore.

Reprinted in *The Runaway and Other Stories*.

November

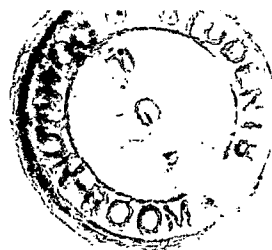
AUTUMN FESTIVAL

A translation of the play *Sarodotsav*.

Translated by the author.

Reprinted as a pamphlet.

(To be Continued)



COLONEL BRITTON

DURING the war the calm voice of "Colonel Britton" broadcasting from the BBC in London brought hope to millions of men and women in occupied Europe. "Colonel Britton's" real name was Douglas Ritchie, who is seen playing chess with a young friend.

The picture itself illustrates a notable personal victory. In 1955, when Douglas Ritchie was fifty years old, his voice was silenced when he suffered a major stroke, a physical affliction that has incapacitated in varying degrees three-quarters of a million people in Britain. Not long ago he published his book "Stroke" in which he describes

his tremendous and dogged struggle back to normality over a period of five years. This courageous story, dramatised for radio by Stephen Grenfell, was broadcast recently in the BBC General Overseas Service, and included the recorded voice of Ritchie, first as "Colonel Britton" and then as it is today after his fight to recover speech—a voice which once again brought hope to many sufferers.

Douglas Ritchie was the Head of the BBC's Publicity Department when his seizure occurred, and had previously been organiser of the BBC's General Overseas Service.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

Reviews and notices of books in Gujarati :

Authors and publishers of Gujarati books, desirous of having them noticed or reviewed in *The Modern Review*, should send them direct to, Shri Rangildas Kapadia :

Gandevi, Dist. Surat,
instead of sending them to the Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

A HISTORY OF KERALA (1498-1801) : By K. M. Panikkar. Published by the Annamalai University, Annamalainagar, 1960. Pp. 471. Price not stated.

In this scholarly monograph, the author who is well-known for his other important contributions to the history of our land, attempts to trace the narrative of facts relating to his native Kerala from the arrival of Vasco de Gama at Calicut down to the defeat and death of Tipu Sultan at the hands of the East India Company. Because of the absence of political unity of Kerala during the

whole of this period the author has rightly woven its history around the three foreign powers (the Portuguese, the Dutch and the Sultans of Mysore) who successively controlled its fortunes during the centuries in question. A study of the bibliographical apparatus at the end of the work shows the care with which he has utilised both original and secondary sources. For the Portuguese period the original material consists of transcripts and translations of the State papers and other official documents preserved at the India Office Library in London, of published historical works in Portuguese, and lastly, the valuable Malayalam chronicles kept in the temples and the archives

of the royal families. For the following period the original sources include the memoirs of successive Dutch chiefs of factories, transcripts at the India Office, documents at the Madras Record Office, and so forth, and again the Malayalam chronicles and records of private families. Out of these materials the author has given in his usual attractive style a detailed account of the political and military incidents of the time. For the general reader the great value of the work lies in the author's analysis of the main lines of policy of the intruders towards the ruling dynasties, (especially those of Calicut and Cochin), his estimate of the significance of their contact with the land and its people, and his highly interesting account of the repercussions of this contact upon the political, social and the economic life of the people. The extent of political transformation effected may be judged from the fact that Kerala at the beginning of this period had no less than "four kings, forty-six territorial chieftains and innumerable lesser barons", but at its end consisted of the States of Travancore and Cochin (both under the East India Company's suzerainty) and the British district of Malabar. At the end of this period again, the social hierarchy of Kerala inherited from times immemorial broke down and a new middle-class rose on its ruins. On the other hand, the trade of the region was ruined by the military occupation and its once prosperous ports became scenes of desolation. A short but valuable account of the culture of Kerala in the branches of literature, (both Sanskrit and Malayalam), and of art (comprising architecture, sculpture, painting, music and dance) aptly brings this monograph to a close. The work is remarkably free from printing and other mistakes, but the reference to 'four centuries' (p. 426) is a slip. The addition of maps of the principal Portuguese and Dutch factories to the two given here would have been welcome. The value of the work would have been further enhanced by the addition of a chronological table and an index.

U. N. GHOSHAL

THE ABSORBENT MIND : By Maria Montessori. The Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras, Pp. 300. Price not mentioned.

The book comprises more than three hundred pages and is based on lectures given by the renowned authoress at Ahmedabad in India while she was interned there during the World War II.

The book is divided into thirty-eight chapters and Dr. Montessori introduced certain very useful and interesting topics such as 'Some Thoughts on Language', 'How Language Calls

the Child', 'Mistakes and Their Correction' and 'The Three Levels of Obedience'. The educator would greatly profit to know how the child picks up his language, may be it is Latin, may be it is Sanskrit. This would greatly help the educator appreciate the potentialities of the baby citizens. The unique mental powers of children are amply illustrated by the authoress to show how they construct and firmly establish, even without teachers and usual aids of education, all the characteristics of a full-grown person.

Dr. Montessori, with her unique aptitude for observation and proper evaluation of child's potentialities unfolds before us the intricacies of the earliest and yet the most decisive period of human life and tells us how we, the older people, should bear the responsibility of the upbringing of children. The authoress gave a practical meaning to the universally recognised necessity for 'education from birth'. This type of education becomes meaningful and significant only when it becomes a 'help to life' and transcends the narrow limits of teaching and of the direct transmission of knowledge or ideals from one mind to another. One of the best known principles of the Montessori method is the 'preparation of the environment'. At this stage of life, long before the child attends school, this principle provides the key to an 'education from birth' and to the true 'cultivation' of the human individual from the very beginning.

If education aims at an unique individuality, at a complete personality of the child Dr. Montessori's ideas on the rearing up of the environment cannot be lightly brushed aside. Her contentions are based on scientific grounds. She observed children all over the world and it is her studied opinion that better type of 'education from birth' would lead to the manifestation of mental and spiritual grandeur in the citizens of tomorrow and would put up a picture of mankind so very different from what we find it to be this day.

We recommend this book to the parents and educators all the world over.

SUDHIR KUMAR NANDI

CURRENT ECONOMIC PROBLEMS : By Dr. C. B. Mamoria and Shri R. L. Joshi. Published by Sahitya Bhawan, Agra. Pages 367. Price Rs. 6.25 nP.

The book has been divided into five parts, viz., (1) Agricultural Problems, (2) Industry and Finance, (3) Population and Labour, (4) Transport and (5) Miscellaneous, (1) deals with food problem, Bhoodan Yajna, service co-operatives, co-operative farming, community development

projects and agricultural marketing; (2) discusses industries—cottage and small-scale, iron and steel, sugar, shipping, government policy, rationalisation, managing agency system, agricultural finance, foreign capital and foreign exchange crisis; (3) besides, population problem in general, it deals in family planning, housing, labour welfare, trade unions, workers' participation in management, social security, industrial unrest and unemployment in India; (4) discusses air and transport, besides tourist industry and the miscellaneous section has for its subjects, Third Five-Year Plan, metric system of weights and measures, state trading and finally socialistic pattern of society for India.

Most important economic problems of the day have been dealt in a way that even a layman going through the pages will be benefitted, not to speak of the students of economics and commerce of Indian universities. The authors are experienced teachers, particularly, Dr. Mamoria, who knows how to present intricate economic and financial subjects in a simple manner. When the country is passing through acute and rapid economic developments under Five-Year Plans a publication of this nature is welcome to readers desirous of knowing the governmental actions and economic trends of their vast country.

The volume contains a large number of mistakes in spelling which we hope will be rectified in the next edition.

THE PARTITION OF INDIA (1947): By Shri G. V. Subba Rao, Published by Goshthi Book Trust, Amalapuram (Andhra Pradesh), Pages xiv + 252 + ix. Price Rs. 5/-.

The author presents in this volume 'a people's version of the story of the partition.' The author, a great nationalist and at the time of partition, President, Andhra Swarajya Party, gives in these pages events, particularly since the outbreak of the last world war, the Viceroy's declaration of the 8th August, 1940, Cripps proposals (1942), Cabinet Mission Scheme (1946), the Mountbatten Plan (3rd June, 1947), Independence Act (July, 1947) and the Radcliffe Award (August, 1947), also the activities of the Indian National Congress, the All-India Muslim League and other political bodies and also portraits of the historic parts played by Mahatmaji, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Pandit Jawaharlal, Babu Rajendra Prasad, Sardar Patel, Mountbatten and others in connection with the vivisection of India. How the idea of United India was shaken and ultimately given up even by Mahatmaji and other Congress leaders due to the direct action of the Muslims in different parts of India, tussle in the Cabinet of the interim

Government of India between the League and the Congress Ministers, also the clever manoeuvring of the new Viceroy Lord Mountbatten who replaced Lord Wavell is well told. The entire action is described as a 'conspiracy' of the League, the Congress and the British Government represented by the Viceroy—Mountbatten. The people were deceived, Congress pledge for united India broken, even the Great Mahatma took to mysterious 'silence' and became a party to it and forgot to resort to a 'hunger strike' which would have frustrated all attempts at partition by other Congress stalwarts.

The book is well-documented and the recent history is told in a charming manner and deserves to be read by youths of independent India.

REFLECTIONS ON THE WELFARE STATE: By Dr. Wilhelm Ropke, Arya Bhavan Sandhurst Road (West), Bombay-4. Pages 18. Price .25 nP.

This essay is a publication of the Libertarian Social Institute in which the learned author has drawn a balance-sheet of the working of the Welfare State which is the "wooden leg of the society crippled by its proletariat." According to him extreme individualism and selfishness of certain classes gave rise to Welfare State. What is described as 'welfare' is not really 'well-being'. An extreme view indeed.

A GRAMMAR OF INDIAN PLANNING: By Prof. S. Ambirajan, Published by Popular Book Depot, Harrington Road, Bombay-7. Pages 200. Price Rs. 5/-.

This is an attempt to study the phenomenon of Indian Planning in terms of economic theory, available statistics, critical analysis, human needs and personnel requirements.

The author discusses the subject in seven chapters, viz., Perspectives of Democratic Planning, Factors of Economic Progress, Towards Planning, The First Plan, The Second Plan, and the Man. The Plans have been presented to the common reader in a simple language with comments necessary for proper understanding. In the last chapter the author finally estimates the merits and demerits of the Plans and warns against the evils of regimentation. In the words of the author "Man in New Delhi seems to think that everything should be beaten into a uniform shape, and then 'naya paisa' alone should be current all over the country."

Appendices contain a note on the formulation of the Third Five-Year Plan, a note on Pakistan's First Five-Year Plan, a note of Planning in China and twelve valuable and informative statis-

tical tables which have increased the usefulness of the publication to the students of Economics. A select bibliography is also added.

We have no doubt that the book will be of help not only to ordinary readers for whom it is written but also to the undergraduates of Indian Universities.

A. B. Dutta

SANSKRIT

VIVEKANANDAM : By *Siromani Sannidhanam Suryanarayana Shastri, P.O.L., Sanskrit Lecturer, Raja Bahadur Venkatrama Reddy Women's College, Hyderabad. To be had of the author, 44, Zeera Compound, Secunderabad, Andhra Pradesh. Price Rs. 3/-.*

This is a poem based on the life-story of Swami Vivekananda. It is the Sanskrit version of a Telugu original, both composed by the same author. The learned author is a prolific writer in both the languages—a rather unique achievement. It is understood, his works in Telugu enjoy considerable popularity. And his Sanskrit translations of some of them have already been noticed in these pages (April, 1960). The present poem consists of 707 verses divided into 36 sections with an additional introductory one, each describing one particular aspect of the life of the Great Master. Though the work is not free from occasional defects they do not take away from its interest as a Sanskrit poem dealing with a modern topic.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

GUJARATI

GITAPADARTHAKOSHA : By *Mahatma Gandhi. Edited by Kakasaheb Kalelkar. Navajivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad-14. July, 1960. Price 50 nP.*

The first edition of the book appeared in 1936. This is a revised edition.

Mahatma Gandhi always found in the Gita a real *kamdhenu*, a source-book and an adviser to consult in case of doubt and conflict of duties. His

eloquent praise of the Gita in the brief address to the readers requires more than a passing notice. After the 1st edition was out Kakasaheb had suggested to Gandhiji the need of breaking up the compound words and explaining them separately. Gandhiji had retorted that this was not his work, but that it could be surely done by Kakasaheb, and it was during his life in prison in 1942 that Kakasaheb found time to turn to it.

The words have been arranged alphabetically, and the references as to where they occur have been given, along with their meaning, suggesting expansion of meanings, usual with, all great works. It is not a mere 'padakosha' but also, 'arthakosha'—and it represents the work of love put in by Mahatmaji since 1894, for a close study of the Gita, his plan for the reader who reads it for self-purification and pursues a one week's course.

A small book, but big with meaning, combining economy with solid matter.

BA ANE BAPU, BAPUNA PRERAK PRASANGA, JIVAN-SIKSHAN : By *Mukulbhai Kalarithi. Published by Navajivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad-14. 1961. Priced Re. 1.50, 40 nP., (the last two).*

These three books have the same characteristics—Mukulbhai's style of presentation through anecdotes, simple words, and appeal to the readers' imagination with a view to interest him in the ways of social service. The first consists of 120 small sections—showing the various traits of Bapu and Ba's character in their relation to each other and supported by quotations, or their own reported words beginning with the beginning and continuing till one month after Ba's death. The second and the third are much smaller in size, 48 pp. each, contrasted to 180 pp. of the 1st, but while the second is concerned with talks in Gandhiji in various contexts, the third culls lessons from different times and different anecdotes, the story of the times of the Buddha and of Lincoln and Tolstoy.

P. R. SEN



Indian Periodicals

The Youngmen of Bengal

The **Chowringhee** in its July 23rd., number deals with the problems of youth in a manner which deserves wider publicity. We quote the leader *ad extenso*.

Hope, aspiration and optimism are the major ingredients of the outlook of youth. Young people occasionally lose all hope and become despondent. Their future then appears bleak and ominous; but if one has good health and the true spirit of youth, such a mental condition does not last for any length of time. Youngmen and women always search for new hopes and ideas and they march into something different and more hopeful compared to what had disappointed them. The present conditions prevailing in the field of training, study and employment are very bad, and our Government are doing little to improve the conditions. The big industries that are being set up all over India, have next to no openings in them for the employment of our youngmen and women. We have pointed out on many occasions that the capital intensive establishments would never be able to absorb our unemployed youngmen and though Government may open non-productive departments here and there which will "control, grant or allocate" supplies, resources and material; these departments will eventually have to be abolished and, even if they remained, they would, by their very nature, cause unemployment in other spheres and thereby cancel what little good they could do by employing some people in their offices. This is exactly what has happened. Government projects like Hindusthan Steel, the D.V.C., the B. C. Roy Gas Company, together with the supplies departments and other interfering bodies created by Government; have not been able, between them, to provide employment to even 10% of the youngmen and women who have gone to them

in search of work. Private enterprise, due to state interference and to an undeclared policy of diverting all business away from Bengal and the Bengalis, has progressively lost strength and the ability to employ people. In every field of work in which local people could find employment; shortage of supplies, material, capital, etc., had created conditions in which employment of newer hands became impossible. No cement, no steels, no coal, no bricks, no stone chips, no sheets, no timber, no paint, no printing paper, no book binding material, no basic essences, no basic oils, no chemicals...no, no, no to the end of any list that one could prepare of materials required for any productive work! In the circumstances every little and big private establishment has ceased manufacture totally or partially and employment has been cut down to the size of the production program. We know we have no foreign exchange; but we also know that, at least 200 crores worth of foreign exchange has been wasted in the building of Rourkela, Bhilai and Durgapur, as well as another few hundred crores in other Government projects all over India. This waste has occurred due to **not exploiting Indian production potential** to the fullest with a view to cutting out imports of machinery and machine parts of material. These few hundred crores of rupee worth of foreign exchange might have been better utilised to keep the Indian economy on its legs instead of being made a casualty for saving Nehru's "economy". Had private enterprise been kept at full strength and increasingly productive, larger quantities of exportable commodities might have been made available too. This might have partly solved the foreign exchange problem. But nothing was done to keep the Indian economy healthy and strong and the demands of Nehru's "Economy" poisoned the life of India at the source and caused greater un-

employment than ever before in all fields of work. There were also no negotiations for increasing offtake of Indian goods by the foreign buyers. Only such commodities, like sugar, as got produced in spite of all obstacles put in the way of their full production; came into the field of export negotiations. Nehru's management of the so-called national industries and economic affairs have been criminally thoughtless and negligent. The yes-men whom he puts on a pedestal to display to us, have also been party to the great crime against the nation. Now, if Dr. B. C. Roy goes round the world inspecting, God knows what, and pretends to do so for alleviating unemployment in Bengal, it is such a transparent pretence that no one will be taken in by it. Dr. Roy has done his level best, all his life, to keep the Bengalis down in the economic field. His friends, supporters and proteges have always been people other than the unemployed Bengalis. Shri Tarun Kanti Ghosh is also "investigating" into the principles guiding West German agriculture or some such thing in Frankfurt, Paris or London. No doubt this will save foreign exchange, create employment and increase food production in Bengal! Then there are the Khajumulls and others who are travelling all the time all over the world to save foreign exchange and to create employment. It is high time all this was put a stop to with a firm hand, and the people saved from the economic disaster they are facing. If Nehru cannot do this, which we are sure he cannot and will not, then the people of India must combine to bring sense to the mind of Nehru and his colleagues. It is also necessary to train up the youngmen and women of this State to earn a living by doing some productive work which does not require setting up tremendous plants or machinery. We must analyse our requirements for living according to our standards. We must then allocate our human resources in the manner that will give us the required quanta of consumer goods. When doing this we may have to stop the flow of goods from other places into Bengal as well as the employment of outsiders within this State. As there is little sympathy elsewhere for the people of Bengal, we must make our own arrangements in the manner that suits our own purpose best.

Standard of Living in the U.S.S.R.

The following excerpt from the **A.I.C.C. Economic Review** will be found interesting.

"There are no two opinions about the achievements of the U.S.S.R. in science and military prowess, but the world is still not sure about the standard of living of the people therein. Between 1913 and the beginning of 1961 the gross industrial output increased 45 times, but the output of consumers' goods increased 17 times only. From this it is inferred that while the U.S.S.R. has built up a powerful industrial potential, the standard of living of its people cannot be high. This inference, we are afraid, conceals as much as it reveals. The U.S.S.R. gave priority to the development of heavy industries, because upon their development depends the development of consumption goods industries. We cannot aspire to build a sky-scraper without laying firm foundations for it. This is why in every successive Plan, the ratio of investment between capital goods and consumer-goods was less favourable to capital goods than in the previous Plan. While this ratio was 7 : 4 in the First Plan, it now stands at parity. Having built up, to its satisfaction, the base of its economy by the development of heavy industries, the U.S.S.R. is now giving increasing attention to its consumer-goods industries, so if the present standard of living of the Soviets, judged from Western standards is not high, it is bound to improve fast with the passage of time.

"The Soviet have been living in a shell upto this time. Even now their radios cannot catch distant stations. Their seclusion from the outside world has checked the working of "demonstration effect". They compare their standard of living not with that in the Western world, but with their own in the past, and hence are satisfied to find a discernible improvement in it. This is evident from the fact that in the last two decades whereas the output of consumer-goods rose 3.3 times, population rose by only 14%. As compared to pre-revolution days, the per capita consumption of all the consumers' goods has risen (tinned goods, 33 times; confectionery, 10 times; butter, 5 times; sugar, 3 times and vegetable oil, 2.5 times).

"The standard of living of the people cannot rise unless agriculture makes rapid strides. It has unfortunately lagged much behind the industrial sector. That in 1940-

52 agricultural output rose by 10%, but industrial output rose by 130%, tells its own tale. To rectify this imbalance special attention was given to agriculture after 1952. There has been impressive increase in farm output since then. The percentage increase in 1960 over 1953 was 61 in respect of grain, 85 in respect of sugar, and 50.59 and 61 in respect of meat, milk and butter respectively. Now when agriculture is given its due place in national development plans, the Soviet people can hope for a better time so far as food articles are concerned.

"There is then the question of housing. To the backlog of housing shortage was added the destruction wrought by the Second World War, rendering 25 millions homeless. Houses of bricks would have consumed more capital and time than the Soviets could afford in the re-construction of their economy, so pre-fabricated parts were manufactured at special plants and assembled on the spot. Generally 60 sq. ft. per head is allowed for accommodation. A family of four can have a house of 200 to 240 sq. ft. for Rs. 10 to Rs. 15 per mensem including charges for water, electricity and gas. But such houses are not freely available. Housing shortage, in fact, is very acute.

"Cloth appears to be quite dear in the Soviet Union. Mr. Rudenko, the head of a family of six members earning £160 per mensem by their joint efforts bought a new suit for £60. A dress for Mrs. Rudenko could not cost less than £10 to £15. Footwear is also very dear. A new pair of shoes costs £10 to £15. An implication of high prices of cloth and footwear is that their consumption must of necessity be low.

"The prices of consumer-industrial goods are not so high. In 1954, Mr. Rudenko mentioned above bought a television set for £120. The prices of television sets are lower now. In 1959, a wireless was bought by him for £40. A saloon car bought from his employers, and re-fitted at a considerable cost, cost him £460 in all, including, of course, the charges for repairs. Refrigerators sell at £60 to £125, depending upon their size. One has, however, to remain on the waiting list for a couple of years before one can get it. There is much demand for imported furniture too, but here again one has to wait for a year or so.

"The workers can go to health resorts

and beauty spots for about 15 days per year at very little expense to them, such trips being heavily subsidised by the state. If a worker, however, wishes to take his wife along with him, he will have to bear her expenses.

"Since all the adults in the family are working hands, shopping has to be done in evenings or on week-ends. This makes for long queues at retail shops. Abnormally long queues before retail shops indicate to the housewives that supplies have been replenished or added to by the arrival of new consignments of lemons or bananas or cars or television sets or imported furniture."

Assam A Sub-Nation

The Indian Libertarian of Bombay of July 15, 1961, commented on the Assam situation as follows:

"The Bengalis form a compact majority in the district of Cachar in Assam but are also spread evenly throughout the Brahmaputra Valley amidst the Assamese proper. In fact they number fifteen lakhs in the Brahmaputra Valley where they form a large majority whereas they are ten lakhs in Cachar where they are in a majority.

"The Reorganisation Report had suggested that where in a district the majority speak a language different from that of the provincial majority, they should be allowed to have their own language as the official language. The Shastri Formula recognises the value of this recommendation and upholds Bengali as the official language of Cachar side by side with Assamese as the central official language of the State as a whole. The Assamese Official Language Act goes further and provides for full Assamisation in the future by a special provision whereby the mahakuma or panchayat councils are authorised to change over from Bengali to Assamese by a majority of votes at any time in the future. The Cachar Bengali-speaking people protested against this eventual Assamisation programme, which may come sooner than expected artificially whenever the central authorities could influence the local panchayat councils otherwise than through legitimate linguistic grounds.

"The Shastri formula allays this fear of the Cachar Bengalis by persuading the

Central Assamese Government to withdraw this provision of the recent Act of Shillong. This should assure them that so far as Cachar is concerned, Bengali is guaranteed a safe future for all time. The question of the infiltration of Assamese language into Cachar will never arise.

But the Cachar Sangram Parishad is not satisfied with this solution of a safe and long term use of Bengali in their district. Based on the fifteen lakhs of Bengali-speaking people in the Brahmaputra Valley in the midst of the Assamese people (who want a **subnation** for themselves under the name of Assam) on the analogy of Assam, the Cachar Bengalis and the Banga Bhasha Parishad in general demands the recognition of Bengali as an **official language** for the **State as a whole on equal terms with Assamese**. They want the State of Assam to be a Dual Language State to reflect the present language equilibrium for all time—both Assamese and Bengali being recognised for all official purposes. In real terms, this means that the Bengali should be enabled to feel at home in Assam as his own home province without the need to adjust his position as a minority to the majority of Assamese-speaking people. The Bengali will continue as an equal partner in the sovereignty of the State sharing in equal measure in the opportunities and patronage of the State in its developing phases in the future. The formula of Karl Marx that economic sovereignty determines the political superstructure of people's life and culture is exemplified in this struggle of Assamese and Bengali elements in Assam.

"This background is necessary to realise the intensity of the struggle with its unusual degree of virulence and violence in Assam.

"There is also a complicating factor which is difficult to assess in its full strength on account of paucity of information due partly to ignorance and partly to a misinterpretation of the secular policy of India which prevents the principal newspapers from probing further into the matter. It is the conspiracy of pro-Pakistani Muslims to increase the Muslim proportion of the population of Assam in order to smooth the way to its eventual incorporation in Pakistan in the fulness of time.

"In 1948-49, there were complaints that a large number of Pakistani Muslims immigrated into Assam illegally and clandestinely through the collusion and slackness of Muslim officialdom on the border.

"During the recent Census operations, it is reported that several lakhs of illegal immigrants have again come into the country.

"At Hailakandi, large mobs numbering as many as 10,000 attacked the town in mid-day. They raised slogans of "Allah-ho-Akbar!" and "Pakistan Zindabad! Hindustan Murdabad!" The mobs consisted largely of Muslim villagers. The Muslim ex-League Minister Moin-ul-Huq and the Muslim Inspector General of Police were in the Town just a couple of days back.

"The organised attack by Muslims was led by a Shanti Parishad (so-called) formed for the occasion as a counter to the Bengali Cachar Sangram Parishad which had withdrawn its agitation after the intervention of Mr. Shastri and Mr. Nehru. But the counter Parishad of Muslims attacked the Bengalis all the same. The real intention was to drive the Bengalis out of Assam. This is a continuation of last July's organised attacks on the Bengalis! The Central Government acquiesced in the demand of the local Government that no enquiry be held into the doings of Assam's high-ups during last year's riots!

"It is clear that the "**civil war**" is on again: Mr. Asoke Sen, the Central Minister, is right in describing this conflict as one of **civil war**.

"It is high time that the Central Government mustered courage, jettisoning its election fears and took the State Administration over for Presidential control.

"There are two Muslims in the Government of Assam,—one of them an ex-Muslim Leaguer and the Chief Minister is returned by Cachar border Muslim majorities; hence his weakness *vis-a-vis* the Muslims! The rest of India needs to go into these underground conspiracies more thoroughly instead of supinely dismissing the whole tangle as due to "communalism", (of course of the Hindus the universal scapegoat of the Congress!)"

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Ayub Khan

In the German News Magazine for Business, **German International** of March 31, 1961, a correspondent Phillip M. Towne of New York writes as follows about Ayub Khan:

"Sir:

"The answers you got from Pakistan's President Ayub Khan were really enlightening. From what he said I can only gather that with a parliamentary system minus Ayub Khan, the wrong Pakistani got elected whereas with Ayub Khan minus a parliamentary system, Pakistani's rank and file are represented by the "right" people. What kind of fascinating logic! What revelation of arrogance! And what a dangerous mental contrast to all this official ballyhoo about his "loving children, speaking spontaneously and frankly." Does neither he nor his disciples know that people are getting startled when some one manages to get 95.6 per cent of all eligible votes? Communists do hardly any better. Their bracket usually ranges from 95 to 100 per cent.

"Let me predict that Ayub Khan will have a hard time to sell the righteousness and virtues of his system to the people of this country."

So there is another side to Ayub's conquest of the American heart. After all Americans are a free people who dearly love freedom. An enemy of freedom is never any good for them.

W. German Production

The same journal, **German International**, gives us the following information about W. German output of different kind of goods:

Crude steel production per working day reached 106,058 tons in March, 1961. Total steel output in March also represented an alltime peak with 3,076,000 tons. Hard

coal production rose from 11,404,000 tons in February to 12,668,600 tons in March. Production per man-shift rose to 4,000 lbs. in March.

A total cement consumption of 24 million tons last year with 23.6 million tons supplied by home producers is another enlightening piece of news. 960,000 typewriters were produced in West Germany in 1960. The German output was second only to the output of the U.S.A.

Unemployment in W. Germany declined to 0.8 per cent. At the end of March, 578,600 job vacancies were registered in W. Germany. There are not enough workers in W. Germany to man her growing industries. Among foreigners, 170,000 Italians, 38,300 Spaniards and 35,000 Greeks may be mentioned. It is expected that about 500,000 foreigners will be employed by W. Germans by the end of 1961. It is said that about 7,500 Indians are now employed in W. Germany, almost all of whom are students who work as well as study.

French Achievements

The **Short News Bulletin** published by the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs gives a variety of information about what the French are doing in various fields of work. We are reproducing some of these:

"Construction of the largest rayon plant in India has just been started at Kalsur with French technical and financial aid. The plant will be completed in two years and will be known as the Great Mysore Rayon Grade Pulp and Paper Mills.

"Production capacity of the new company will be 110 tons of rayon a day."

"Professor Georges Arnuf of Lyons recently reported to the Academy of Medicine about the experiments which he has been carrying out during the last three years on the possibilities of making grafts of coronary arteries.

"Professor Arnulf has already succeeded in making this transposition on 86 dogs which supported the operation perfectly.

"As a result of his experiments, he feels that coronary grafts can be tried on men without danger.

"Such an operation would be extremely important because of the frequency of coronary arterial difficulties. One of the worst of these difficulties is infraction of the myocarditis which is one of the principal causes of death of the present time."

Contrary to popular belief, it is possible to sell quality goods in a foreign country which is highly productive in similar goods itself. The French exports of motor cars to the U.S.A. are a good example of this.

"With increased sales of cars in the United States, Renault again rose to the rate of sales it had reached last year.

"Of the 6,000 automobiles shipped to the United States, 4,300 were "Dauphines" and 1,700 were "Gordinis". Sales of Renault cars in America have continued to increase since the beginning of the year. The principal reasons for this increase lie in

the fact that the cost of the "Dauphine" was reduced by 200 dollars and the "Gordini" was launched on the American market."

Making a Small Country Bigger

The Danish Foreign Office Journal, No. 37 of 1961, publishes an account of land reclamation in Denmark which is a small country with an urgent requirement for more agricultural land. Since 1860, Denmark has reclaimed millions of acres of land from the sea, the hogs and the swamps which abounded in that country, at a cost which has paid the country to carry out the work. In the Lammefjord area, for instance, 13,600 acres were reclaimed during the period 1873-1942 and 1,300 farms were built on the land. Denmark is a high cost and high income country. If the Danes, therefore, find it paying to reclaim land for agriculture, it should be highly economical to reclaim land in India. But we have not been told so by our foreign and other consultants.



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Developing Greenland

Greenland which is the world's largest island is a province of Denmark. The Danes are developing Greenland in a manner worthy of notice. Viggo Kampmann, Prime Minister of Denmark, in his message published in the **Danish Foreign Office Journal**, says:

"The fine and comprehensive exhibition now being presented at the headquarters of the Royal Geographical Society in London shows both the Greenland that was and the Greenland which is building a future; as already manifest, for example, in the fact that Greenland products—got from the surrounding sea—are internationally familiar and esteemed. The old hunting fellowship has been changed into a modern industrial community. The development has left its mark both on the methods of catching and the processing of fish in modern factories."

Our economic planners, who are obsessed with putting up factories and dams, have never thought of developing the cold mountainous regions of India which stretch for thousands of miles and can be the homes of millions of Indians. Vision and self-reliance are the two things which the true leaders of a nation require.

Labour's Part in Production

The **Journal of the Royal Society of Arts**, March, 1961, publishes a paper read before the Royal Society of Arts by W. G. Carron, President, Amalgamated Engineering Union. He described the function of trade unions very precisely and went into the recent history of trade unionism in relation to the heights of production achieved by British industry during the Second World War and thereafter.

"Modern expression of trade union

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(London) of International fame, President of the world-renowned Baranashi Pandit Maha Sabha of Banaras and All India Astrological and Astronomical Society of Calcutta has won unique fame not only in India but throughout the world (e.g., in England, America, Africa, Australia, China, Japan, Malaya, Java, Singapore, Hongkong, etc.) and many notable persons from every nook and corner of the world have sent unsolicited testimonials acknowledging his mighty and supernatural powers. This powerfully gifted greatest Astrologer & Palmist, Tantric can tell at a glance all about one's past, present and future and with the help of Yogic and Tantric powers can redress the pernicious influence of evil planets, help to win difficult law suits, ensure safety from impending dangers, poverty, prevent childlessness and free people from debts and family unhappiness.



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A few names of admirers—The Hon'ble Chief Justice of Calcutta High Court, Sir Manmatha Nath Mukherji, Kt. The Hon'ble Chief Justice Mr. B. K. Ray of Orissa High Court. The Hon'ble Minister, Government of Bengal, Raja Prasanna Deb Raikot. The Hon'ble Maharaja of Santosh and Ex-president of the Bengal Legislative Council, Sir Monmatha Nath Roy Chowdhury, Kt. His Highness the Maharaja of Athgarh. Her Highness the Dowager Sixth Maharani Saheba of Tripura. Her Highness the Maharani Saheba of Cooch Behar. Mrs. F. W. Gillespie, Detroit, Mich, United States of America. Mr. K. Ruchpaul, Shanghai, China. Mr. J. A. Lawrence, Osaka Japan & many others.

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policy can be contained in three short phrases :

- (1) hours of labour commensurate with increasing scientific and technological advance ;
- (2) conditions of employment compatible with human dignity ;
- (3) wages sufficient to ensure a fair participation in the proceeds of human productivity.

"On these three principles, therefore, trade union hopes, ambitions and philosophy are based, none of it new but all of it stemming from roots penetrating into the dinner stratum of obscure antiquity. In essence, the establishment of these three principles represents a major part of the function of organised labour within the trade unions in modern industry and commerce.

"The fact that I am able in 1960, to state that such is only a part of trade union function is indicative of the vast changes—industrial relationships that have come into being since the darker years of the Second World War. Prior to this international setback to human progress, the trade unions had not been considered nor considered themselves as an integral part of industrial or commercial structure. In point of fact, quite the opposite was the general feeling—the pre-war owners of industry and commerce continually impressing the unions with the awful majesty of 'managerial function' and all that it represented. As a direct consequence, the unions came to accept that their prime and proper function was to despoil the Philistine at any and every available opportunity.

"A further and greater evil to emerge from such mistaken philosophy was the normal approach, by work-people, to national productivity. The idea of improving and increasing production was completely unacceptable to trade union thought, for—in the face of an unbroken history connected with 'hire and fire' and consequential redundancy or prolonged un-

employment—the principle operated, wherever possible, was to spread one day's work into two or even three days as a mutually accepted trade union counter-measure.

"The threat of total extinction by Nazi forces brought about at least one beneficial change—it swept away, almost overnight, the major proportions of internal opposition between owner and employee in our industries and agricultural enterprises

"For the first time in history, therefore, trade union leadership was credited with the **attributes** of leadership. The trade union organisation, with its junction of co-ordinating forces in the Trades Union Congress, was afforded recognition as something other than a disorderly rabble, and a high proportion of its members and officials at all levels was incorporated into these many and urgently necessary posts, committees and panels which had to be created during those hard years. Continuing into the post-war years, the Anglo-American council on productivity was but one manifestation of this changed order and, as could be reasonably expected the Trades Union Congress fully cognizant of its responsibility, provided its proportion of members to the British Productivity Council, on which I have the honour to serve as a Director and as Chairman for the current year".

Mr. Carron's paper clearly showed the position of trade unions in Britain and also, how friendly co-operation between workers and management has lifted productivity in industry to a new level of effectiveness which it had never even approached to any extent before the Second World War. In India, the Awful Majesty of Managerial Function has retained its "glory" to the fullest due to the influx of governmental and other 'high level' personnel. Indian industry has a long way to go before India's plants and machinery, so expensively procured and set up, can ever hope to reach full productivity at a normal cost.

Editor—Kedar Nath Chatterji

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YUDDHA YATRA

(From an old painting)

•By Courtesy : Mr. Ashoke Chatterjee

Founded by—RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

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NOTES

The World

The latest news on the Berlin crisis tend to indicate a partial easing of the tension. Sir Paul Gore-Booth, the U. K. High Commissioner, had a 45-minute interview with Pandit Nehru, during which he conveyed to the Prime Minister the views of the British authorities on the legal situation governing Western access to Berlin. He also reiterated his Government's willingness to participate in negotiations to solve the crisis over Berlin.

News from the U.S. also indicate a slight improvement as a high official of the U.S. Government has also said that the Western allies have agreed to negotiate with the Soviet Union on a peaceful settlement of the Berlin crisis, though the time and place for the pourparlers are yet to be settled.

There are as yet large differences in the view-points of the several governments that constitute the Western Powers. President Kennedy has been reported to feel that the seriousness of the situation called for a Western initiative in opening the way to full scale negotiations.

It is too early as yet to assume that the critical stage had passed. Both sides are still grimly holding on to their stand-points and the confronting of the East-German armed forces, on guard at the East-West barricades in Berlin, by Western troops and armour has keyed-up the tension to an ex-

plosion point. Any rash or provocative action by either side might precipitate matters, which is now fully realised by both.

Mr. Khrushchev has offered a "free city" pledge for West Berlin. Prior to that he had indicated that the Soviets were not inclined to plunge into a war over Berlin, though if such an emergency did develop. Soviet might was fully equipped to meet it. His denunciations of the Western Powers, as war-mongers who were "artificially stimulating a dispute over Berlin", continues as before.

The crisis developed with the closing of the frontiers between East and West Berlin, by barricades of barbed wire and concrete slabs, from early on the 13th of August, the Brandenburg Gate, the main crossing-point between the two sectors being closed by the East German authorities on the 14th of August. This followed the frantic rush of tens of thousands of East German nationals across the borders into West Germany, leaving behind almost all their earthly possessions. These refugees included large numbers of able-bodied and fully trained personnel, whose flight has tended to cripple East German reserves of skilled man-power.

France has still maintained its attitude of intransigence over Bizerta, but there has been no further shedding of innocent blood by French forces. The attitude of the U.N.

is slowly crystallizing after the rebuff given by De Gaulle's Government in reply to the U.N. directives. It is reported that a calmer stage has come and there are some signs of the return of sanity to the prestige-mad French authorities, whose action in Bizerta has not enhanced France's prestige in the free world by one iota. Indeed on the contrary!

De Gaulle himself is on the horns of a dilemma. On the one side there are the extremists in the French army, impetuous, irrational—and ineffective! Ever since the rise of anti-colonial movements in the French empire, they have advocated the use of force to overwhelm and subjugate the forces of freedom. They took no notice of the "winds of change" in the world of today, and indeed they seem to be oblivious to the inevitable consequences of world disapproval of colonialism and the resulting advantages in aid and sustenance to the fighters for freedom. They have brought France to the verge of political and moral bankruptcy and isolation, in a free world.

In seeking a way-out of this impossible situation with the directness of a soldier and patriot, De Gaulle is further prevented in his attempts to find a *via media* by the equally obstinate stand of the F. L. N. in Algeria, which is reported to have changed leaders after the breakdown of peace-talks.

It is said that the ruthless action of the French forces at Bizerta were in excess of orders and were deliberately undertaken to upset De Gaulle's peace moves in Algeria.

In West Africa, Portugal, the most decadent and puerile of European colonial powers, is carrying on with its vile and inhuman campaign against the freedom fighters in her African possessions. Tiny Portugal, backward and inefficient, has managed all along the ages since the Napoleonic wars, to capitalize on the rivalry and enmity between the Great Powers. Even to-day her invulnerability from outside interference in her colonial affairs accrue from the N.A.T.O. alliance, bereft of which her bombastic and empty pretensions would not last for any length of time anywhere.

Elsewhere in Africa, freedom is on the march—with the exception of the South African Republic's territories. In Kenya

the last restrictions have been lifted from the movements of Jomo Kenyatta, and as a result the nationalist movements are upsurging towards an united effort at freeing Kenya. Our Shrimati Indira Gandhi has clearly expressed the goodwill that India bears to all the people of Kenya, during the visit she is now paying to those parts. The same goodwill has been expressed by another lady, younger and less known, in the following quaint fashion as reported in the **Hitavada** :

AHMEDABAD, Aug. 21.—Miss Bharati Patel, a girl student of Ahmedabad, has sent a "rakhi" to Jomo Kenyatta, recently released African nationalist leader to express her sisterly affection and good wishes for health and long life to "brother" "Kenyatta".

In the Congo, the secessionist forces of Katanga, led and officered by Belgians and French men, figured in a minor incident recently, when some of those troops were disarmed and dispersed by the Irish contingent of the U.N. forces. The Belgians who controlled the great mines in Katanga are evidently still hoping to carry on there, making Mr. Tshombe a stooge for their own benefit.

Cost of Living

Recently there has been a lot of agitation in Calcutta over the fantastic rise in the prices of fish in Calcutta. Fish of a superior fresh water variety, like fresh Rohu, which used to sell for annas ten a seer in pre-war days, went up to Rs. 6-50 nP., a rise of more than 10 times or 1,000 per cent! Profiteering has been rife, as is admitted in all quarters—excepting by the profiteers themselves, who are trying to pass the blame from one to another—and full-advantage has been taken by the wholesalers of the refrigerating arrangements for fish. There has been a spontaneous boycott of fish purchase in the leading markets of Calcutta and Howrah, the picketing being done by groups of common citizens, who saw the fish-vendors getting away with their outrageous exactions.

Leftist groups that normally do not raise a finger in initiating any move that would allay the strains and stresses affecting the

common citizen—on the principle that more the strain more the possibility of disruption—saw in the mass movement a golden opportunity to cash in on popular feelings and have tried to assume leadership. But politics apart there can be no two opinions on the matter of uncontrolled profiteering that is now allowed to go on in the field of essential foodstuffs, or for that in all essential articles that are vitally necessary for the life and well-being of all Indian nationals. The position is so bad that it seems to us that the complacency exhibited by our legislatures and the supreme executives is little short of lunacy.

On rare occasions, like the debates on Five-Year Plans, we find a few members devoting a little time, thought and breath on the matter, and that also with a pose of erudite detachment, that would be comic if it did not reek of gross neglect of responsibility, as spokesmen of the electors, on their part. Where the C.P.I. and allied Leftist group leaders exhibit any concern, it is purely on behalf of the organised workers or the Kisan groups, who are better off in the struggle for existence than the vast section of the population who are neither peasant proprietors nor organised labour. A recent speech by a Communist M.P. is given below for example. The report is taken from the *Hitavada*.

“BHOPAL, Aug. 12.—Mr. A. K. Gopalan, M.P. and President of the All-India Kisan Sabha said here yesterday that the panacea for all economic ills of the people lay in sinking all political, caste or class prejudices and joining hands to fight the rising spiral of prices and the increasing burden of taxation.

Mr. Gopalan, who was addressing a public meeting at Tatya-Tope Nagar, said if the peasantry and the working class launched an all-out opposition to rising prices and heavy taxation, no government could refuse them their basic requirements.

The Communist leader said that unless the government took effective measures to check the rising spiral of prices, all the increased agricultural and industrial production and rise in national income would be of no avail. Increase in production, he said, was meaningless if it was accompanied by a

reduction in the purchasing power of the people.

Mr. Gopalan complained that the policies of the government were not directed towards controlling price-level and reducing taxation. During the last few years indirect taxation had gone up although the burden of direct taxes was reduced. The result was only an increase in the common man's burden, while the capitalists were greatly relieved.

Referring to the ‘food crisis’ in the country since about a decade, Mr. Gopalan said, the problem could effectively be tackled only by the peasantry by increasing food production. He appealed to the farmers to adopt scientific method of cultivation so as to increase food production, which would ultimately bring down the prices. He said that a report of the 2nd Plan progress showed that about 51 per cent increase in national income came from agriculture.”

It will be perceived that the speaker was only concerned about the Kisans and the workers, though these two sections are the least affected by direct taxation and no more affected by indirect taxes than the far, far-greater majority of our nationals, who have to bear in addition rising prices for food—which partially goes to compensate the peasant for his inefficiency—and for essential consumer goods of which the cost is proportionate to rises in cost of production due—partially at least—to rise in labour costs and the consequent excuse for further profiteering.

Where other opposition groups are concerned the picture is still more dismal. There we see loose thinking and very little evidence of real concern for the prime factors that are now militating against nation building. At the time of writing these notes, reports have come through of the debates and discussions in the Rajya Sabha on the Third Five-Year Plans. The only bit that relates to the rise in prices, that we have been able to find in the daily papers is reproduced below to demonstrate the extent of concern that the speakers demonstrated.

“NEW DELHI, Aug. 29.—Members from all sides of the House cautioned government against rise in prices defeating the objectives of the Third Plan when the Rajya Sabha continued its debate on the plan today.

They called for appropriate measures to hold prices in check and to ensure that transport bottle-necks and power shortages did not upset the industrial programmes.

Dr. H. N. Kunzru (Ind.) suggested the creation of a Price Control Board to regulate the prices of essential articles. Mr. Khandubhai Desai, former Labour Minister, supported the proposal, while Mr. A. D. Mani (Ind.) said that a price control machinery could be operated only in an atmosphere free from corruption. Mr. Mani and Mr. Gurupadaswamy (P.S.P.) felt that the plan had not given sufficient attention to the question of prices.

There was general agreement that the size of the plan was not over-ambitious, but emphasis was laid on its effective implementation and avoiding "crises" in the matter of foreign exchange or transport."

It is evident from the rest of the report, which is in keeping with the last paragraph of the portion quoted above, that the members did not think the question of prices necessitated any further emphasis beyond a casual and loose reference, without any indication as to how far it is affecting the general life of the suffering masses, of whom they are supposed to be the spokesmen.

As for the party in power, it is difficult to come to any other conclusion than that their reactions indicate supreme and deliberate indifference to the question of rising costs.

Rising costs have more than nullified any rise in individual incomes that might have taken place as a result of the First and the Second Five-Year Plans. We say, "might have," deliberately as we believe that the figures that have been put forward as indicators of a rise in individual income do not actually indicate the correct state of affairs. But perhaps the people of India can be fooled for some time more!

Dadra and Nagar Haveli

The Portuguese possessions in India are like festering wounds caused by the continued presence of splinters from an enemy missile in the living flesh of the body politic of the nation. Recently, during a statement on external affairs, Pandit Nehru declared

that the use of force was not totally ruled out, in the matter of the liberation of Goa. Of course, as Pandit Nehru remarked on the same occasion, it was not possible to consider the use of force under the circumstances now prevailing in world affairs, and therefore, the statement has only a speculative value for the present.

But still it is heartening to find that at least two of the minor possessions of Portugal, have been integrated at last in the Indian Union. Dadra and Nagar Haveli are two small areas in which the inhabitants rebelled against Portuguese rule and successfully liberated themselves from domination by a foreign—and extremely degraded—colonial rule. The Portuguese wanted to land armed forces on the Gulf of Cambay coast and march them across Indian territory, in order to put down the rebellion by fire and sword, as they are doing in Angola. On a refusal from the Indian Government to permit foreign forces to pass over the Union territories, the Portuguese unsuccessfully tried to obtain a judgment, from the International Court at Hague, to prove that they had the right of access to their territories, which were in an enclave, so far as even armed forces were concerned.

Dadra and Nagar Haveli have become the Seventh Union territory by an Amendment Bill in the Constitution.

National Integration and Blind Parochialism

The Calcutta Port and the Calcutta industrial area, are of vital interest to North-East and Central North India. It not only provides vital necessities, like imported food-grains, to large sections of population in those areas, but also provides the major portion of foreign exchange that is earned by India through exports, by providing the most efficient channel for the same. Besides that, hundreds of thousands of labourers earn their livelihood by working in the great Port city and in the widespread industrial areas adjoining it. Indeed labour from Bihar has hardly any other comparable source of employment, either in Bihar itself or elsewhere in India.

It has been proved now, after prolonged investigations lasting over 12 years, that

the only way to prevent the total decadence and collapse of Calcutta Port and Industrial areas, was to bring in "red" water from the main channel of the Ganga in a strong flow along the head waters of the river system of the Gangetic area of West Bengal. This would immensely help in scouring the silt and sand deposits along the Hooghly channels — on which dredging by powerful units have proved ineffective in the absence of a strong flow from upstream — deepen the draft, thereby enabling ocean-going craft to come up to the port as before, and lower the salinity in the water supply of the industrial areas, which is a vital necessity.

This consideration has made it imperative for the Farakka Barrage on the Ganga to be included in the Third Five-Year Plan. And it is essential that the Ajoy river, which is a tributary of the Ganga should be harnessed in order that the Farakka Scheme becomes fully effective. The harnessing will have to be done by an efficient dam being constructed in the Santhal Parganas in Bihar in order to prevent the deposition of large quantities of sand and silt on the Bhagirathi channel—which is downstream from Farakka—preventing thereby a normal flow of water.

There is strong objection to this scheme in Bihar, as there was on the Mayurakshi Dam Scheme, on a previous occasion.

We append below an extract from the *Hindu* of August 13, which presents a detached view of the situation, as stated by a special correspondent.

"Even as the Government of West Bengal and the D.V.C. authorities are engaged in what appears to be an endless controversy regarding the adequacy or otherwise of the supply of water for purpose of irrigation by the latter, there has arisen now an important point of difference between the State Governments of Bihar and West Bengal over a proposed survey for constructing a dam across the River Ajoy in Santhal Parganas.

The West Bengal Government had requested the Damodar Valley Corporation sometime ago to carry on investigations regarding the feasibility of constructing a dam on the Ajoy in Bihar. In the opinion of the State Government, the success of the Rs. 56-

crore Farakka Barrage Scheme sanctioned under the Third Plan by the Government of India depends to a large extent on the successful harnessing of this river. (It has been the declared opinion of experts that the Farakka Barrage Scheme itself is vital for preserving the port of Calcutta.)

According to information available here, the Bihar Government have raised objection to a dam across the river Ajoy as this would submerge large paddy fields in Santhal Parganas causing a lot of displacement also. On the other hand, the State Government are themselves proposing to construct a dam smaller size to make the river more useful for irrigational purposes in their own State. But such a dam would be of no use to the Farakka Barrage.

In view of this controversy, the Government of India, who are committed to the Farakka Barrage Scheme are reported to have taken up investigation work in this regard. It is stated that Ajoy river, as it is not properly harnessed now, carries a large quantity of sand and silt to Bhagirathi preventing thereby a normal flow of water. The construction of the Farakka Barrage under such circumstances will not ensure sufficient flow of water to the Bhagirathi thus making the Barrage defeat its own purpose.

Of course, there are certain local considerations on which the Government of Bihar are also raising objections to the construction of a dam of the nature proposed by the West Bengal Government. They feel that, even as it is, all the four dams of the D.V.C. now in Bihar are irrigating lands mainly in West Bengal and a new proposal which would benefit West Bengal once again at the expense of that State since there will be a large submersion of land, holds no interest for them. Local government circles, however, do not see any force in this argument since Bihar is gaining a lot in the form of power supply from these dams which has led to the development of that State. Moreover, the Farakka Barrage when completed will not merely be helpful to West Bengal. It has a wider import than what appears on the surface for on the development of the Calcutta port which this Barrage Scheme

will foster depends the prosperity of the entire Eastern India.

It may be recalled that Bihar's Irrigation Minister said in the State Assembly a few days ago that their Government did not accede to the request of the D.V.C. to permit it to conduct the investigations for construction of a dam on the river Ajoy.

Ex-Servicemen and National Development

The July issue of a world news service of World War Veterans, of Paris gives the following news :

"Pathankote, India (WVF)—Defence Minister, V. K. Krishna Menon has described ex-servicemen as "the real wealth of the nation" who, because of their sense of duty and responsibility, could assist national development on the village level by participating in the co-operative movement, small-scale industries and similar activities which can help communities to achieve greater prosperity.

Speaking at a gathering of ex-servicemen at Pathankote, the Defence Minister appealed to the State Governments, municipal administrations and village panchayats to take greater advantage of the experience and services of war veterans and ex-servicemen."

The Defence Minister's statement is indeed true. The ex-servicemen of India have a record of staunchness and discipline that cannot be matched by any other section of our countrymen, whether organised in groups like labour or in classified bodies like those in other public services. The fund of potential service they represent was truly immense at the time when our country and nation became really free. But like most other potential sources of wealth in our country, this was also allowed to run to waste or to deteriorate through neglect, disuse and frustration. Those who were—and still are—in charge of our destinies had neither the ability and experience nor the will and capacity to cut clear of party trammels and bonds of nepotism. Unworthy and inefficient—sometimes even dishonest—party satellites were put in charge of programmes of national development works which called for a high sense of responsibility and dedication. They in their turn gave employment to their unemployed relatives and hangers-on, who were mostly useless parasites by inclination and practice. As a result trained and disciplined men, who with some further training

might have developed into very valuable service corps in many walks of national life, were ignored and passed by. Loafers and parasites were preferred by people to whom service and dedication were known only as catch words.

In other lands and nations, where leadership was vested in people who understood the value of training, discipline and staunchness, the fullest use was made of such material. When Turkey finally emerged out of World War I, she was dispossessed, economically ruined and broken in all respects excepting in the morale of the Turkish soldier—famed through the ages for their courage, staunchness and devotion to duty. Their leader turned his face towards the Turkish hinterland, impoverished and neglected through centuries by their rulers, who had become enamoured of the glitter of Europe and had indulged in the fleshpots of the occident till they became so effete and weak as to be known as the "Sickmen of Europe".

But Mustapha Kemal was fully aware of the potential resources he had in his servicemen. They had all the basic training for national service, he equipped them with a further knowledge of the particular development work that each group had to do, and then commanded them to go deep into the countryside, to carry the message of a new awakening and a new hope and to dedicate themselves to the complete fulfilment of the tasks that they were set. It is on record now how faithfully they carried out the behests of the man who became known as Ataturk—The Father of the Turks. Mass uplift, in primary education, in new methods of agriculture and sanitation, in social services and in the development of a myriad of other services vitally necessary for the rapid progress of a backward people, steeped in ignorance and shackled with poverty, was the task entrusted to them—and there was no American aid at that time.

Have our leaders availed themselves of this potential, the "real wealth of the nation", in any such way? Could they not have been used in community development, in the raising of industrial potential of the public sector, in the health services and a hundred other ways?

Democracy in India

Shri Sri Prakasa, Governor of Maharashtra, delivered an address at the Nagpur University on August 12, in the course of which he made certain observations which are worthy of note for all who are interested in the democratic way of

life. Shri Sri Prakasa occupies a position of vantage from which he can take a detached and yet a deep and comprehensive look at the political panorama of a state that has been—and still is—riven by mass agitations of great intensity. Brought up in an atmosphere of deep intellectual introspection and educated along both the eastern and western modes of mental embellishment as he has been, he is singularly well-equipped to pronounce judgment on what is happening today in Maharashtra—and, likewise, all over India.

As a Governor, he has certain limitations imposed perforce on his speech, and therefore, it is not likely that his observations were as outspoken as they could have been, but even so, we would have liked to have a full report of the address he delivered. We append below the summary, as given by the *Hitavada* of August 14, in lieu of that :

“Shri Sri Prakasa, Governor of Maharashtra, today emphasised the need for suitable changes in the Indian Constitution, which, he said, was not in keeping with the age-old traditions and the temperament of the country.

Speaking on ‘Democracy As a Way Of Life’ at the University Political Science Department here this morning the Governor urged the students to make a deep study of the Constitution and suggest the changes.

Democracy, Shri Sri Prakasa said, had been accepted by this country in theory alone. The people, however, were still individualists and were not accustomed to work in associations according to the principles of democracy. This individualism, he said, would have to be given up if the country had to be taken a truly democratic stage.

Shri Sri Prakasa dwelt at length on the principles of Democracy including the process of elections, which, he said, was meant for choosing the best persons in the society who could be entrusted with the task of administration. In India, however, the system of election was not perfect. Ways and means should be found out, he said, to eliminate the evils which affected the elections.

The real work, the Governor said, begins after the elections. All the problems—administrative and others, at this stage should be solved by discussions without emotions.

He criticised demonstrations and agitations,

which he said, were not the democratic ways to solve the problems.

In this connection the Governor made a reference to the agitation for separate Vidarbha. He said that those who wanted a separate State of Vidarbha should fight elections to prove the popular support to their demand instead of indulging in demonstrations and agitations.

Shri Sri Prakasa in this context also laid stress on the principle of majority whose verdict—right or wrong—should be accepted as final. The verdict of the majority, he said, should be considered to be in the interest of all including the minority.

The Governor also dwelt at length on the doctrine of finality. He criticised the tendency of undoing the things done by a previous administration or Government. Progress, he said, would be difficult if things done by previous Governments would be undone by those who succeed.

Shri Sri Prakasa also emphasised the need for a second line of leadership. Questions like ‘Who After Whom’ were irrelevant in a democracy, he said.

Democracy, Shri Sri Prakasa said, envisaged the acceptance of approximate equality. It was a way of life which had to become a part of our existence. This, he said, was a hard task. It could be achieved only if real comradeship was developed among the people in all walks of life—beginning from their homes and neighbours.”

“India is Hospitable”

The *New York Times* published some time back, under the above caption, the following lines over the signature of its erstwhile representative at New Delhi.

“For me, this was the delight of India : Once you have established your credentials as a fairly decent sort who basically wishes the country well, has some affection for it and does not regard its inhabitants as strange or exotic little brown men, then almost always the credentials remain opendated and do not have to be renewed..

You can gripe or complain or shout and tell Indians—the most advised, counseled, researched, microscoped nation on earth—how to run their country and what's wrong with their religion, economics, folkways, language, boundaries and family customs and ..

your intent and goodwill will usually, almost always, be taken for granted.

Indians are not docile saints and they will get good and mad at you from time to time and tell you that you don't know what you are blithering about, which is often the case, but they won't make you feel mean, guilty or anti-Indian. After a while, you make the blessed discovery that in India you don't have to wear a cocktail-party mask.

I know the exceptions to this and I know the full catalogue of Indian faults, from smugness to wishfulness to self-pity. It does not make any difference. The scrap-book of my mind is fat with remembered kindnesses from India."

A. M. Rosenthal.

It is undoubtedly very pleasant to be told that you are a good fellow by a foreign visitor. But we wish that all of them thought as Rosenthal did. The usual story, as extracted from many, many foreign visitors after a closer acquaintance has been established, is that of obstreperous customs officials with a mentality the reverse of helpful, thieving hotel-keepers, swindling taxi-wallahs and shopkeepers and officials whose attitude is as unfriendly as possible.

Of course the common citizen is friendly, and sympathetic as a co-sufferer. The visitor has difficulty to establish any contact with the said C.C., thanks to the sharks—official and non-official—that infest the neighbourhood of foreigners. But that is another story.

The "Punjabi Suba"

It is difficult to express any opinion other than regret on the situation that has been brought on by Master Tara Singh's fast. On the one hand, there is the emotional content of such actions as the fasting unto death for a cause and, on the other, there are the reactions and consequences, to be considered in detail and detachment. Both are difficult at this juncture, because of the imponderables in the way of Sikh sentiments and non-Sikh resentments and fears. The counter-fasts, by equally determined persons are not being given the prominence they deserve by newspaper correspondents and reporters, perhaps, because their fasting does not entail the sensational elements

deemed so essential by newspapers of today.

What is the "cause"? The term "Punjabi Suba" does not carry any specific meaning to the non-Punjabi readers of the news. For, to them the State of Punjab is as much a self-governing unit as any other State in the Union of India. With regard to the Punjabi language too, everything has been conceded by the Centre, for its development and promotion, as has been demanded. Then what else is needed to make the whole of the Punjab into a "Punjabi Suba"?

According to those Punjabis who are opposing Master Tara Singh's demand, the real implication of the demand is for a Sikh State dominated, in the name of all Sikhs, by the Akali group with Master Tara Singh as dictator. And to those who know Master Tara Singh's record in the old days of Sikandar Hyat Khan's and Khizr Hyat Khan regime in undivided Punjab, this assumption does not seem to be very far out.

Pandit Nehru read out a long and written statement in the Lok Sabha on August 28th. The following extract is from the *Statesman* of August 29 :

Mr. Nehru said the Government was much concerned over Master Tara Singh's fast and the two other fasts undertaken in opposition to it. More than once he expressed his "deep regret" that his "frank and friendly talks" with Sant Fateh Singh had not led to any agreement.

Expressing his firm opposition to the Punjabi Suba demand, Mr. Nehru said that every thing that had been demanded for the promotion and development of the Punjabi language had been conceded and the Government was "perfectly prepared" to consider what "more could be done".

From the linguistic point of view, he therefore concluded, nothing would be achieved for the furtherance of Punjabi by the formation of a Punjabi Suba. This, he said, was "basically a communal demand" which would be wrong for the Government to accept.

The Prime Minister, however, declared that in effect Punjab was today a Punjabi-speaking State with certain areas where Hindi was the language of minority groups.

The Prime Minister's statement today is the fullest he has made to date to express his opposition to the Punjabi Suba demand.

Describing it as harmful both in principle and in its application, he said the proposed Punjabi Suba, would be one of the smallest in India and it was not certain whether it would be viable.

Secondly, at the present juncture, when the Third Plan had just begun, a further partition of Punjab would cause it "deep injury" and would be a blow from which the State would take many years to recover.

Punjab, he explained, was one of the most integrated of the Indian States and to break it would be "a tragedy" both from the social and economic view points. The Punjabi language would suffer and the Sikhs, who had a broad outlook, might succumb to a somewhat narrower outlook.

He said the regional formula had been working fairly satisfactorily and almost all its recommendations had been accepted by the Punjab Assembly. He ascribed the initial delay in implementing it to the thousands of teachers who had to be trained in the Punjabi language. The formula, he declared, had already resulted in full protection being given to the Punjabi language.

Mr. Nehru said whatever the results of Master Tara Singh's fast, it could do no good and was a wrong method of making a demand, and was against the principle of parliamentary democracy. He feared the Punjabi Suba would only lead to conflict and tension between the Hindus and Sikhs. Besides, in search of something which "seemed to be trivial and even harmful", the country would lose the common "precious heritage" of the Punjab.

Answering the argument that the linguistic principle was not being applied to Punjab, the Prime Minister declared that no State in the country was wholly unilingual.

There was a demand for a debate after Pandit Nehru's statement, and that was acceded to. But, contrary to the expectations of the opposition, little of any convincing nature emerged in the debate to challenge Pandit Nehru's decision. The following extract from the *Hindusthan Standard* gives the substance of Pandit Nehru's reply, and that of Mr. Hiren Mookerjee, the spokesman for the C.P.I. Mr. Mookerjee's party being what it is, anything that would lead to the disruption of the Indian Union, has to be advocated by its spokesmen, be it Chinese aggression, be it Akali fanaticism :

New Delhi, Aug. 29.—Prime Minister Nehru declared in the Lok Sabha today that he could not see any possibility or consequence arising, which would make the Government change its decision not to accede to the Akali demand for a Punjabi Suba.

He said amidst applause that hunger-strike would not be recognised as legitimate in the solution of any problem. If the impression grew that this hunger-strike had succeeded in achieving certain objective, then there would be no end of trouble in India. Therefore, both on principle and on practical consideration the Government could not accept this method.

The Prime Minister, who was replying to a four and a half hour debate on the statement made by him yesterday on the Punjab situation, repeated the arguments advanced by him in the statement for not agreeing to the creation of a Punjabi Suba.

Admitting that he wanted to give in to pressure wherever he could, the Prime Minister said that "with all my desire to bend, I cannot think of tearing up the wonderfully woven garment which is Punjab social life."

The Prime Minister said that those who talked of consequences of the Government's attitude were perhaps thinking of civil disorder. But he was thinking of the consequences of tearing up an integrated community into two. It would be inviting disaster to form a Punjabi Suba. It might even elad to migration of population.

He said that there could be no comparison between the demand for a Punjabi Suba and the demands for a separate Andhra Pradesh and bifurcation of Bombay State.

The decision to create a separate Andhra State was taken by the Congress some 40 years ago and the Government of India had decided to create a separate State of Andhra before Sri Ramulu's fast. In fact, the fast came in the way.

As regards Bombay the original decision of the Government was to create three States of Maharashtra, Gujarat, and Bombay city. It was proposed to keep the city separate so that it might later join Maharashtra if it so choses. Only at the last moment, because of a memorandum submitted by 272 M.Ps suggesting the creation of bilingual Bombay the earlier decision was revised.

Moreover, Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra and Gujarat were created to form homogeneous States. The creation of Punjabi Suba would disrupt a State that was already homogeneous.

He reminded that when the Zonal Committees were formed, Master Tara Singh had said that they were satisfied and they had no further demands. Accordingly the constitution of the Akali Dal was also changed. But within four or five months their attitude changed. So it could not be said that the Punjabi Suba was Master Tara Singh's last demand.

The Prime Minister said that he had given the matter as much thought as was possible for him. He had also consulted his colleagues and leaders of various parts of the country. After a great deal of thought and closest consideration the Government had arrived at its present decision.

Of the 14 speakers, who participated in the debate, only three including the spokesmen of the Communist and the Praja-Socialist groups supported the demand for a Punjabi Suba. Members from the Punjab and adjoining areas, participating in the debate, all expressed themselves against the demand.

The Communist Party spokesman, Mr. Hiren Mukerjee, said that the Prime Minister's statement was unsatisfying and the Prime Minister had not sensibly relaxed the rigidity of his attitude with regard to the demand for a Punjabi Suba and Master Tara Singh's fast. He said that the Government should accept in principle the demand for a Punjabi Suba because it was a just demand. Implementation of the principle would, however, have to wait for some time.

Mr. Goray, of the P.S.P., declared that "every Sikh was behind Master Tara Singh, in the course of his criticism of Pandit Nehru's statement. This remark was immediately and effectively challenged by some Punjabi members of the Lok Sabha.

The situation, therefore, has now reached an impasse.

Abanindranath Tagore

The month of September brings in the 91st birth anniversary of Abanindranath Tagore, artist, writer and visionary. Abanindranath's name is associated with the resurgence of the ancient streams of art in India, that had been choked with neglect to the point of oblivion.

Prior to the founding of a new school of Indian Art by the brothers; Abanindranath and his elder, Gaganendranath, what passed for art in India was a form of Western

Representational art, with blind adherence to Western technique on the scores of draftsmanship, perspective, nature and anatomical study and so on and so forth. India was regarded as being barren in the matter of art and culture by the those who guided the destinies of Indians. Blind acceptance of their dicta was advocated likewise by the pseudo-occidentals who dominated our society of those days. It took a long time before our countrymen could be convinced that these superior heaven-born beings and their satellites were themselves blind as bats, where the finer elements of human nature, like artistic expression was concerned.

Abanindranath's name is closely associated with the rebirth of our nation's artistic soul. He himself was a gifted artist, though certain sections of our own writers chose to spatter ink on his shining mantle by remarks which were derogatory and devoid of any cogent reason or argument. Unfortunately we are as yet nowhere near as art-conscious as we might be and so these criticisms were accepted by many without any attempt at examining the credentials of the critics.

It is, therefore, heartening to learn that the birth anniversary of the Master is being celebrated in the city of his birth.

THE EDITOR

Colonel Bhattacharjee

An Indian Army Officer Colonel Bhattacharjee was kidnapped from Indian territory by Pakistani soldiers sometime ago after he had been fired at and wounded by them. He is now being held in Pakistan on a charge of espionage and it is said he will be tried by a Pakistani Court very soon for his alleged offence. We have no knowledge of the details of the case, but we can safely assume that Colonel Bhattacharjee was easily recognised as an Army Officer by the Pakistanis who fired upon and wounded him. Had this not been so, they could never have fired upon an ordinarily dressed person within Pakistani territory; for then they would not have known that he was not a Pakistani. If Colonel Bhattacharjee was in uniform, he could not have been spying; and if he had been in plain clothes and within Pakistan territory why was he then

fired upon? The assumption will be that he was in Indian territory in plain clothes and was shot at by Pakistanis and dragged into Pakistan territory. It is quite common for Pakistanis to fire upon Indians who are within their own frontiers. It is also in keeping with the character of Pakistanis that they would declare an uniformed officer as being in plain clothes or make allegations of spying falsely and plant maps and documents on the person. The case is extremely "fishy" so to speak and the Indian Government should have protested to the U.N.O. or some such body with a view to get Colonel Bhattacharjee a European or American lawyer for his defence. The idea that he will be given a fair trial in Pakistan is just hoping for the impossible. As he was kidnapped with a view to make a nice story of espionage, there should be no hopes of a fair trial, without foreign lawyers. The main point is what was Colonel Bhattacharjee spying into? Was that part of the border fortified or were there military installations there? A man cannot just walk into a military zone from across a frontier. If he was fired upon by guards, what were the guards there for? If there were no regular guards but patrols, why were they patrolling that area and why did they fire upon an ordinary person who was moving about in what might quite easily have been his own national territory? If they found papers or material upon him which were incriminating, would a person engaged in spying carry upon him such material? Would anyone believe such a story? These various aspects of the case are quite intriguing and require to be investigated fully. The Pakistanis are famous for making up impossible stories; but a good English or American lawyer should soon expose their falsehood.

A. C.

Armies and Weapons

We do feel that there are quite a few misconceptions about armies and weapons in the mind of people who like to take a romantic view of things, as against a realistic and practical one. Many people nowadays think that a few atomic explosions

would decide future wars and that entire populations, armies, navies, air forces and industries will just vanish whenever there are such explosions. There are also talks about attacking objectives on Earth from the Moon or, may be, Venus. When one considers the facts of warfare, it still remains that numbers and personal equipments are as necessary today as these have been before when there were no atoms, hydrogen, rockets and space ships. During the Great Wars of 1914-18 and 1939-45 wonderful weapons had been invented and used. Poison gas, flame throwers, tanks, new explosives, high flying and fast moving planes and many other things. But a rigidly disciplined and determined nation and its armed soldiers could always stand up to all the punishment that modern weapons could inflict. The battle of Britain, Dunkirk or the last ditch stand at Stalingrad proved to the fullest the great war potential of morale. It is, therefore, very important that we should build up our morale, both national and military. We may also try to develop new weapons and atomic power too; but the most important thing for national defence is manpower, determination, discipline and the spirit of sacrifice which we call patriotism. The present day armies depend more upon numerical strength and morale than upon fancy weapons. And, for India, with its long frontiers and more or less permanent enmity with China and Pakistan, numbers, discipline and quantities of arms are more important than ICBMs and other highly effective weapons for mass destruction of objectives. The reason why China could walk into Indian territory and occupy 20,000 square miles on our borders, was not lack of atomic or other types of rockets, but just plain lack of frontier guards. Mr. Nehru's Government have been guilty of negligence in the matter of protecting the frontiers of India as they have been in protecting the lives and properties of Indian nationals within India. They have even after the Chinese aggression allowed Pakistanis to walk into Assam and to attack Indians there by pretending to be Assamese Muslims. These facts go against the management of Indian Defence by the Nehru Government. Mr. Nehru cannot

convince us his ability to guard India by telling as how his Defence Scientists have manufactured air to air missiles or other specialised weapons. What we want are large enough numbers of soldiers to guard our long frontiers, no politics or political type of corrupt practices in the army, navy and air force and more planes, guns, ammunitions and other equipments which will enable our soldiers to function fully and well. The people of India, particularly the younger people, are becoming rowdy, undisciplined, unfit and are suffering from various disabilities like unemployment, lack of education and training, etc., which are slowly driving us down as a nation. If Pandit Nehru wants to put India back into at least the position it held, militarily, in the days of British imperialism; he should arrange to give Indians more employment, better and universal education, intensive training, physical instruction and a general uplift in discipline and conduct. He has his pre-occupations but he should remember that nations do not live and prosper by industry and power generation only. The nation's character is being weakened by narrow material interests and the collective greed displayed by groups, cliques, parties, communities, etc., etc. Mr. Nehru is not doing much to improve the situation. He is at times aggravating the position by taking sides and by encouraging evil-doers through his inaction. In the circumstances we are not reassured by his utterances.

A. C.

Why Not Azad Kashmir ?

Replying to the foreign affairs debate, Pandit Nehru said many things about India's military strength which were reassuring. Indian Defence Scientists, he said, had done things which enabled the Indian Army to become a "modern army". We have no knowledge of the differences that exist between modern armies and ancient armies; but we should think that discipline, numbers, equipments, etc., made armies good or bad now as before. The Indian army has developed certain weaknesses which are quite well-known, and we cannot feel the disrespect for the old British Indian Army that Pandit Nehru feels. That army was

good and everybody knows it. It had discipline and great fighting ability. It is no belittling its qualities. There is also no room for complacency in considering the merits and strength of the Indian Army of today. Our **Jawans** are very good; but there may be defects in leadership, command, equipment, supplies, etc., etc., and we should be on our toes, all the time, so that our army, navy and air force can come into operation whenever required with the greatest speed and effectiveness. Pandit Nehru mentioned that we should never be an aggressive nation. He said we had no territories now occupied by China and Goa. Why did Pandit Nehru forget to mention that part of Kashmir which Pakistan occupied by putting her Army in fancy dress? We think we should try to get back what Pakistan miscalls Azad Kashmir.

A. C.

The Nation And Its Leaders

When a nation goes forward its leaders are found right in front, setting the pace and guiding the masses who follow the leaders. This is what happened in India too. When Sri Aurobindo preached the gospel of fearlessness and sacrifice, thousands of youngmen and women followed him and we found the meek and over-civilised Bengalis becoming a danger to the mighty British Empire. In 1917, there were over 50,000 youngmen and women in British prisons in India and hundreds had already died in various places due to their activities to make their motherland free. But for an accidental discovery of a well laid out plot to import arms in bulk, the British might have gone out of India, the rough way, in 1917. After those fateful days, we found the forces of non-violence and the fighting-revolutionaries following parallel paths to gain national independence. The great marches of Mahatma Gandhi in which he was followed by thousands, the *satyagrahas* and the non-co-operation and no-tax campaigns were carried out forcefully and numerous people went to jail, sacrificed their careers and comforts and suffered pain and losses with a fortitude which was quite uncommon and could only have been the result of a great inspiration and of true emotions which their leaders infused in them. The believers in armed revolution, naturally, were less numerous, but they continued to function as a powerful factor in India's campaign against British aggres-

sion in India, which had already caused the death of thousands as a result of punitive action on the part of the British, and of numerous millions indirectly, through famines, epidemics and causes considered to be preventable, which the British never made any serious efforts to put an end to. The terrorists, as they were wrongly called, were great patriots who believed in armed revolution; and they carried on their work of collecting men, money and arms without in anyway attempting to dissuade people from non-violent agitation and action against the British. As a matter of fact, Mahatma Gandhi's activities roused the Indian masses against British imperialism and that, if anything, helped the work of those who tried to gain independence through armed action. When Jotin Mukherjee and his associates fought the British forces at Balasore; there were not many who supported the so-called terrorists; but when Chittagong was captured by the Indian revolutionaries, their numbers were certainly quite big and they were well-armed and effectively organised. During the Second World War, we found Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose organising an Indian National Army and invading India with thousands of soldiers, many of whom, formerly belonged to the British-Indian Army. This was a slap in the face for the imperialists who had always pinned their faith on the loyalty of the fighting tribes and castes of India. Subhas Chandra Bose drove the last nails into the coffin of British Imperialism, so to speak, and after the I.N.A. the British decided to quit India politically and without a fight.

The end of the Second World War, also saw the end of the I.N.A. and Subhas Chandra Bose disappeared from the field of active politics due to his death in a plane accident. The Congress now began their last negotiations with the British and their creation, the Muslim League. This was the worst phase of our National Movement and the Congress leaders showed a defeatism in victory which could not be explained by any facts which were clearly known to the people of India. The Congress were not representative of all Indians, nor even of all Indians who had fought and made sacrifices in the great fight for freedom, which lasted during the period 1905-1947. But they were in a strategically good position to declare that they were the biggest political party in India; just as the Muslim League could declare their right to negotiate for Pakistan in behalf of

the Muslims of India. It is at this juncture that the leaders of the Congress displayed an amazing eagerness to agree with the British and to accept a partition of India without reference to the people of India, and ignoring all criticism by persons who were at least as well-informed, as patriotic and as representative of particular groups of Indians, as the Congressmen had been. But, the Congress would not let go that opportunity to seize power even in an attenuated India; and they allowed their Muslim counterpart to similarly become the rulers of Pakistan by negotiation with the British. This led to the great killings in the Punjab and in Bengal and the terrifying exodus of hundreds of thousands of Indians from their homes to the various refugee camps of India and Pakistan. Had there been no partition of India, over a million men, women and children would not have died ignominiously and hundreds of crores of rupees could have been saved and used for normal nation-building purposes. The Muslim League has been abolished by the Pakistani military dictator, President Ayub Khan, but the Congress continues to rule India under the leadership of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru.

The Congress has ruled India for fourteen years and during this period they have made many spectacular changes in our political economic manners of living in organised communities. Progressively, the provinces have been allowed to arrogate to themselves the powers of independent states, which has used up our national energy and resources without any proper return in the shape of increased national well-being. New problems have come into existence as a result of this unnecessary multiplication of political power in different centres and we have now got *linguism*, *communalism*, *racialism* and many other types of *isms* which make us squabble and fight. The landed aristocracy has been abolished as a socialistic gesture, but trade, commercial and industrial privileges have been allowed to run riots all over India; and, profiteering, black-marketing, tax-evading, smuggling, illicit trading, adulterating commodities and all other varieties of anti-social and unethical dealings have become part and parcel of the normal life of India. State capitalism has been pushed to the front in connection with India's economic planning, but the old state-managed institutions as well as the new additions have shown little sign of effective functioning or of progress in efficiency and social usefulness.

Socialism in the hands of the Congress has turned out to be a type of governmental megalomania; and more the failures on various fronts in the management of state-owned industries, the greater the enthusiasm of Congressmen to go in for further and more expanded economic ventures. The employment and standard of living aspects of the nation's economy have remained unchanged or have changed for the worse; but governmental propaganda spreads itself lavishly in the columns of newspapers and in other spheres to prove how wonderfully, we Indians are progressing all along the line. If our great projects prove too expensive, fail to produce results or run at a terrifying cost; we go in for a few more projects and tell the peoples of India and the world about our great socialistic achievements.

The normal work of government has progressively deteriorated during these years of "great national progress." Law and order have not been enforced and all branches of governmental services have fallen off in efficiency and effectiveness. Railways, posts and telegraphs, telephones, policing, tax-collecting, controls, permits and other functions of a managed economy are all suffering from mismanagement. The Governments of India and the States have apparently no time to look after these "low-level" affairs of state, in view of their preoccupation with high-level schemes and ventures for which they are taxing the people of India beyond the limits set by the principles of sound public finance and are interfering with the people's freedoms in a manner reminiscent of communism and dictatorships. Yet the people of India remain unflinchingly attached to nationalism, as they should. But their leaders do not feel any shame in exploiting this great patriotic fervour!

A. C.

Castes in India and Elsewhere

We hear a lot about castes whenever there are any "high level" discussions for nation building purposes. The question of nation building did not arise initially with the Congress in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Abolition of differences and the formation of a greater brotherhood out of peoples who had thought, behaved and aspired differently, had been thought of by reformers long before the idea came for politically integrating the races, tribes and castes of India. Removal of untouchability was not

originally thought of by Raja Rammohun Roy or Mahatma Gandhi. No doubt the repressed classes mission organised by the Brahmo Samaj people and their supporters at one time opened hundreds of schools for the depressed classes among whom were also the untouchables; and no doubt, Mahatma Gandhi's name will be always remembered for his great services to humanity which includes his mass campaign against untouchability and the prohibitions practised against untouchables in the matter of temple entry. The Government of India's policy of abolishing caste and untouchability has its origin in Mahatma Gandhi's campaign for the fullest establishment of human rights. Raja Rammohun Roy thought of reviving the philosophical and spiritual glory of ancient India by removing some ritualistic and social practices which had grown during long centuries of esoteric developments. But long before the advent of Raja Rammohun or Mahatma Gandhi, Shri Chaitanya Mahaprabhu had denounced untouchability and the division of human society into superiors and inferiors. Guru Nanak also did not support these practices. Some people like to think that these great men, thought of abolishing caste by reason of the impact of Islam upon Hindu society. But long before Islam or Christianity came into existence Goutama, the Buddha, and the Jain prophets thought of Humanity as one brotherhood and glorified meekness, non-violence, brotherly love and the other basic virtues which the arrogant priests of Hinduism often permitted themselves to ignore and forget. So that Hindu religious thought and ethical ideals in their purest form never supported a system in which some people were considered low and others high in point of human status. The caste system merely defined the duties and the way of life of different groups and clans of Indians. The ideas of untouchability and segregation and of hierarchical superiorities developed later as symptoms of decadence. Also at times, perhaps, in ancient India too, but we have no clear-cut picture of social conditions at the time of Shri Krishna, Mahavira or Buddha.

Whenever we discuss the faults of the caste system now-a-days, we easily fall into a happy state of mind by reciting the abolition of untouchability by the Indian Government who have also settled the questions of caste arrogance, temple entry, etc., etc. But the poison of caste

is not so easily eradicated. We Indians have a habit of furthering our narrower material interests by taking shelter behind caste, language or anything else by and through which we can organise ourselves into bodies of persons who can exploit others politically, economically or in any other way which is satisfactory. Human greed takes many shapes and it is hard to describe them in full within the narrow compass of a note in a monthly journal. But generally speaking as seen in the various political, intellectual and economic centres of India, we find castes, language groups and other cliques, gangs, parties and so forth coming out in the open, in order to hunt for advantage of one kind or another for themselves and at the cost of all others who do not "belong." In the past too we had the *Kulin Kayasths* of the temple chambers, the Marwaris of Cross Street, the Muslims of Murgihatta, who monopolised particular professions and trades and imposed their will upon everybody who had need for their services. Today we have the classes who sell us *Rashtrabhasha*, we have the *Bhumihars* and the *Kayasths* who supply us with political administrative service and we have the old anti-social brigades too, who exploit the people by profiteering, black-marketing and all that. The smugglers, the wagon-breakers, the thieves to remove iron and steel fixtures—all have their castes and communities. And what has or can the Congress do about it? Or the Government of India? In the field of trade and industry, in the field of particular professions, in the field of special type of services certain types of men and women will create monopolies which others will not be able to destroy. In Calcutta, plumbers will come from Orissa, car drivers will be muslims from Bihar, cooks will come from Midnapur and shoe-makers from China. In the mining area, coal miners will come from Bilaspur and coke-oven hands will hail from Gorukhpur. And they will be chamars by caste. Most tailors are muslims from the Matiaburz area near Calcutta. Some of these specialised types of workers achieve unity and a monopoly by concentration of talent within their own class. There is nothing wrong in this. But everything is evil in the kind of jobbery and corruption that go on in getting employment exclusively for the sons of particular families and by diverting crookedly all business and trade into the hands of particular persons. So that caste and untouchability is not the only com-

bination that we have to fight. Caste and special privilege has to be fought too. Caste and commerce; caste and industry, caste and administration, etc., are only round the corner. If we did not look out, particular castes would soon dominate and monopolise things in an ever-growing sphere. The disabilities created by caste have been fought. We shall now have to fight the strength and power that caste is granting to certain classes of the Indian people.

A. C.

Young Hooligans

Discussing the problem of hooliganism among teen-ager boys who are known as Teddy Boys in Britain for their sartorial affectations of an Edwardian style; T. R. Fyvel has quoted many news bits from many lands in *Encounter* of August, 1961. These quotations show that criminality is fairly widespread among young boys in most countries of Europe and America and that the young criminals are organised everywhere in the same or similar manner. They also have the same or similar crime patterns. Their affectations in the matter of dress are a prominent feature of their behaviouristic character and it is believed that the circumstances which have brought about the formation of the youthful gangs of lawbreakers must be of a fairly uniform variety. Some of the quotations are quite interesting :

"*Daytona Beach, Florida.* Nearly 4000 car enthusiasts in their teens fought police and firemen for five hours today in riots which began when police ordered a group of youngsters to stop making acceleration tests on a main street. The youngsters slashed tyres of cars, smashed shop windows and tore down advertisements before armed police dispersed them.

"*New York.* New violence flared yesterday among packs of unruly teen-agers stalking the streets of New York . . . two men were shot by a gang that ambushed them with a shotgun blast of birdshot as they left a restaurant . . .

"*Duisburg, Germany.* Thirty-three young people were arrested yesterday after a fight in which hundreds of excited people had milled in the streets, smashing street lights, damaging private car and starting free fights. The disturbance, which reached the proportion of a minor riot, followed similar incidents in Hamburg, Frankfurt and Brunswick . . .

"*Vienna : The Halbstarcken*—The leather-jacketed 'Teddy Boy' gangs of Western Germany

—have spread to Austria, and the steady increase in teen-age delinquency in the country is alarming the Austrian people. Nearly everyday in the past few months police have reported at least one clash between the *Halbstarcken* gangs in Vienna . . . criminal activity by teen-agers has trebled compared with pre-war

"*Paris.* Twenty-six adolescents between 14 and 20 years arrested and detained; clubs, bicycle chains, and buckled belts and similar weapons confiscated by the police. This was the balance-sheet of an expedition organised last night in the 15th Arrondissement by a band of *blousons noirs* (blackjackets) The *blousons noirs* began to smash up a café

"*Stockholm.* Gang criminality had hitherto been of minor importance in Sweden. Since 1958, however, several youthful gangs in the real sense of the word have been exposed, most of them in *Stockholm*. These gangs are mostly made up of youngsters in the age group 13-18 years, mostly from the same city block, who terrorise other young people as well as adults.

"*Moscow.* It is a shocking event that through lack of proper foresight, a Moscow youth has been stabbed to death by eight hooligans in a Leningrad Park. Our seventeen-year old Comrade Vadim Trainin of Moscow had gone to Leningrad early this month on a vacation. While there he contacted the young Communist League headquarters and asked to go on patrol with one of their squads whose task it is to aid the militia in keeping order in the city. Together with two other boys and three girls Trainin was put into a squad which was assigned to patrol duty in the city Lenin Park,

"In the Park, the squad was set upon by a hooligan gang and it appears that the two other boys and three girls abandoned young Trainin who was thereupon stabbed to death.

"In this needless tragedy, it must be said that the Leningrad Young Communist League has evidently treated this killing with an unjustifiable lightmindedness. We find it essential that the perpetrators of this crime should pay the fitting penalty. We further recommend that all young Communist squads on patrol duty should be of adequate size and should include young people able to handle trouble."

Teddy Boys in Britain, *Halbstarcken* in Germany, *Blousons Noirs* in France, *Skiungnutte* in Sweden, *Taiyozoku* in Japan, *Stilyagi* in the U.S.S.R. and so it goes on being called by many names in many lands but always meaning the

same young breaker of the law, who has no respect for anything or anybody and is a complete slave of his own impulses. In India too, we have our youthful lawbreakers who stone the police, set fire to tram cars and buses and make life hideous for all law-abiding persons. Foul mouthed, rowdy and offensive, these youngsters move about in small groups and indulge in all kinds of annoying activities in public parks, playgrounds, cinemas, public vehicles, schools and and colleges and wherever else they can display their might. These boys are not yet quite so offensive nor dangerous as the above gangs of youthful Germans, Britons or Swedes; but if discipline is not restored soon, at home, in educational institutions and other places and the youthful trouble-makers brought round to a frame of mind more in keeping with the social virtues, India will also have her gangs of young criminals.

The real trouble begins at home. In olden days boys lived with their parents and other relations in large houses which had their own facilities for play and relaxation. Adjoining houses also had known people living in them. And the youngsters could not be far from the restraining influence of their elders at any time. Now-a-days, families live in single rooms and in areas in which they live only for work. The parents of young boys cannot keep them under their eyes and the boys go and form gangs which move away farther afield for their little fun. This is obtained at the cost of other people who cannot stand up against the invasion. Every evening the parks, roads, etc., are under the control of youthful persons whose ideas of fun and relaxation are different from those of others who believe in the "live and let live" principle of existence. It is among these lads that India's *Teddy Boys* are in the making. Unless these boys are given proper scope for exercise and play and their energies are diverted into healthy channels it is only a matter of time before they take to crime. Some are doing so individually. But, organisation of gangs for defying society and social laws is only a step forward. India's political and economic life can be greatly benefited by arranging recreational centres for young people all over the country. But our rulers think national building begins with power generation and ends with iron smelting.

A. C.

WORKING OF DEMOCRATIC DECENTRALIZATION IN RAJASTHAN

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THE 2nd October, 1959, was the red letter day in the history of Rajasthan when the scheme of democratic decentralization was inaugurated by the Prime Minister of India in the State. The scheme was launched with a view to bring India nearer to her goal of a welfare state and to evolve a socialistic pattern of society, with its people sharing the responsibilities of administration with the Government—a real democratic set-up indeed with emphasis on national economy. The national leaders have been suggesting that the universal application of the scheme in the country would usher in a social and economic revolution. They opine that the concept of a Welfare State cannot become a reality as long as local self-Government does not come into operation at district, tehsil and village levels. Panchayats as such become the harbingers of democracy and its very foundations.

The concept of democratic decentralization has assumed considerable importance since the Balwant Rai Mehta team made its recommendations. Community development and democratic decentralization have more or less become identical. Community development comes to mean any form of 'local betterment', and local betterment stands for decentralization. The willing co-operation of the people stands for the democratic element in the idea of community development. In other words democratic decentralization has come to mean local self-Government, which is so essential for the working of democracy. To put it in still simpler words it would mean free popular management of local affairs. Various thinkers and propounders of democracy, like John Stuart Mill, James Bryce and Harold Laski, felt the need of local Government institutions on various grounds. According to them such a system creates division of work between central and local authorities, imparts political education to society, infuses interest amongst the masses and develops spirit of public service, in addition to developing common sense, reasonableness, judgment and sociability among the people. The utility of local self-Governmental institutions thus is an acknowledged fact, particularly so when democratic structure has been accepted and adopted in our country.

But at the same time we should not forget that there are some pre-requisites essential for

the success of such a system. People should be educated so that they may have moral integrity, sense of responsibility, tolerance, and nationalism as against provincialism, communalism and sectionalism. But unfortunately people in our country are illiterate and poverty-stricken and do not answer the above qualifications. Factionalism and casteism is deep-rooted. Moral degradation all over the country is so well-known that everywhere there are cases of favouritism, bribery, corruption and misuse of public money. Civic sense is absent. People are selfish and undisciplined. Hence, the success of democracy is doubtful.

Rajasthan is comparatively a more backward state. The experiment of democracy is quite new in this area, where feudal order prevailed for centuries. As such the Government of Rajasthan should have been all the more cautious in introducing the system of democratic decentralization. Democracy is not only a form of government but a form of society, a way of living and an aptitude for life. This can be achieved not by one stroke but by a gradual process for which we should proceed cautiously.

Conditions in Rajasthan are not yet ripe for the system of democratic decentralization, and it appears that the government has taken a hasty step in implementing the scheme. Gradual process would have yielded better results.

Under the new scheme the three tier system of local government has been introduced in rural areas of the State—the Panchayats, Panchayat Samitis and Zila Parishad. The most important link is the Panchayat Samiti with multifarious functions and control over Panchayats. The Zila Parishad is, however, only a co-ordinating body with no executive powers.

The question of relationship between the three levels of administration is quite important. The Zila Parishad occupies a weak position as it only co-ordinates the plans prepared by the Samitis and acts as the channel of information and guidance between the Samitis and the State Government. The only important power it enjoys is the suspensive veto in the budgeting process. This weak position of Zila Parishad has given rise to a lot of resentment. In the initial stages it is desirable that Zila Parishad should have powers of supervision and control over the

Panchayat Samitis. At the same time it is necessary that the powers and functions of the Panchayats and Panchayat Samitis should be clearly defined in order to avoid duplication and overlapping.

COMPOSITION

The members of the Panchayat are elected wardwise, but its Chairman, called the Sarpanch, is elected by the entire electorate. The Up-Sarpanch is elected by the Panchas from amongst themselves. The Sarpanch functions as the Chief Executive and the Panchayat Secretary only attends to the ministerial work.

From the recent elections it has been observed that the elections were held mostly on the basis of casteism, political affiliation or personal relationship and not on merit. The problem of group domination assumes special significance. The group in power works mostly for its selfish ends at the expense of other groups. This leads to favouritism, corruption and malpractices of various kinds.

A few years back sectionalism was not so acute in the villages, but with the implementation of this scheme party friction and sectionalism are getting stronger. The idea that the elections should be unanimous in the villages seems to be a mere dream. The friction of election days continues for long, and mutual jealousies and rivalries have become the order of the day. This has disturbed the unity and solidarity of the village life, and the principles of co-operative community life is thus receding into oblivion.

There were about 25 per cent cases where unanimous elections were held recently. But this is mainly due to the sizable percentage of cases of Panchayats where contests were avoided by rejection of nominated papers on technical and other grounds. The idea of having unanimous elections in Panchayats, therefore, has not proved practicable. Mr. Jai Prakash Narain had suggested at Patna that in the absence of unanimous elections, villagers should elect only two or three persons in whom they had full confidence and they should be empowered to nominate the other members of the Panchayat. If even this was not possible then lots should be drawn.

During the course of discussion in Rajasthan Vidhan Sabha, there was a proposal that election of Panchas and Sarpanchas be held by three-fourth majority. This move was very sensible in order to minimise party friction. The

minister for Panchayats said that elections by simple majority were responsible for importing groupism and casteism in Panchayats. He, therefore, emphasized that if not three-fourth, this should be higher than simple majority.

In order to minimise sectionalism at the village level it is suggested that definite educational qualifications and/or minimum age limit of about 40 should be prescribed for Panchas and Sarpanchas so that really deserving candidates may come forward for this job. The age limit is likely to give some seriousness and sobriety to the Panchayats.

Another alternative can be that only the Sarpanch may be elected by the entire electorate of the Panchayat, and he then be entrusted to select his team of Panchas, taking persons wardwise. In this case also the educational qualifications and minimum age limit should be specifically laid down for the Sarpanch.

The election at the Panchayat Samiti level is indirect and all the Sarpanchas of the area constitute the Samiti. The Sarpanchas co-opt representatives of scheduled castes and tribes, women, an agriculturist, one member from amongst the members of the managing committees of the Co-operative Societies in the Block, and two persons who have experience in administration, public life or rural development. These members elect, from amongst themselves, a Chairman known as Pradhan for a period of three years. Members of the State Legislature, whose constituency falls in a particular Panchayat Samiti, are its associate members, but they do not have the right to vote nor can they be elected to any office of the Panchayat Samiti. Such members may give their expert advice to the Samiti, but it is essential that they should not interfere too much in its work, and thus stifle local leadership.

The system of indirect election is good in the sense that it avoids party politics, sectionalism and frictions. This has enhanced the dignity and status of the Sarpanchas. They come to wield great influence in their respective areas and as such will have a definite say in the selection of candidates for the next general elections. The centre of election contest will thus be shifted from Panchayat Samitis to Panchayats.

The Panchayat Samiti has an elected Chairman, called Pradhan. Even the Balwant Raj Mehta report had recommended that the first Chairman

should be Sub-Divisional Officer so that the changeover may be smooth. But the Rajasthan Act, has provided an elected Chairman which does not seem to be justified. The Pradhans in many cases are uneducated or ill-educated; they have no experience of democratic set up and its working, and unnecessarily interfere with the work of the Chief Executive Officer, called the Vikas Adhikari. The influence of political parties and pressure groups over administration has made the administration slack and irresponsible. It is, therefore, desirable that the Chairmen of Panchayat Samitis should be Government officials, at least in the initial stage till the working of the Panchayat is stabilized.

It would not be out of place to analyse at this stage the relationship between officials and non-officials—a very serious problem from the practical point of view. The greatest need is the change in attitudes, values and approach on the part of both the officials and non-officials. The official must become aware that he is truly a public servant. The non-official must learn how to give a lead in policy matters, without hampering administrative efficiency. This problem is more acute at the Samitis level where there have been quite a few cases of conflict between the Pradhans and the Vikas Adhikaris. Lack of proper understanding is quite natural because India has been under a bureaucratic government for centuries. As an observer has pointed out, "It is not difficult to train those who are illiterate and have to learn from the beginning. The most difficult job will be in training those people, the members of the bureaucracy (who are) used to a different pattern of administration by their habit over a number of years. They have certain deep-rooted ideas from which they find it difficult to adapt to a modern pattern".¹

In other countries too the officials of local administration play an important role. "In England the non-professional elected members conduct the local administrations with the aid and expert advice of a permanent professional staff".²

1. Speech of Shri Mathura Das Mathur in Government of Rajasthan, Panchayat and Development Department, *Democratic Decentralization Training*, Vol. I, p. 6.

2. Percy Ashley : *Local and Central Government*, London, pp. 13-14.

The officials are a real force not because of their legal position but because of their experience in administration.

In French local government also the "officials administer subject to the supervision and financial control of elected representatives".³ The Prefect "is not so much the agent as the master of local governing authorities".⁴

FUNCTIONS

According to the Act the important functions of the Panchayat Samiti are classified into various categories like agriculture, animal husbandry, health and sanitation, primary and adult education, communication, co-operation, cottage industries, work among backward classes and some other miscellaneous functions like small savings and insurance. This list is very ambitious and it appears nothing has been left over for the State.

The Panchayats too have a lot of similar functions which are not practicable. The Mysore Act includes some regulatory powers of Panchayats—powers to turn, direct, discontinue or close a road, control unwieldy traffic, regulate trade, etc., etc. But Rajasthan and Andhra Acts do not include these powers.

The Zila Parishad has no executive functions. It only co-ordinates, consolidates and supervises the developmental programme of the Panchayats and Panchayat Samitis. It advises the State Government on all matters concerning their activities. Its existence is purely as an advisory and co-ordinating body.

It has been observed that in actual practice the functions allotted to Panchayats and Panchayat Samitis are not properly discharged. There have been cases where loans and subsidies have not been distributed in time; or these have been given not to needy persons but to the few favourites. The persons who get loans are not serious to return the money unless some severe action is taken against them. It has also been found that persons apply for loan not because they really need it, but because the Government is liberal in distributing money. Moreover, loan is not utilized for agricultural or industrial purposes, for which it is granted, but on social obligations. The result is that money spent on loans is not only being misused but is also creating a

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 39.

serious problem to the Government with regard to its recovery. In view of the gross misuse of the loans the Government will do well to suspend the practice of giving loans completely.

There is also a lot of bungling in the distribution of seeds. Good seed is consumed by the persons in power; and an inferior quality, purchased from the market, is distributed to the people. Naturally it cannot yield good produce, and ultimately people lose confidence in the government project of distribution of seeds. This practice too may be discontinued except in the case of seed of rare commodities; and the farmers may be advised and encouraged to preserve the seeds themselves out of their annual produce.

There are Health Centres where there is neither proper building, nor equipment nor staff. The practical difficulty is that the modern young doctors, educated in the city atmosphere, do not find it convenient or congenial to stay in the rural areas. Besides, where is the guarantee that the medicines supplied at the Health Centres are not sold in the black market? The allopathic treatment is also comparatively costly for the poor masses of this country. The Centres do not even solve the problem of family planning. The remedy, therefore, is that the government should encourage the Ayurvedic system in the villages. For surgical cases the patients can resort to the well-equipped hospital of the nearest town.

Industrial Centres too do not seem to have produced any tangible result. There are reports of several instances where money was sanctioned and paid for Dairy Farm to persons, who did not possess even a single milch cattle; that there are sheep rearing centres without a single sheep; that money was sanctioned and paid for repairing of wells and ponds which do not even exist. These are only a few examples to indicate the deplorable state of affairs, and as to how crores of rupees are being wasted in the name of democratic decentralization.

Primary education is another item which needs some consideration. This item has now been transferred to the management of Panchayat Samitis. This has tremendously spoiled the condition of schools and has affected adversely the standard of education. The Panchas and Sarpanchas interfere in the day to day working of schools and the poor teacher has to work according to the whims of the Sarpanch at the cost of education. The teachers have begun to take active

part in politics. The appointments, transfers and promotions are affected by political pressures. Teachers, under the patronage of the Sarpanch, can afford to be absent from the school and neglect their duties. Consequently the centres of learning have degenerated into centres of party politics. Various committees and reports⁵ had earlier observed that local bodies could not administer education properly. Consequently it is desirable that primary education should be taken over once again by the Education Department of the Government of Rajasthan.

The Central Advisory Board of Education appointed a Vernacular Education Committee to consider questions concerned with the administration and control of primary education. The committee observed that local bodies were incompetent to administer education. Hence the function of primary education should not be transferred to local bodies.

The Central Advisory Board of Education in its report on Post-War Educational Development in India (known as the *Sargeant Committee Report*, 1944) is also very critical of the policy of handing over control of primary education to local bodies. (*Report on Post-war Educational Development in India*, p. 73).

Report of the Secondary Education Commission also suggested that the local board should not interfere with the internal management of the schools.

There is a proposal that collection of revenue should be transferred to Panchayat Samitis. Money is the pivot round which the whole machinery revolves. If the work of collection of revenue is given to unscrupulous hands, the state treasury will one day be without money and the whole administration will collapse.

Naya Panchayats have been formed only recently and it is too early to comment on their working.

On the whole it has been observed that Panchayats and Panchayat Samitis have not been able to discharge their functions properly. So long as there is lack of education, integrity and sense of responsibility it is very essential that the

5. The U.F. Primary and Secondary Education Reorganization Committee recommended the transfer of education from the local bodies to the State Government on grounds of maladministration. (*Report of the U.P. Primary and Secondary Education Reorganization Committee*, 1939, p. 188).

local bodies should be given only limited powers.

The formulation of developmental plans has also been given to Panchayat Samitis. This will be an additional work and Panchayat Samitis do not seem to be strong enough to bear this burden. The leadership at the village and Panchayat Samiti level is severely limited and no useful purpose can be served by transferring the work of formulation of plans to them. The reckless manner in which Rajasthan is rushing into democratic decentralization is bound to cause inefficiency and thus cripple the administration.

FINANCE

So far as finance is concerned we would not like to go at the moment into the financial technicalities involved in the schemes, but a scrutiny of the budget of a Panchayat Samiti clearly indicates that only a small fraction of the total budget is spent on welfare activities. In Samitis, which are recently started, most of the money is spent on establishment. In others about 25 per cent is spent on establishment; 25 per cent is spent on primary education, the deplorable standard of which has already been described. About 25 per cent is spent on loans which is completely a waste of national money. Out of the remaining one fourth, a large portion is spent on health and sanitation including construction and repairing of wells and ponds, the sad story of which is already depicted above.

At the Zila Parishad level there is a separate budget. Zila Parishad does not perform any executive function, hence the amount spent by Zila Parishad is not at all utilized for welfare activities.

All this indicates that only a very small percentage of money sanctioned for Panchayat Samitis and Zila Parishads is spent usefully on welfare activities. The rest is a colossal waste of poor tax payer's money and a heavy drain on public exchequer.

In the House of People the Community Development Ministry was severely criticised as it had "conceived many things but produced nothing." It was suggested that the "ministry should go" as the money so far spent by it on the various schemes had been a 'national waste.' It had failed to create a spirit of self reliance among the villagers. The Community Development programme was more a "fashion" than a 'people's programme.' Even the Congress members

had admitted that there was "lot of wastage" in the ministry.

GRAM SEWAK AND PANCHAYAT SECRETARY

Village is the lowest unit where development schemes are carried out by the Panchayats and Panchayat Samitis, through the agency of Sarpanch, Panch, Gram Sewak or Gram Sewika and primary school teachers. Panch or Sarpanch are not wholetime workers of the Panchayats. The teachers are not likely to take interest in development activities as they are not paid extra for it. Gram Sewak is the only important agency who carries on the programme. But the main difficulty before him is that he has a group of 8 to 10 villages in his jurisdiction. He cannot possibly concentrate on any particular village without which no solid improvement can be achieved.

Moreover the people in the villages are so conservative that they do not want to act on the advice of the Gram Sewak or Panch or Sarpanch without constant goading and persuasion.

The Secretary of the Panchayat is another important figure who can do some substantial work, but he is required to do only clerical job, and that too sometimes for two or three Panchayats.

In this connection it would be better if the post of Gram Sewak and Panchayat Secretary is amalgamated into one, and one such officer named as Executive Secretary is appointed for each Panchayat. He should be properly trained and be held responsible for all the developmental activities in his area. The teacher of the primary school should not take initiative in any social work, youth club, etc., as it would drag him into the control of the Sarpanch and ultimately to politics. When the teacher is cut off from all such activities of the village, there would be enough work to keep the Executive Secretary engaged, and with full responsibility thrown on his shoulders he is bound to discharge his duty efficiently. It is only then that his work can be evaluated properly. He should be a Government Officer working under the direct instructions of the Vikas Adhikari or Extension Officers of the Samiti. The Sarpanch is there to guide and supervise his work on the spot. Since the Executive Secretary is the backbone of village development, it should be obligatory for him to be well-educated and trained.

The scheme of democratic decentralization has been vehemently criticized in various quarters. The report of the United Nations Evaluation Team emphasised the need to consolidate the results rather than spread them out too much. The U.N. mission had suggested staggering of movement, better training of the staff and better efficiency.

The Seventh Evaluation Report in its Programme Evaluation Organization observed in 1960, that people's attitudes and reactions in most of the community development blocks were not yet generally favourable to the success and growth of the development programme, and the general level of achievement was still low and far from adequate.

While criticizing the ministry of Community Development it has been said, and aptly too, that its work was "mainly on paper and it failed to enthuse the people. The expenditure "was top-heavy."

Hasty steps to introduce democratic decentralization involves three main dangers: "first decentralization may be something less than democratic; secondly, development work may be carried on even less efficiently than it is today; and lastly, decentralization itself may become a discredited idea by the time the conditions for it ripen."

The Governor of Rajasthan appreciating the scheme once remarked that the scheme, "had won for us appreciation throughout India and evoked considerable interest in other countries of the world." This statement must have been based on official reports only. It must be noted carefully that there is no guarantee that the official reports submitted by the Vikas Adhikari and others to the government are factual. Only recently it was reported in the papers that in Bihar the reports and figures of achievements submitted by the Village-level worker and Extension Officer at the Block level were false and fictitious. The Government of Rajasthan has yet to know whether or not the same story is being repeated in this State. The Government will do well to probe into the matter.

Let us now conclude with the observations of Prof. Riggs, who pointed out that the scheme of decentralization is quite unsuitable for under-developed countries and is fraught with dangerous consequences. Democracy in an illiterate society is a blunder. The step taken by the Rajasthan

State in this connection, is, therefore, faulty and ill-advised.

CONCLUSIONS

A happy combination between centralization and decentralization would be well-suited to our country. At this juncture the Government of Rajasthan may not find it convenient to retrace its steps, but they can certainly consider the following suggestions to improve matters:

1. In order to minimise party politics at the village level it is necessary that some educational qualifications and/or minimum age limit of about 40 be laid down for the election of the Sarpanch.

2. The Sarpanch alone should be elected by the entire electorate by two-third majority and he should select his executive, selecting persons wardwise subject to the fulfilment of the prescribed age limit for the Panchas.

3. Panchayats should be given only limited powers. The right of collecting revenue should not be given to Panchayat.

4. The portfolio of primary education should be given back to the Education Department so that the schools may be completely free from politics. The Education Department should have a close supervision over the primary schools, and one Deputy and one Sub-Deputy Inspector of Schools be posted at the Tehsil level. The teacher should be discouraged to take initiative in village politics and other activities of the area.

5. The post of Gram Sewak and Panchayat Secretary should be amalgamated and designated as Executive Secretary. He should be appointed wholetime for each Panchayat, and he should be held responsible for all developmental activities within the area.

6. The Chairman of Panchayat Samiti and Zila Parishad should be an Official of the Government upto such times as the bodies come to smooth working.

7. The system of granting loans be discontinued, and distribution of seeds be restricted to rare commodities only.

8. The number of Extension Officers in a Panchayat Samiti should be reduced to four or five only.

9. The Zila Parishad Secretary should be given powers of supervision and control over the Panchayat Samiti.

SOIL CONSERVATION AND FLOOD CONTROL IN WEST BENGAL

By Prof. S. N. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A.

Soil is a great asset to man ; it grows crops, grasses and trees which support life and society. Like all other assets, soil also needs a good deal of care and protection ; soils neglected through ignorance or wasted through faulty agricultural practices are liable to degenerate and thereby lead to the breakdown of society. Misuse of land may lead to soil depletion in various ways, such as, undue withdrawal and loss of nitrogen, phosphorus, calcium and other plant nutrients by sale of crops and livestock, burning of organic matter from bare land, particularly in tropical countries like India, formation of pans and plough-soles due to bad soil management and intensification of soil leaching through unwise methods of cultivation. Much more serious than all of these however is soil erosion, the physical disintegration of soil followed by the mechanical separation of the soil constituents, which are caused by winter and wind.

Heavy showers on lands which are not adequately protected by grass, crops or trees, remove the first few inches of soil,—the top soil which is the seat of all soil fertility and plant life ; this is known as sheet erosion. Rain water flowing in torrents may cause deep ravines on soils or land by removing large masses of earth ; and this is known as gully erosion. Strong gales, hurricanes and storms also remove the fine particles of clay and silt from exposed and dry soils. These different processes of soil erosion generally lead to serious drainage on the reserve of plant nutrients present in soils. It has been estimated that the lands of the U.S.A. lose 2.5 million tons of P_2O_5 through harvesting of crops and grazing each year, but about three million tons through soil erosion. Losses of the more soluble nitrogen and potassium compounds through erosion are still pronounced, and the colossal drainage of plant nutrients caused by the rivers Yangtze,

Hwai and Yellow river of China ; Damodar, Kosi, Ganges, Tista, etc., of India ; together with those of Africa, Latin America and the U.S.A., if ever computed, would cause headache to the soil scientists and philanthropists of the world.

Agriculture worth its name is thus intimately associated with soil conservation, i.e., prevention of soil erosion and maintenance of its fertility. As most of the erosion is caused by rain and flood water, soil and water conservation go together hand in hand. Conservation of water has the further merit of helping society from floods and agriculture through irrigation. Soils of the cold humid countries of Western Europe, North America, etc., are not appreciably affected by soil erosion, whereas those of the humid tropical countries like India and South China are subject to severe erosion. The Chinese have earned world-wide reputation for their successes in agriculture and soil conservation since the dawn of history ; U.S.A. had to face severe soil erosion in the beginning of this century ; it has solved this problem very successfully and gathered a wealth of information on soil and water conservation for the benefit of other countries.

Soils in India have, however, been left in neglect for centuries. Most people here depend on land for their living, participate in endless disputes and litigations over their titles, etc., but nobody cares for the improvement of the soil. Worse still is the fact that the natural processes of formation and conservation of soils have been repeatedly disturbed by the landlords who destroyed most of the forests and ploughed all the grasslands for more and more money. The results of all this have been disastrous to agriculture and climate in many parts of India. There have been terrible and devastating cases of flood and soil erosion throughout the country. Without adequate measures for water conservation through the protec-

tion of lands with forests and grasses, the soil structure has been destroyed through loss of organic matter, clogging of the natural pores of earth, and eventual interference to seepage and percolation. This increased the run-off water and hastened soil erosion. Sheet erosion led to the formation of gullies, and the silt and sand carried down through these raised the levels of most of the river beds above the level of surrounding fields. Thus the river Kosi in Nepal and India has the greatest silt run-off (11.4 tons) per acre of drainage area in Asia, and the flood havoc of Kosi, Damodar and many such rivers are well-known. The Ganges has also joined this list with her branches and tributaries, and the sad condition of the river systems of U.P., Bihar and West Bengal have to be seen to be believed. The average man of education observes the floods and the decay of the river systems; what escapes his notice is the soil erosion and soil degeneration accompanying these floods. Remarks of European and American experts, such as, "A person can wade across the Ganges in some places before monsoon; in flood time it may be a raging torrent 3 miles wide, breaking off great chunks of earth and uprooting trees." "Over much of India the people have accepted a slowly deteriorating environment as a part of the scheme of things, the vast majority is probably unaware that soil erosion is occurring", together with their lamentable condition of the Ganges near Nabadwip, Chinsura and many other places point to the advanced stage of the calamity. In course of his extensive studies on soil erosion in India since 1937, Gorrie has described the magnitude and causes of the calamity in the Punjab and Northern India, and has suggested several methods for the conservation of soils. Gorrie (1948) has gone further to point out that desert conditions are advancing north-eastward at the rate of half-a-mile a year, due to lack of manure, failure to conserve moisture in soils, and overgrazing.

According to the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations, the problems of soil conservation are particularly acute in India where there is a tremendous pressure of population on

meagre natural resources. Sen (1949), Ray-Chaudhuri and Sen (1951), Basu (1952) and others recommended soil conservation measures from their survey and other studies. Joshi and Kanitkar (1939) pointed to the drainage of India's agricultural wealth through soil erosion, and Shirole (1947) suggested that soil conservation is the foremost need of the country.

Overgrazing, bad farming, practices like shifting cultivation, cultivation on slopes and turning grasslands into arable plots, burning grass and plant residues in the fields, and destruction of forests, through lopping, felling or exploitative cutting of trees, have all been recognised as causes of soil erosion. Although all these together with the unmistakable marks of soil erosion, such as, removal of clay and silt from soils, silting of rivers, hundred-fold difference in the maximum and minimum flow of rivers, sinking down of water table, dust and sand storms are noticeable in every part of India. Most of the investigations and erosion control measures undertaken so far were confined to the Punjab, Rajputana, Central India, Bombay and Madras States; very little effort has been made to study and check soil erosion in Eastern India, particularly in West Bengal. This is all the more remarkable in the light of the floods, silting of rivers and ultimate decay of the river systems of East Bengal in this century, and the present position of the Ganges, Damodar, Tista, etc., in West Bengal.

Indiscriminate destruction of forests on the hills of Chotanagpur and North Bengal has invited flood and soil erosion in West Bengal. Cases of sheet and gully erosions in Purulia, Bankura, Burdwan, Birbhum and Midnapur districts are spectacular; some of them, in fact, appear to compare well with the illustrations of soil erosion presented by the U.S. Soil Conservation Service, Lowdermilk, Bennett and others. The districts of Nadia and Murshidabad, on the other hand, present some advanced stages of soil erosion where all the factors of such erosion have been in operation since long. The result has been disastrous on agriculture and society. Only a small fraction of land (the bils or beds of dead rivers) are fit for

the cultivation of aman paddy, so that aus paddy and jute are the main crops in most places. In many cases the cost of farming is prohibitive and the return very poor. Without any industry worth mention to support a part of the population, Nadia is, perhaps, the poorest district in West Bengal. Over and above all, flood havoc renders thousands of people homeless and destitute every year. In many places the soils consist mainly of sand and in summer, they turn quickly into heated sand baths. People near Nabadwip, for example, find it pretty difficult to leave their homes after 9 and 10 o'clock in the morning during summer. Many places, such as, Nabadwip, Murshidabad, Cossimbazar, Saptagram and Gaur which were seats of great culture and activity a few centuries ago, are in advanced stages of decay and disintegration now. Remembering that all the deserts of to-day were seats of great civilisations in the distant past, the missing links between the society and the desert are perhaps to be traced in places like Western U.P., Central India and, in Nadia and Murshidabad districts of West Bengal.

Permanent solution of the problem of flood and soil erosion can be expected only through long-term development programmes involving afforestation, water conservation, grassland husbandry, legislations against burning of dung, forest litter and organic matter from barelands and for the return of all organic waste products of the society and industry to soils. Co-operation among the States through the help and initiative of the Government of India is essential for many of these measures. In many others, however, the States have their independent responsibilities and scope of work. Dredging the silted rivers and canals, reclaiming all old tanks, legislations for proper use of lands (dividing them into farms, grasslands, arable-plots and sites for park, society and industry) and utilisation of all waste organic matter as manures and composts can be quickly and conveniently undertaken by the State Governments. These steps will help the rain water to settle in the tanks for the all-year consumption of crops and men, or to find its way out safely to the sea without affecting soils

through erosion or society through flood havocs.

The World Food Survey conducted by the F.A.O. in 1946, shows that loss of soils through erosion is without doubt greatly responsible for the fact that at least three countries of Central America and three countries of South America are placed among the low-calorie areas of the world. It has also been pointed out by the F.A.O. that shortage of food materials below certain minimum requirement affects the vigour and activity of a nation alarmingly. The present position and future potentiality of India as a nation can be well-imagined in the light of these facts.

Soil and water conservation measures are immediately needed as first aids to our agriculture and socio-economic life. Although complete eradication of evils is a matter of time, investigations and activities in these lines are sure to benefit the country appreciably within a few years.

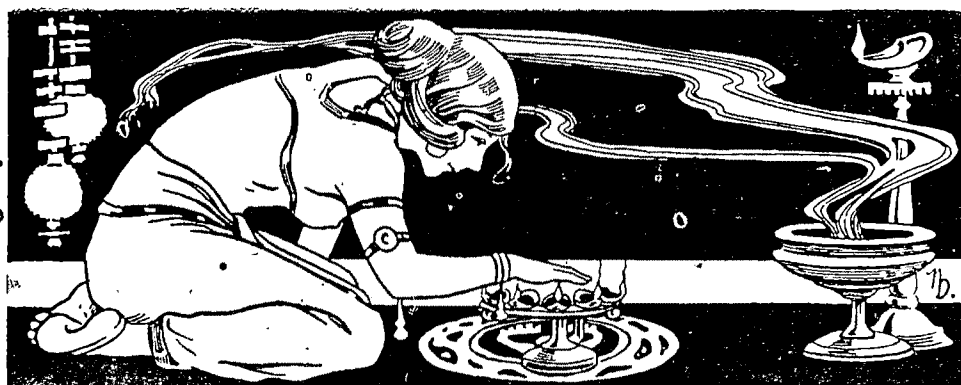
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"Thou shalt inherit the Holy Earth as a faithful steward conserving its resources and productivity from generation to generation. Thou shalt safeguard thy fields from erosion, thy living waters from drying up, thy forests from desolation and protect thy hills from over-grazing by thy herds, that thy descendants may have abundance for ever. If any shall fail in this stewardship of the land, thy fruitful fields shall become sterile stony ground and washing gullies, and thy descendants shall decrease and live in poverty or perish from off the face of the earth." —W. C. Lowdermilk, Eleventh Commandment.

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TAGORE AND GANDHI : ON NATIONALISM AND INTERNATIONALISM

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RABINDRANATH Tagore was in real sense a world citizen. The University which he founded at Santiniketan in Bengal is an embodiment of his universal and worldwide outlook. He travelled extensively throughout the west. He, therefore, knew the west and admired the spirit of the west. However, he made a distinction between the spirit of the west and the nation of the west. The latter he criticized most vehemently.

According to him, "The spirit of conflict and conquest is at the origin and in the centre of western nationalism; its basis is not social co-operation."¹ He compared nationalism with, "The pack of predatory creatures that must have its victims."² He wanted India to imbibe, but not to imitate,³ the spirit of the west and reject the idea of the nation of the west. According to him, the idea of nationalism was alien to the Indian culture.⁴

Tagore believed in the spiritual unity of all human beings.⁵ He had realised that the whole world is becoming one country through scientific facility. Therefore, he wanted to find out some basis of unity (non-political) between men of one nation and men of others.⁶ While discover-

ing a basis for this unity he realised that the "idea of nation" was a serious impediment.⁷

Like Tagore, Gandhi also believed in the spiritual oneness of mankind. He also expressed that the boundaries existing between different nations were not created by God but are man-made and therefore artificial.⁸ "I am wedded to India," he said, "because I believe absolutely that she has a mission for the world."⁹ His patriotism was subservient to his religion and "my religion," he said, "has no geographical limits. I have a living faith in it, which will transcend even my love for India itself."¹⁰ Again, he said, "For me, patriotism is the same as humanity. I am patriotic because I am human and humane. My patriotism is not exclusive. I will not hurt England or Germany to serve India A patriot is so much less a patriot if he is a lukewarm humanitarian."¹¹

However, according to Gandhi, "It is not nationalism that is evil. It is the narrowness, selfishness, exclusiveness, which is the bane of modern nations which is evil."¹² Whereas Tagore said, "I am not against one nation in particular but against the general idea of all nations."¹³ Again, he said, "Nationalism is a great menace."¹⁴

Gandhi insisted on "Swaraj." He said, "Independence is necessary for India for becoming an efficient partner in any scheme for the preservation of lasting peace in the world."¹⁵ He maintained that there will be an international league only when all nations, big or small, composing it are fully independent. On the other hand, Tagore held that 'Swaraj' was not our

1. Tagore, R. N. *Nationalism*. Macmillan & Co. London. p. 21.

2. *Ibid*, Talking of the western nations, he said, "These nations are fighting among themselves for the extension of their victims and their reserve forests. Therefore, the western nation acts like a dam to check the free flow of western civilization into the country of the No-Nation. Because this civilization is the civilization of power, therefore, it is, exclusive, it is naturally unwilling to open its sources of power to those whom it has selected for its purposes of exploitation." *Opp. cited Tagore*, pp. 21-22.

3. Thus he said, "we, in India, must make up our minds that we cannot borrow other people's history, and that if we stifle our own, we are committing suicide." Tagore, *Nationalism*, p. 107.

4. See Tagore, *Nationalism*, p. 106.

5. *Ibid*, p. 106.

6. *Ibid*, p. 99.

7. *Ibid*, p. 111.

8. Bose, N. K. *Selections from Gandhi*. Navjivan. Ahmedabad, p. 44.

9. Desai, Mahadev. *Non-Violence in Peace and War*. Navjivan. Ahmedabad, p. 3.

10. *Ibid*.

11. Tendulkar, *Gandhiji*, p. 313.

12. Tendulkar, *Gandhiji*, p. 313.

13. Tagore, R. N. *Nationalism*, p. 110.

14. *Ibid*, p. 111.

15. Pyarelal, *The Last Phase*. Part one. Navjivan, Ahmedabad, p. 120.

objective, our fight is a spiritual fight—it is for man.

I would like to quote Tagore in length on this, "What is Swaraj! It is Maya, it is like a mist that will vanish, leaving no stain on the radiance of the Eternal. However we may delude ourselves with the phrases learnt from the west, Swaraj is not our objective, our fight is a spiritual fight—it is for Man. We are to emancipate Man from the meshes that he himself has woven round himself—these organizations of national egoism. The butterfly will have to be persuaded that the freedom of the sky is of higher value than the shelter of the cocoon. If we can defy the strong, the armed, the wealthy, revealing to the world the power of immortal spirit—the whole castle of the Giant Flesh will vanish in the void. And then Man will find his Swaraj. We, the famished rugged ragamuffins of the East, are to win freedom for all humanity. We have no word for—"Nation" in our language. When we borrow this word from other people, it never fits us. For we are to make our league with Narayan, and our triumph will not give us anything but victory itself; victory for God's world."¹⁶

In 1921 when Gandhi started his first Non-Co-operation movement against the British, Tagore came in clash with him and raised a public controversy by writing an article entitled, "The Call of Truth" in the October, 1921 issue of *The Modern Review*.¹⁷ In the words of Romain Rolland, "Non-Co-operation clashed with his way of thinking, for his mentality, his rich intelligence, had been nourished on all the cultures of the world . . . in other words, just as Goethe in 1813 refused to reject French civilization and culture, Tagore refuses to reject English civilization."¹⁸

He revolted against the illusion-haunted, magic-ridden, slave mentality¹⁹ of our country-

men and proclaimed, "The time moreover, has arrived when we must think of one thing more, and that is this. The awakening of India is a part of the awakening of the world. The door of the New Age has been flung open at the trumpet blast of a great war. . . . From now onwards, any nation which takes an isolated view of its own country will run counter to the spirit of the New Age, and know no peace. From now onward, the anxiety that each country has for its own safety must embrace the welfare of the world. . . ."²⁰

Again, he said, "In the west, a real anxiety and effort of their higher mind to rise superior to business considerations is beginning to be seen. I have come across many there whom this desire has imbued with the true spirit of the Sannyasin, making them renounce their homeworld in order to achieve the unity of man, by destroying the bondage of nationalism, men who have within their own soul realized the advaita of humanity."²¹ And asked, "Are we alone to be content with telling the beads of negation, harping on other's faults and proceeding with the erection of 'Swaraj' on a foundation of quarrelsomeness? Shall it not be our first duty in the dawn to remember Him, who is one, who is without distinction of class or colour, and who with his varied Shakti makes true provision for the inherent need of each and every class; and to pray to the Giver of Wisdom to unite us all in right understanding."²²

Gandhi gave a reply to this in an article entitled, "The Great Sentinel" published in *Young India*, October 13, 1921. He said, "My modesty has prevented me from declaring from the house-top that the message of Non-Co-operation, Non-Violence and Swadeshi is a message to the world . . . Non-Co-operation is neither with the English nor with the West. Our Non-Co-operation is with the system the English have established, with the material civilization and its attendant greed and exploitation of the weak. Our Non-Co-operation is a retirement within ourselves. Our Non-Co-operation is a refusal to co-operate with the English administrators with us on their terms, and it will be well for us, for you and the world". We must

16. From Andrews, *Letters to a Friend*. Pp. 127-28. Quoted in Theodore de Bary (ed. by). *Sources of Indian Tradition*. New York, Columbia University Press, p. 791.

17. Chatterjee, Ramananda (ed. by) *The Modern Review*, Vol. XXX. Numbers 1 to 6 July-Dec., 1921. Calcutta.

18. Romain Rolland, *Mahatma Gandhi*. Editions Stock, Paris.

19. Opp. cited, *The Modern Review*, p. 431.

20. *Ibid*. Pp. 431-32.

21. *Ibid*, p. 432.

22. *Ibid*, p. 433.

refuse to be lifted off our feet.²³ He continued further, "A drowning man cannot save others. In order to be fit to save others, we must try to save ourselves. Indian nationalism is not exclusive, nor aggressive, nor destructive. It is health-giving, religious and therefore humanitarian."²⁴

In fact, Gandhi was not a nationalist in the ordinary sense of the word. He was truly an internationalist. But he felt that it is impossible for one to be an internationalist without being a nationalist first. Thus he said, "Internationalism is possible only when nationalism becomes a fact, i.e., when people belonging to different countries have organised themselves and are able to act as one man."²⁵ He insisted on complete independence but he believed that complete independence does not mean arrogant isolation or a superior disdain for all help.²⁶ Nor was his idea of 'Purna Swaraj' inconsistent with progressive internationalism.²⁷

23. Gandhi, N. K. *Young India*, 1919-22. New York, B. W. Huebsch, p. 673.

24. *Ibid*, p. 673.

25. Bose, N. K. *Selections from Gandhi*. Opp. cited, p. 44.

26. Tendulkar, *Mahatma*. Vol. 3. Bombay. *Times of India*, p. 9.

27. Thus he said, "Isolated independence

Both Gandhi and Tagore had a universal and world outlook. Both had in their minds the vision of a new world order. But they differed in their approach towards the achievement of their international ideals. Gandhi believed in internationalism and, therefore, in nationalism as an intermediary stage in our evolution towards a world order, whereas Tagore believed in cosmopolitanism and perhaps would not endorse the view that nationalism is a *necessary* stage in our evolution towards a world order. However, this difference of approach did not matter either to Gandhi or to Tagore. They had the most cordial relations throughout. Thus during his last visit to Santiniketan in December, 1945, Mahatma Gandhi made the following remarkable confession, "I started with a disposition to deflect a conflict between Gurudev and myself but ended with the glorious discovery that there was none."²⁸

is not the goal of the world-states. It is voluntary inter-dependence. The better mind of the world desires today not absolutely independent states warring one against another but a Federation of friendly inter-dependent states." See Tendulkar, *Gandhiji*, p. 313.

28. See Kripalani Krishna, *Gurudev and Gandhiji*. Gandhi Memorial Peace Number. The Visva-Bharati Quarterly, Santiniketan. 1948, p. 281.

GENESIS OF INDIAN DEMOCRACY

By R. K. SHARMA

THE conception of democracy as it now prevails in India is not something of recent origin, the product of Western influence, but dates back to several centuries before Christ. While most parts of the world were still under complete darkness, there was flourishing in India a very high civilisation—a civilisation based on democratic practices. In the beginning, very scanty attention was paid, both by Indian and foreign scholars, to penetrate into India's glorious past. It was only during the beginning of the present century that efforts were made by the Indian writers, perhaps under the heat of nationalistic feelings, to take up the task in their hands. The discovery of Kautilya's Arthashastra in the latter half of the first decade of the present century

by Dr. R. Sharma Shastri in some South Indian library threw a more searching light on ancient Indian political, economic and social life. Later on, the task was taken up by as eminent luminaries as Dr. Jayswal, Dr. R. Bhandarkar, Dr. R. C. Mazumdar, Dr. A. S. Altekar, Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, Dr. Beni Prasad, Mr. Gokuldas De and a host of others whose researches and studies in the field have contributed a lot to our learning of these ancient institutions of our country.

Ancient Indian Republics form an important as well as interesting part of the constitutional history of Ancient India. The Republics definitely came into existence during the post-Vedic period (1000 B.C.). Though monarchy was the prevailing rule of the day, democracies also existed.

In the Vedic literature we come across such terms as 'sabha,' 'samiti,' 'janata' and 'parishad' in whom was vested the supreme power. While there are divergent opinions and annotations regarding the composition of these assemblies, the historians are almost unanimous that these assemblies had a popular basis. But later on with the growing up of caste system, the increase in population and the size of states and also because of 'the lack of some representative principle' by which they could function, the popular assemblies gradually vanished away. Though this gave rise to the powers of the kings, the kingship still remained constitutional and the popular assemblies of the earlier times were substituted by small advisory councils to the kings. The King was not above the law; neither did he enact the laws. On the contrary, he rather used to abide by them as it was thought that they were ordained by some 'higher power', usually a divine one. Rule of Law formed the very life of Hindu system of polity. The King was not the master but, as has been described in the Sukraniti, servant of the people. 'He was expected to administer the state personally to an extent unknown in the West even in mediaeval times; he was approachable and appeared regularly in darbar to hear petitions from any subject who chose to come to him.'¹ Some of the monarchies at the Centre had even popular councils whereby they could know the feelings of the common people. The system of Hindu judicature also provided a strong safeguard against the arbitrary government. There was emphasis on appointing judges who were erudite, impartial and well-versed in the sacred laws and customs of the country.

That there were many republics in historic times has been substantiated by various facts. 'Gana' and 'Samgha' are the two terms by which these ancient republics are designated. Though there is a divergence of opinion regarding the interpretation of these two terms and some writers maintain that they refer not to the republics as such but to their tribal states, but 'it can be indicated beyond all doubt that Gana indicates a certain type of states, sharply distinguished from monarchy.'² We have got the testimony to that effect in the form of legends on the hundreds of

coins belonging to the same period and issued by these states. The writings of the contemporary Greek authors clearly mention that in India there prevailed both monarchical as well as non-monarchical governments. Alexander, when he invaded India, was many times engaged in war with these non-monarchical, i.e., the republican states. Some of them gave him a tough fight, so much so that sometimes even Alexander had quite a narrow escape. But later on, when some of these states were trampled down, these were merged in the nearby conquered monarchical states.

However, some of the writers do not hold what the Greek writers had said as wholly right. They hold, as Dr. Altekar says, 'it is impossible not to suspect that the account of the state machinery given by them was deliberately assimilated to the forms of government prevailing in Helas. This line of argument seems to be based on quite erroneous and untenable grounds. In no other part of the world was the political consciousness more developed and better studied than in ancient Greece. Also they were one of the finest democracies of their time. The Greek authors have described ancient India's political institutions in the form they noticed them. They were not even reluctant to give details of things, such as, the condominium of Patala was governed by two kings belonging to two different families but ruling the state simultaneously with the help of a popular council and even more minute details regarding the administration of each of them. In such circumstances it was not possible that 'the account given by them was . . . deliberately assimilated to the forms of government prevailing in Helas.'

And lastly by juxtaposing the stray references and casual remarks made in the Hindu, Buddhist and Jain scriptures, we will come to the conclusion that democracies were certainly prevailing in ancient India.

We have now been left in no doubt that in India there were in existence many Republics; Indus-Valley and Himalayan plateau were their main cradles. Unfortunately in the case of some of these we know nothing beyond their names luckily preserved in the rules of grammarians; in the case of others we have got some more or less vivid, though scattered, pictures of some of these republics as they are recorded in Buddhist and Jain books. To the former category belong the states of Vrikas; the Damani, the Parsva, the Kamboja and Trigartashashtra, a confederation of six states. Among the republics left out with

1. Sir George Schuster and Guy Wind: *India and Democracy*.

2. Dr. A. S. Altekar: *State and Government in Ancient India*.

some definite history are Arjunayas, Yaudheyas, Madras or Madrakas, Malwas, Kshudrakas, Agessinae, Sibis, Ambashthas and Andhaka-Vrishnis in the North-West and the Baggas, the Bubs, the Koliyas, the Moriyas, the Sakyas, the Mallas, the Lichchhavis and the Videhas in the North-East of India.

Though in their organisational set-up these republics presented more or less a kaleidoscopic view, fundamentally they were having the same administration. There was in every republic a Central Assembly consisting, as their counterparts in Athens, of a large membership, sometimes running into thousands, with its headquarters in the Capital where they could all frequently meet and discuss. The Central Assembly of Yaudheyas, for instance, consisted of 5,000 persons, each of whom was required to present an elephant to the state. The Central Assembly of Lichchhavi State consisted of 7,707 members, each of whom was called 'raja,' exactly in the same way in which all the tax-payers in England are entitled to be addressed by the name 'Esquire.' These 7,707 enfranchised citizens of Vaisali had equal rights and recognised no class distinctions among themselves. Every one among them had a right to vote. It was this voting procedure and the concept of equality among these people which was later on copied by Buddhist monasteries.

However it may be, the caste system wielded its ugly hold on the people even at that time. The membership of these assemblies was limited to the Kshatriya class. Anyone belonging to it by birth and extraction must have had a place in it. These Kshatriya members were very much proud and jealous of their position. In Yaudheyas Republic only those who could present an elephant to the state were entitled to vote and take part in deliberations while taking momentous decisions. The poor people forming the bulk of the population had but to carry out the decisions of the privileged order. About the Constitutions of the Kshudrakas and Malavas, Dr. U. N. Ghoshal says that both of them 'were aristocracies of the usual Samgha type with a sovereign assembly limited to the ruling Kshatriya class or caste.'³

The large membership of these assemblies should not alarm us. Though the membership of

these assemblies ran into thousands, as, for example, 7,707 among the Lichchhavis, in actual practice normally only a small portion of them (say 8 to 10 per cent) might be caring to attend the meeting. Among the rest, some might be staying in the capital, and others scattered in moffusil or serving somewhere as government officials. Similar was the case with contemporary Greece where though the Athenian Assembly consisted of as large as 42,000 citizens, each having right to attend the meeting, in actual practice some 2,000 to 3,000, i.e., 7 or 8 per cent of the whole would normally attend.

The sovereignty among these republics or ganas was vested in these Central Assemblies. Since it was not possible for these large members to run the state personally, they used to elect a Central Executive to administer the state in the manner desired by the Assembly. Besides, the Assembly used to exercise a strict surveillance over them. In Arthashastra we get a reference which clearly indicates that if any member of the Executive Council was held guilty of mismanagement, or misappropriation of public money; or of violating the common law of the country, he could be dismissed and punished by the State Tribunals.

They also used to elect a president who would preside over the sessions of the Central Assembly and, in case when the latter was not in session, would preside over the state. The president used to be generally an impartial man. Prof. Davids made the following observations regarding the administrative and judicial business of Sakyas of Kapilvastu: 'The administrative and judicial business of the clan was carried out in public assembly, at which young and old men alike present in the common moot hall at Kapilvastu. . . . A single chief, how and for what period were chosen we do not know, was elected an office holder, presiding over the sessions, and if no sessions were sitting, over the state. He bore the title of Raja which must have meant something like the Roman Council, or the Greek Archon.'⁴ Like the Roman Senate these assemblies elected their own military generals. We know, for example, of Ambashathas who, after hearing the impending danger of attack from Alexander, elected three generals to lead their armies in the battlefield.

All these things referred to above clearly

3. Dr. U. N. Ghoshal: *Studies in Indian History & Culture*.

4. Rhy Davids: *Buddhist India*.

evinced that these assemblies wielded enormous powers.

In some 'gana' states, as in modern times, there were parties in the Central Assemblies. Those 'energetic in habits and skilful in organisation and noted for successful oratory' usually succeeded in gaining power and forming the government. Once a party got into power, it was usually very difficult to oust it. However, these parties were not as well-organised as they are now. They did not have any definite set of principles or ideology. Personal influence, based on birth or position in society, often played greater part. Sometimes the parties were formed by personal rivalries and greed for power. The result was that when these persons passed away these republics were bereft of good leadership. Later on it so happened that leadership of some of these republics began to pass on from the elected to the hereditary one. The leadership of Malavas when it regained its independence in the year 225 A.D. belonged to a family who were reposed with it for the last three generations. Some of these later on assumed the titles of Maharajas and Mahasenapatis. The growing tendency among the people to regard monarchy as divine and a better protection against outside aggression, because of concentration of power, further helped to vindicate their position.

Since these parties did not have any set aims—formed as they were on personal influence, rivalries and greed—this often led to acrimonious debates, culminating sometimes in bitter personal animadversions. Sometimes they even hurled abuses at each other. In an Assembly, torn by party factions and obstreperous members, the task of the President really became very difficult. He had to satisfy both the parties by applying all sorts of ways and means. In fact, lack of coalescence among the parties, their family quarrels, lure for corruptions, personal recriminations and greed for power were the main weaknesses of these 'gana' states. This made them incapacitated to preserve their political secrets, so necessary in running the administration of the state and left them open to external aggressions.

Such party feuds, however, did not occur when the Assembly was meeting for some religious or social functions. In an ideal 'gana', however, matters were settled peacefully and harmoniously and there was no voting. It is but

natural that some rules of procedure for discussion in the Assembly might have been evolved. But unfortunately, we do not have any record of them anywhere in the political writings of our ancient scholars.

The foreign affairs of the 'gana' states were carried out mostly by all the members sitting together. In these cases the advice of the elders and experienced people was given much weight. The Kshudrakas, at the time of Alexander's attack, deputed 150 elderly and respected members from among themselves as 'ambassadors' to negotiate peace with Alexander. However, the activities of 'gana' states remained restricted within their own clan. Since these 'gana' states were not covetous of snatching the territories of their neighbouring states, they did not maintain large armies. But when once the security of their motherland was threatened by some external dangers, they were all prepared to die. Lord Buddha had a great admiration for the unity, strength, noble bearing and the Constitution of the Licchavis. The Central Assemblies of these republics also entertained foreign ambassadors and princes, considered their proposals and decided the issues of making war or peace.

From the above we come to the conclusion that these republican states possessed three main weaknesses which in consequence became the main causes of their decadence: First, the franchise was vested in a comparatively thin proportion of population; only the people belonging to rich Kshatriya class were allowed to vote. As a sequel thereof, and this brings us to the second weakness, the Kshatriya class was sharply distinguished from the other classes. Brahmins were, perhaps, an exception to this. This helped in further augmenting the already existent caste differences in the country. A man belonging to any other than the Kshatriya class, however intelligent he might be, was not allowed to come and partake in the administration. It was more an aristocracy garbed in the republican idea. The last weakness was the unsympathetic attitude of the big and more highly centralised coetaneous kingdoms. In the ancient world bigger democracies were not practicable and neither was it feasible due to, *inter alia*, non-existence of modern means of communications and direct intercourse among the people living at far longer distances. They were, therefore, confined to

small tribes and clans. Besides, these clans did not want to mix with other classes for fear of losing their identity. Lichchhavis, for example, sometimes are found confederating with Mallas and sometimes with Videhas. They, thus, fell an easy prey to the bellicose attitude of these kingdoms who were always so eager and covetous to snatch away their freedom and merge them in their own states.

But it may not be inferred from what has been mentioned that these states were not democracies at all, though it may at once be conceded that these 'gana' states were not democracies or republics in the sense they are understood today. Sovereign power among these states vested not in the whole body of citizens as it is now but in the Central Assemblies compounded mostly of aristocratic members. In spite of all this we can definitely describe these states as republics in the sense in which Athens, Rome, Sparta and Venice are called republics. If India had got certain weaknesses in the form of a large body of untouchables, the Greeks had its counterparts in the large body of its slaves. The franchise in these states also was vested not in the whole body of adult citizens but in the hands of a small minority who ruled over a vast majority of population consisting mostly of artisans and mechanics who had got their individual freedom. Even in the medieval time Venice, after the closing down of Council, the franchise was limited strictly to a limited aristocracy which itself was dominated by 'a small oligarchy.' Coming down to a comparatively much more recent era we shall find that in U.S.A. Negroes had no franchise till the outbreak of Civil War (1860-66). Even now in Switzerland, though otherwise widely acclaimed as the most perfect existing democracy in the world, the women have no vote.

A republican state, we can thus define in the words of Dr. Altekar as 'a state, where the sovereign power vests, not in a single person as in monarchy, but in a group or college of persons, more or less numerous.'⁵ Testing our republics with this definition they stand perfectly as true as their counterparts in Athens and Rome. Though franchise was limited to the Kshatriya class, other people also enjoyed a fair amount of freedom and liberty within their sphere.

But the real democracy in ancient India existed at the base, i.e., at the village level which always occupied an important place in the country's social, economic and even political life. The prosperity of a kingdom, in ancient India, was judged by the prosperity of its villages. The Vedic hymns also not infrequently pray for the prosperity of villages. Cities and towns played relatively unimportant part in the country's life.

A village in India during ancient times was a self-reliant institution. In an age in which quick means of transport and communications were unknown, a village had to be a self-sufficient institution—self-sufficient in food and ailment, in defence and even in its government. The village government was completely a democratic government. Each village, like the Central Assembly in each republic, had a Primary Village Assembly (*sabha*), which remind us more or less of the Anglo-Saxon folk moots. All respectable householders of the village, known differently in different parts of the country such as, *mahattamas* in U.P., *mahattaras* in Maharashtra, *mahajanas* in Karnatak, and *perumakkal* in Tamil, were eligible to become its members. By respectable perhaps they meant a person who is of high character and good birth. The membership of these Assemblies varied differently; sometimes it was 200, sometimes 500, and sometimes even as large as 1,000. When the meeting of a village Assembly was going to be held, its members were summoned by the beating of drums.

Since the membership of these Primary Assemblies was sufficiently large, they used to elect an executive committee or council later on known as Panchayat, to carry on the administration. In the north and north-western India, before Gupta period, these councils seemed to be of eccentric nature, but during Gupta period and onwards they appeared to have been evolved into regular bodies. In South India, in the case of ordinary villages these councils were elected by the Village Assemblies with all the members assembled as *ur*.⁶ But how this election was conducted we hardly possess any idea. It may be perhaps that the members of the village councils were

6. During Chola times, the Village Assembly of an ordinary village was known as *ur* and that of agrahara village as *sabha*. The agrahara villages were mostly tenanted by erudite Brahmins.

5. Dr. A. S. Altekar : *Ibid.*

elected on the proposal of some influential persons of the village and other villagers assented to that. In the case of *agrahara* villages, about whom we get a much more detailed and vivid picture, the government was divided into several sub-committees, each in charge of a particular work. According to an inscription unearthed at Uttaramerur, a village still flourishing by a slightly changed name, Uttaramalhur, we are informed that these sub-committees (which numbered 5), were elected for a period of one year, who would look after village gardens and orchards, the village tanks and distribution of its waters, settling disputes among the villagers and the assaying of gold.

A member of any of these sub-committees could, however, be removed if found guilty of some misconduct and mismanagement. Nearly all the qualified and experienced people were given the chance to work in these sub-committees. According to one of the rules, a person who had served once in a sub-committee was not allowed to be reappointed to the same sub-committee for the next three years. Persons of loose character were debarred from the membership of these councils.

The village government was carried on mostly by the two most important persons respectively called as village headman and the village accountant, both of whose offices were hereditary. Both were responsible for their errors and omissions to the Government at the Centre. Nevertheless, they were not masters but the fellow-beings of the village people who always kept their welfare in view.

At the top of village government was the village headman, known by different appellations in different parts of the country. He was in charge of the village militia and its watch and ward. Because of his being head of the village militia, the defence of the village was his most important duty. He used to place the grievances of the people before the district and central authorities. He was the *ex-officio* President of the Assembly and used to preside over its meetings. The collection of revenue was his next most important duty.

Keeping up of the records of the minutes and the proceedings of the Assembly as also to keep the accounts of the revenue collected were the duties of the village accountant. Both the village headman and the accountant, were given rent-free

land and some petty dues in kind from the revenues which the villagers used to pay to the government.

A village Assembly, thus we see, was a living institution engaged in multifarious activities. The area of work being limited, it touched every aspect of a man's life. Besides doing governmental business it was also a social and religious congregation. It used to run schools, served as a court in settling disputes of the villagers, built rest houses, raised subscriptions for public purposes and acted as trustees for bankers. It was also the architect of its own Constitution, amendments to which, if need be, could only be moved and passed by the sabha itself. The Central Government did not come in its day to day working. The Central Government had a general power of supervision and control over it which it generally exercised through the occasional summoning of the meetings of village headmen at the district headquarters.

The living democracies of the ancient times, by their fair demeanour, influenced tremendously the recently born contemporary religions, e.g., Buddhism and Jainism. Democracy can, in fact, persist only in a community where there is perseverance of practical equality. A monastery founded by the principal adherents of a revealed religion offers the best place for the perfect setting of democratic experiment. The inmates will readily concede their equality in the sight of God, to whose service they are all equally dedicated. They have no possessions. Their education will have been virtually the same. No one can be superior to another in wealth, marriage or posterity, and any differences which may result from birth or upbringing will tend to disappear. 'There is furthermore a basic equality in the facts of birth, childhood, mating, sickness, senility and death.'⁷ 'It is not surprising, therefore,' to quote Parkinson again, 'that later democratic theory is rooted in revealed religion and that democratic practice derives, in part, from monastic rule'.

The main source of the code of procedure of the Buddhist religion lies in the prevalence of democratic rule in certain gana states. Himself born at a place where democracy was flourishing—his father being the head of Sakya clan—Buddha, the preceptor of Buddhism, was very

7. C. Northcote Parkinson: *The Evolution of Political Thought.*

much impressed by the democracy as it was rife during that time. He, therefore, introduced the same democratic practices, based on equality and freedom of speech, in a more refined form in his Samghas. The democracy which he introduced in the Buddhist Samghas was a democracy in its 'fuller, richer and more beautiful' aspects. To understand the way in which democracy was actually realised in the Buddhist Samghas, we shall have to go through the different Buddhist customs and practices which they used to observe at that time.

The greatest quality of Buddhism lies in its simplicity and common understandability. His was a religion not of high sounding and theoretic nature, tied down to certain dry and dogmatic rules and precepts which were much beyond the pale of common man's understanding. He picked up very ordinary things of life, explained each of them in its true perspective to the common masses in their own common language which they could readily understand. Not only this, he appropriated designation of certain well-recognised customs and ceremonies of his time but 'modified and altered to such an extent that except in their names they were perfectly new and original.'⁸ Uposatha, for example, was one of many such ceremonies. It was coming down since the Vedic times and was observed by a lay man to restrain his five senses of 'kama', 'krodha', 'lobha', 'moha', and 'mada'. Though the literal meaning of the term Uposatha was 'to live near', in the Buddhist religion it was referred to in a particular sense of 'assembling together in a special fashion'.

On every 14th or 15th day, i.e., after every fortnight the Bhikkus would congregate at Uposatha ceremony and recite 'the code of rules for their own guidance,' later on known as "Patimokkha." For holding an Uposatha a clear demarcation of area, Avasa as it was called, was made. The dimension of an Uposatha would be 3 *yojanas* (1 *yojana*=5½ miles) from the Centre, i.e., where the Uposatha would be held. Accordingly, the country was demarcated with different areas for holding Uposatha at different places and each one of them will hold its separate Uposatha. On no account would two Uposathas be held in the same area. In each area the Uposatha would be held at a place where the chief 'thera' resided, wherein all the

Bhikkus living in different places of a particular Avasa would congregate and observe Uposatha.

All these things referred to above required the formal sanction of the assembly of Bhikkus. The rule of a Buddhist monastery was vested in a full meeting of Buddhist Assembly consisting of all its members. The system of government prevailing in these assemblies of Bhikkus, called the Samghas, was purely of democratic nature, in which individual opinion held its proper sway. The carrying out of a rule passed by the Assembly depended upon the co-operation as well as proper understanding of the spirit of the rule in which it was initially passed. If a rule had been violated, either wilfully or otherwise, it was amended or modified to an extent it had become large enough to accommodate the offender under its operation. If, on the other hand, a rule was found unworkable, it was removed subject to the condition that the regulated lives of Bhikkus and the standard of their morality are not affected thereby. It was to a large extent the exigencies of circumstances that ultimately settled their code of discipline or Vinaya. Rule for its own sake was certainly not the idea of the Samgha. Democracy in these Samghas was not only a form of government but a way of life as well and its ethos waded through all the facets of their lives.

There were certain rules of procedure to be observed on the occasion of this ceremony. The questions proposed to be asked and explained by any member both required to be proposed and seconded by some competent monk. What seems astonishing is the fact that the questions and answers thereto 'must suit the standpoint and temperament of the sitting Assembly.' This was strikingly in contrast to the occasional party bickerings in the gana States' Central Assemblies when it met for political purposes. Even if a member of the Samgha assembly wanted to rail another member of breach of some rule, he should first take permission of the person whom he was going to reprimand. A cool sense of judgment based on the fine idea of decency was their main motive.

Every good thing, if diffused haphazardly, has a tendency to get polluted. The same exactly was the case with the Buddhist Samghas. The Buddhist Samghas, which in the early inception consisted of monks of high spiritual attainments and deep understanding, with their

⁸ Gokuldas De: *Democracy in Early Buddhist Samgha*.

rapid development throughout the country, began to harbour people who were of weak and inane mind. They could not even count the dates when Uposatha was to fall due. The responsibility of intimating them timely all these things, so that the delay or absence of any of these monks may not invalidate the whole proceedings, fell on 'thera' in Vinaya. But how long could this practice continue? The creeping in of a large number of Bhikkus of very poor intellect made it difficult, nay impossible, to get a full gathering. The ideal of 'unity in purity' gave vent to the ideal of 'unity in majority.' The Uposatha and its acts were considered valid if it were attended by the majority of monks. Though every avenue was explored to bring about mutual understanding and unanimity in the Assembly, in case of disagreement, majority vote (*chhada*) was taken. The dissident minority was free to hold a separate Uposatha subject to the condition that it took place outside the original boundary.

There was a quorum, the minimum number present, which varied from 4 to 20 according as the occasion demanded. As for example, when Upasampada ordination was to be conferred, it used to consist of not less than 10 members, though previously it used to be conferred by the whole body of the monks assembling together. Votes in the Samgha were taken in three ways. The first method was the Vivatka or open vote method in which the vote might have perhaps been taken by show of hands or by some such means. In the second, i.e., Sakanna jappaka or the whispering method, the salaka-grahaka would go to every member turn by turn and record his opinion. The third method which was more dialectic and scientific was secret ballot or the Gulhaka method in which some sort of tickets or some such other coloured thing, easily distinguishable, were distributed, and every monk would, without showing it to others, pick one up and indicate his opinion. After the counting was done the result would be announced. The same then would become law, equally acceptable to all. But this was again subject to two conditions: that there should not be any irregularity of procedure and that they should not be repugnant to the Buddhist scriptures.

But as time passed on, the conditions went on deteriorating. New rules restricting the free movements of Bhikkus were introduced which had deleterious effects. They struck at

the basic roots of democracy and stopped the free movements and exchange of views among the Bhikkus belonging to different places. The well-ordered and altruistic government of the early Buddhist Samghas became greedy and selfish. Attention was diverted to the belongings of Vihara than to the persons. And during the reign of Ashoka, the Great, in the third century B.C., the early democracy based on naivety was replaced by the hierarchy where an individual monk held but an insignificant voice in its management.

How the democracy and the democratic ideas in the earliest Buddhist Samghas which it held aloft before the world came to such a tragic end? There were many reasons for that. Incipiently, as we have noted, the membership of these Samghas was limited, mostly consisting of monks who were of very high character and spiritual and moral attainments. They knew their duties and responsibilities quite well. With the development of Samghas into 'mushrooms' throughout northern India during the very life time of the Blessed One, new members started coming into its life who were comparatively of a poor standard and quite forgetful of their duties and responsibilities. They were 'mentally, morally and physically' untrained in the democratic ways of life. Neither were they taught. True democracy demanded higher learning and sound education and also a thorough knowledge of discipline which they did not possess. It also demanded tolerance, willingness and fellow-feeling towards each other which, with the influx of new members, vanished away. As a consequence any saintly monk who was of good moral character became the chief of a Vihara, dictating his own rules. Rules, therefore, got multiplied and made the saintly life more and more burdensome and intolerable. Unity and fraternity of the Buddhist Samghas thus gave way to diversity and complexity and democracy to hierarchy.

Having studied the democracy as it flourished in the early political and religious life of the country and also the causes which led to its decadence, we now turn to a more important aspect of this essay, i.e., how did this democracy originate in the country? Though we have got no precise information regarding the origin of democracy in the country, by dovetailing the isolated and occasional references

which we come across while going through the ancient scriptures and religious text books, which refer more or less clearly to the origin of democracy in the country, we shall see that, leaving apart a few exceptions, its growth must have been slow and gradual, taking a considerably longer time to bring itself to the above-specified standard.

We have seen above that kingship, because of its natural advantages, was the earlier form of government and democracy the later. During the Vedic age the monarchy was the normal rule. The Puranas tell us quite lucidly that the Madras, the Kurus, the Panchalas, the Sibis and the Videhas which in the 6th century B.C. figure as Republics were, in the beginning, all monarchies. How did these monarchies transform themselves into republics, often termed as 'oligarchies'? The conversion, we are sure, must have been slow and gradual. There might have been some revolutionary convulsions also. But such revolutionary attempts must have been very exceptional. Moreover, these attempts were devoid of nationalistic feelings, as these were never led by the preconceived notion of establishing a republican government. The overthrown monarchs were replaced by another set of monarchs, who used to be generally far or near relatives of the older monarchs.

While going through the earlier text books we come across at one place a reference stating 'several kings meeting together in one Samiti.' At another place we get more or less a similar reference mentioning, he alone becomes a king whose leadership has been consented to by other kings. If the kingship or leadership so consented became in course of time a hereditary one, the government so evolved was monarchy. Conversely, if the leadership to whom the power was delegated for a short time, was not allowed to become hereditary by the other member-kings of the samiti, circumstances were created which, through the process of "diffusion and dilution," as Parkinson calls it, helped to develop it into a republic, later on called by various names such as Samghas and ganas, etc.

The process of "diffusion and dilution" is the process by which aristocracy loses its shape by giving place to democracy. 'The process,' says Parkinson, 'is essentially biological, closely resembling the earlier process by which monarchy itself declines' and gives place to

aristocracy. And thus goes on the cycle of Aristotle's political change. In India the government was in the hands of Kshatriyas, the warrior class or, to take the above example, in the hands of Samiti composed of kings whose members must have multiplied with the passing of time in each generation. And as their number increased it was not possible and neither was it feasible that they all should have become warriors. They must have been following certain other trades as well. We have got testimony to that effect in the north-western republics, where these people followed trade and commerce also apart from their traditional military profession. And 'once this stage has been achieved,' says Parkinson, 'democracy is in sight.'

With this process of diffusion the power in a few hands gets enlarged and is reposed into numerous people since all of them claim their extraction from a common ancestry. Seeing them, others who are in minority or those who do not enjoy the same privileges also claim the same high status on the basis of equality between man and man. This claim becomes rather difficult to sustain for those who enjoy higher status because of their birth, their education, their military powers and their wealth. 'Such a claim,' to quote Parkinson again, 'if persisted in, may end in middle class revolt. If, on the other hand, the claim is tacitly dropped, a democratic equality has been practically achieved.' This is how the privileged class is constrained, though it may be sometimes by heavy jolts, to accept the claim of the unprivileged ones. The process of dilution is now set on to work. A similar thing happened in France during the French Revolution of 1789. The aristocratic class of the time was itself divided. While some of them believed in aristocracy, some others did not (they were openly on the side of the unprivileged), and the rest were undecided. This led to the success of middle class revolt. Not only this, their feat was very much hailed by the freedom-loving people of the outside world. 'Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive, but to be young was very heaven,' wrote Wordsworth. The Revolution gave a new ray of hope to the seething humanity by making

9. C. Northcote Parkinson: *Evolution of Political Thought*.

the people conscious of their own powers and by giving them a new motto in the words of 'liberty, equality and fraternity' between man and man, which worked as beacon light for the future democrats in their quest for real democracy.

The rule of one single individual, i.e., monarchy similarly gave way to republican rule—how and in what way did it give way we have no precise information, but it might be, as has been described above, by the process of "diffusion and dilution."

In Mahabharata we come across several references leading to the election of kings. The election of the king has been described as the first and foremost duty of a kingdom. The king must also have some qualities in him, such as that he should be liberal, mild by nature and of pure conduct. He should possess amiable qualities and be such as would never forsake or betray his subjects. He should be an emblem of emulation. The right of dethroning him was also vested in the people as the bad king was described as a bad friend and a bad ally and hence, never to be trustworthy. But constant recurring of such things made people lose their faith in monarchy. And it is just possible that the people, obsessed by such feelings, might have thought of trying republican idea.

Persuing the pages of history we find that by 400 A.D., the ancient Indian Republics dis-

appeared from the Indian political scene, leaving but a faint and blurred picture of their own constitutions and their working. But whatever little picture we might be having clearly shows that their administration was fairly good. They were rich and prosperous and had flourishing trade and commerce. Prosperity and happiness, peace and plenty are generally the results of good government. Their sense of patriotism and liberty was much more intensive than those living under monarchist rule, which in turn, inculcated in the people freedom of thought and expression. This helped in making rich contributions to philosophy and literature which found its best expression in the books of Buddhism and Jainism and also in some of the finest Sanskrit books of their time. They had a great sense of unity among themselves and were prepared to die whenever there was any danger to their motherland. That is why they could offer more stout resistance to Alexander than many other contemporary monarchies.

One redeeming feature of these republics was that even when they were eroded away by more totalitarian regimes, the old democratic ideas and practices were not completely forgotten by the people. The old republics of India continued to survive in the form of village panchayats, which served as a nucleus of our democratic set-up at the base.



ANALYSIS OF THE GITAIC SOCIAL ECONOMY

By SUSHIL KUMAR DEB

THE Second Chapter of the *Gita*, the Song Celestial—a part of the *Mahabharata*, the Hindu epic of antiquity—describes the ethics of the Kurukshetra battle. It poses the question: how is war justifiable, when a whole kingdom is staked in the political chess, and among contenders to the succession, a crucial figure like Arjuna, the generalissimo, is challenged by his kith and kin of an identical social organization? Debellation on the part of the Kurus and their diplomacy constituted the *casus belli*. To right the wrongs perpetrated on the Pandavas was the issue. Authorised by caste rules more than by conventional morality, Arjuna, a Kshatriya warrior, was obliged to take up arms. In the historical heroic period the military community, illustrating the quality of rajas or adventure, had no reason to be guilty of violation of the caste prerogatives. Economic motive is admitted by Bankimchandra, the Bengali commentator of the *Gita*, as an additional time-honoured sanction of the right to own and defend one's property. If this right's full implications must be realized this should be according to juristic ideas. How well a propertied person measures up to his responsibilities depends on his ability to safeguard his wealth and recover it, if stolen, or get adequate compensation, and bring the culprit to book. If self-willed persons, robbers or *agent provocateurs* for instance, are indulged and allowed to undermine social morality, civic rights or public administration will be rendered null and void. Misappropriation is far from an economic cure-all. To own property is euphemism for theft, as Proudhon thought. Bankimchandra sarcastically prefaces his proposition with the remark that had self-seeking been the order of the day, our world-would be peopled by an uncommon tribe, the happy uninhibited. Natural justice demands that one should possess the resources wherewith to meet the threat to one's lawful claims. Prudence enjoins caution in the application of force. The method of peaceful conciliation must be given the priority it deserves. Or else, enforcement of human rights requires stronger action; then the merging of might with right becomes a *quid pro quo* for fair-dealing and jus-

tice, and might is metamorphosed into virtue. This outlook impelled Krishna in the *Mahabharata* war in his peace mission. As a preliminary step, he wished to dissociate himself from the war. But his neutrality could have turned into an impediment in his spiritual direction of the conflict during a social crisis. Embroiled in battle, he acted in no other capacity than as Arjuna's charioteer. Clearly the state's safety was imperilled. Pressure was exerted to bring about a reprieve. It was an ironical turn of events that he had to charge Arjuna, dazed and immunized from the impending conflict, to fight, and act up to the tradition of a soldier.

Here may be found a clue to the solution of the problem of social obligations. Duty was calculated to be the true criterion in casteism or epic in India's socio-economic planning. When Arjuna, at the first signal of danger, withdrew, and offered to court a beggar's vocation rather than provide the counter-attack, he in fact, chose a Brahmin's caste-duty in preference to his own. Such a reaction would have alienated him from his class.

The operative word in this context is "swadharma", devotion to duty, appropriate to one's calling or caste. When one does the right thing according to one's nature, he is performing his swadharma. In this picture, Bankimchandra integrates alike Hindus and non-Hindus without discrimination. By caste, he does not mean exclusively the Hindu denominational groups: Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Sudras (the aristocracy, administrative personnel, professional classes and the subordinates). He has gone the farthest by way of a compromise: he maintains that humanity in like manner everywhere is organized or classified by divine preordination.

Adverting to "varnashram" of the Hindus (the classification of duties or swadharma for the above-mentioned four castes at different socio-economic levels), he emphasizes the singular paradox of the doctrine: for one thing, the Indian system at least looks to be outdated due to the growth of numerous castes and sub-castes in the course of epochal developments of history; for

another, the majority of world population has manifestly nothing to do with the institution of caste as such.

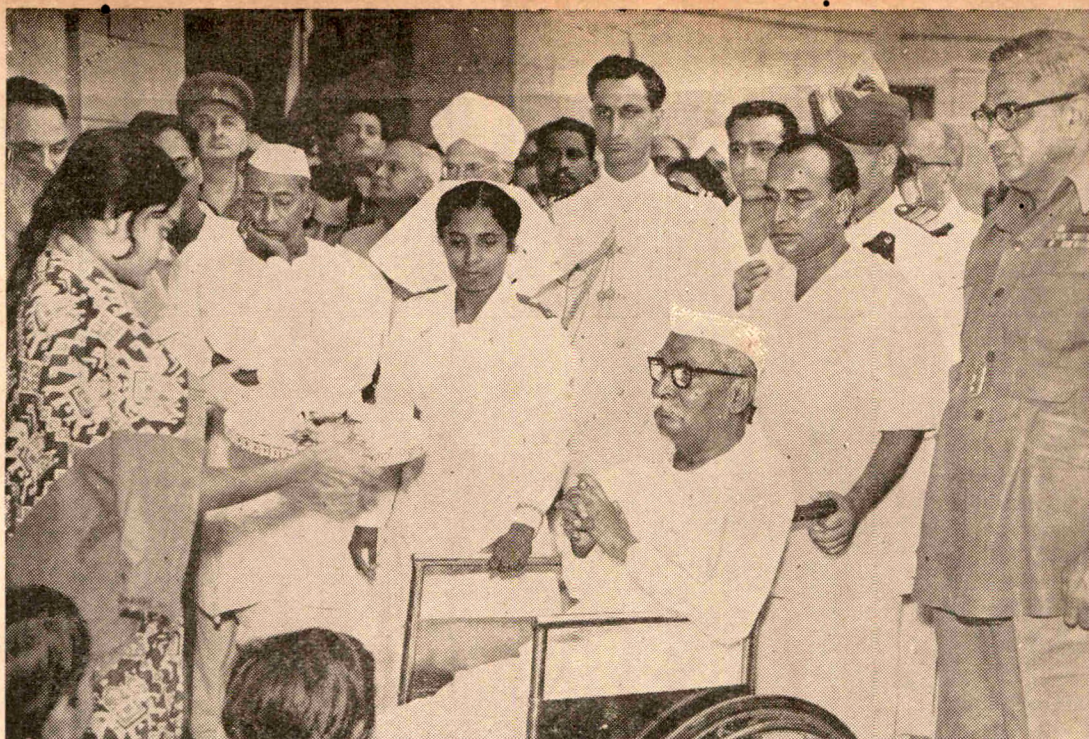
On a dispute being raised by this criticism about the merits of swadharma, the Gitaic definition of duty, Bankimchandra asks us to keep in mind the fact that the principle herein involved is unexceptionable. He could not rid himself of the belief that sharply articulated classes make up no less the chief good of existence. He takes the Indian caste system so to speak as a rallying-point and draws attention to its standard design. Consequently, the demonstrability of his proposition is to be indicated by a probe into the postulates of social evolution up to the present day.

The distinction of 'varnas', the caste system and the 'ashramas', four stages into which the Hindus were believed to order their lives, contains a hint of the high proportion of benefit that they sought to derive out of them. Criticism regarding their abuses are in respect of items of detail—not mainly on generalities. Because of acerbation of selfishness or group rivalries, caste presents the evil of invidious distinctions, e.g., the colour bar, apartheid, the personality cult, war, genocide, etc. Mongrelism, similarly, can be blamed on the misapplication of the rules of genetics of a healthy race, that is, of species formation. Thus caste has been made the weapon that reacts to the damage of its proponents. In India, unless where circumstances had a retarding influence, to the stratification of classes or caste (varnas)—the religious and intellectual aristocracy, military and civil service, the professionals and other ranks and services—the law-giver had scarcely, if ever, had a chance to take exception. Likewise, ideas of traditional renown continued to attach significance to the four stages (ashramas) in the career of a Hindu, that of a student, householder, retreatant and the monk. On balance, in the *Gita*, its ordinances pertaining to the institution of caste (varnas), particularly, constituted the directive principle of human grouping.

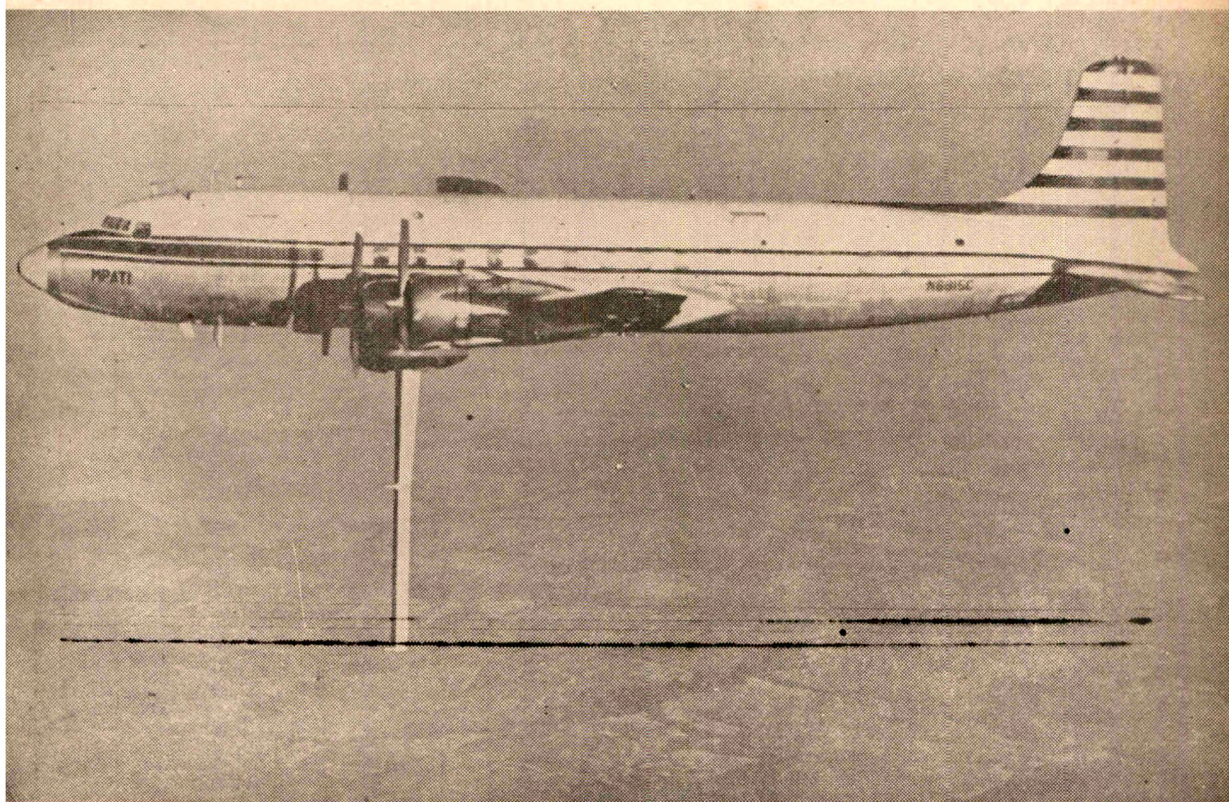
The *Gita* says sententiously: '*Swadharmaṁ nidhanam śhreyah paradharmaṁ byayabahah* (do your duty and die rather at your station in life; dreadful are the consequences of false impersonation or imitation). This injunction may seem at first sight patterned on a semi-regimented social economy. Although it did not upset the ideal of an individual or communized man's progress at all levels through his self-dedication to

the Most High, the general consensus seemed against the infringement of a social code and its underlying tenets. Down through the ages, the caste composition of the Hindus underwent a great transformation due, among other factors, to promiscuity and consequent confusion of race relations. In face of this, it transpires, Bankimchandra suggests: mankind's division into classes is not a useless sociological dogma. Hence, construed as active, peaceful co-existence with more than a hint of an open career for all castes, it appears strategical. It matters little whether one professes this or that religion, or belongs to this race or nationality or another to have to trace out his duty according to his nature and capabilities (gunakarma). By this indication Bankimchandra meant that, swadharma (one's duty) is at bottom the explanation of human behaviour as it evolves, conditioned by heredity and environment. Laws of duty are ecumenical, i.e., universal; these should tally with the recurrent shifts and changes in the primitive and civilized people's economic organizations.

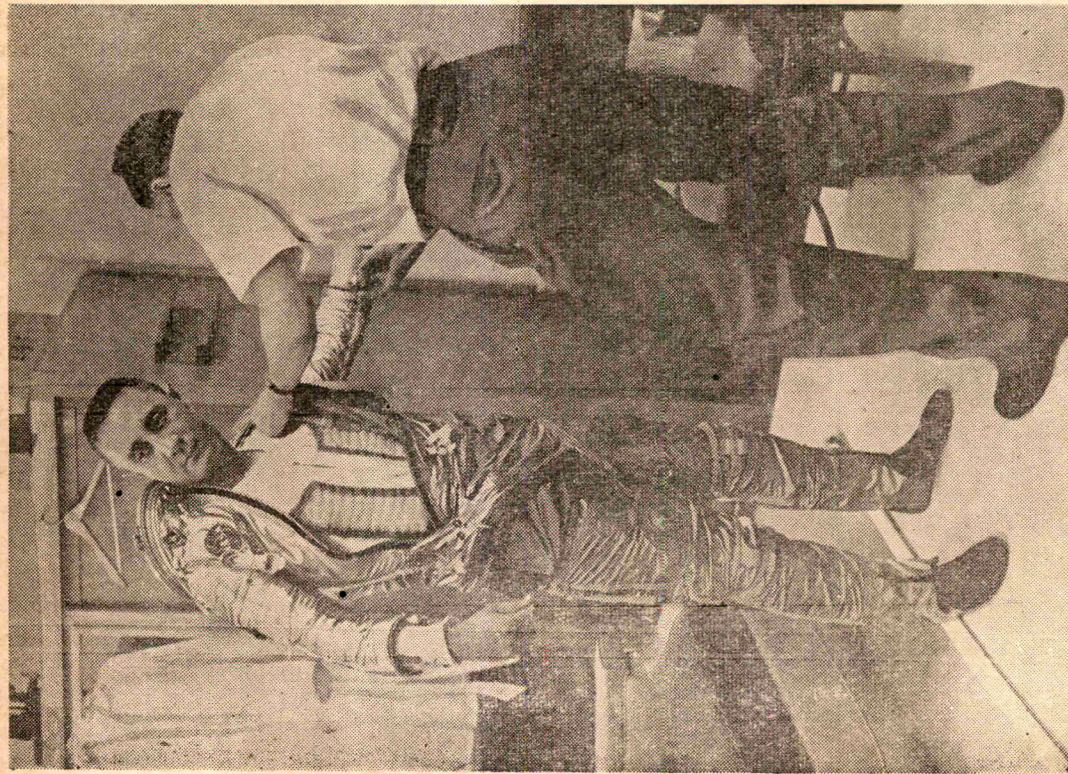
In the fourth chapter of the *Gita*, the aforesaid four-fold class distinction is assigned to the law of gunakarma, cumulative disposition of the mind of man correlated with his external behaviour. His representative characteristics should determine his class. Dignity of his living is judged by the spirit in which he functions in a social economy. The notion that privileges devolve intrinsically from birth or hereditary caste appears anti-diluvian. An untouchable or a Sudra's progeny, if possessed of sattwaguna, the balanced personality's qualifications, is for that reason a Brahmin, nobly bred. A Brahmin's son with tamas or inertia, not heeding to the things of the mind, is degenerated into a Sudra. Equally with a Brahmin, a Kshatriya, a Vaishya, a Sudra or an outcast is entitled or privileged to strive for salvation. Each, to the best of his knowledge and ability, that is, in his own station, can worship God—live and work for Him. Heredity cannot have been the sole source of his professional obligations or duty in society. In today's complex social structure, swadharma would describe the opportunity of free enterprise—viable and competitive—and promise for the human spirit's ascension towards the most propitious mundane existence. This theory of equal opportunities parallelizes the spiritual with the economic science. As it requires the sedulous discharge of duties



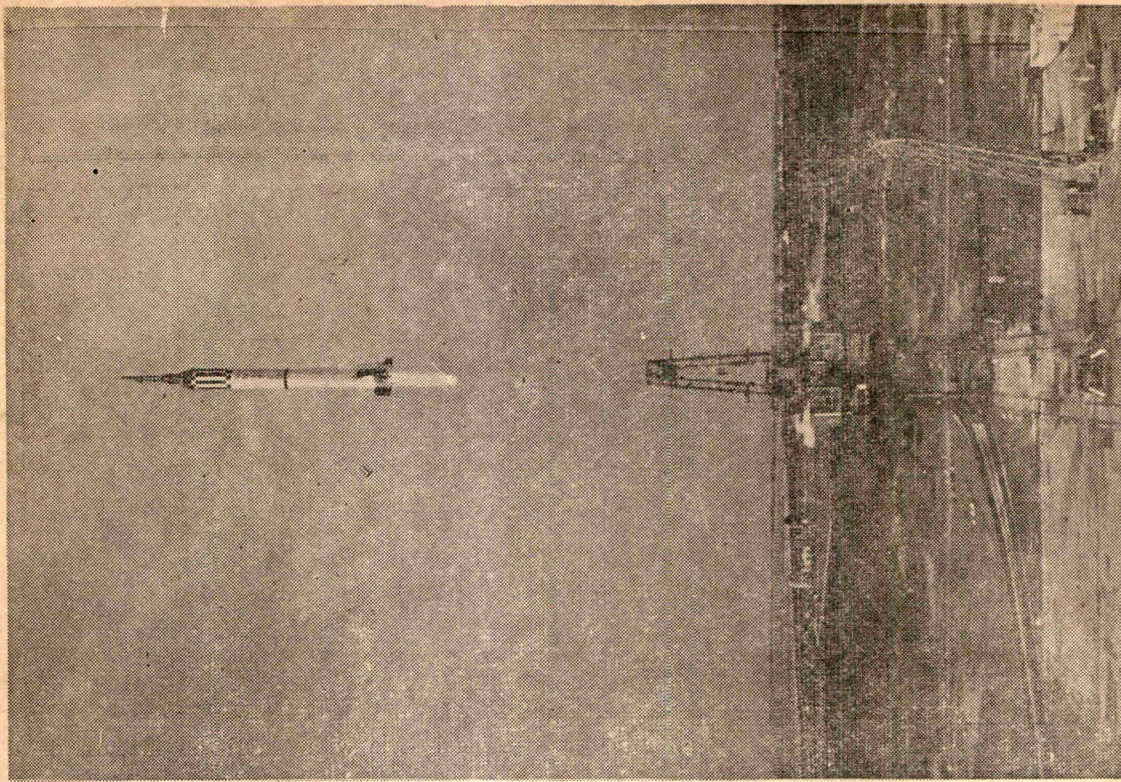
President's grand-daughter greeting him in the traditional style with 'Arati' on his arrival at Rashtrapati Bhavan after his recovery from illness.



Converted passenger plane with complete flying television station and fitted with a 24-foot retractable antenna hanging down from it.



U.S. Astronaut, Virgil I. Grissom, is helped into his space suit at Cape Canaveral, Florida, by Project Mercury equipment specialist Joe W.



Launching of the Redstone Rocket at Cape Canaveral

by each varna so that the self may be raised to a higher plane in this or next birth and attain ultimate liberation, so it bolsters the position of the *homo economicus*, since he is enabled by virtue of his nature and culture occupations, to benefit by his labour, reach his planned goals of consumption and step up his contribution to mankind's happiness by staving off mutual encroachments on the corpus of the world resources. In sum, none need accuse the author of the *Gita* of wanting to establish equality; for all are equal under the divine dispensation.

II

Further, we may glance briefly at Bankimchandra's delineation of the human mind and human body (and the importance of psyche over soma), their powers and the use to which these were liable to be put to develop the qualities of knowledge and action, which, through proportional sharing, constitute the essence of swadharma—our moral and occupational obligations.

No normal human can be anything but mental or psychic and vital or physical. If we can chart out our attitude-interests biologically and sociologically, our behaviour-pattern will not remain unaccounted for "Swadharma" by which was intended life as a whole, is that portion which consists of the evolution of our psychobio-physical capacities. Human nature's unfoldment centres round the interpenetrating influences of reason and modes of action—the brains and the backbone.

As it turns out, the matter first referred for inquiry is reason culminating in human knowledge that merges into the Infinite. Awareness of God, the Brahmin, the Supermind, is omniscience. The real Brahmin is one blessed with such ripe experience, the highest wisdom. At the social ladder's apex is his place. He is congenitally introvert, and loves learning.

But work brings our earth-consciousness into prominence. The ends sought generally satisfy our ego-sense and worldly wants. Vitalist workers, being extroverts, are loth to be detached from the phenomenal world. Methods pursued for the nonce are those of the science of economics—production, storage, distribution, exchange and consumption: these are next fortified by a series of defensive and security arrangements.

Drive in production is limited to agriculture,

manufactures and commerce. Agriculturists include the primary producers. *Per contra*, an intermediary class—the middlemen—make up for the skilled artisans, merchantmen and speculators; they thrive on trade.

Max Weber opined that religiosity jeopardised Indian industrialism: the 'inner worldly ethic of behaviour' found little scope here. It may be urged if scientific progress were laggard, some economic organization formed still the cornerstone of Indian existentialism. Agriculture did not immunize people from pledging themselves to take to commerce and industry.

Civilians including the police and the military, the executives, together provide internal and external peace or defence. They belong to the national senate, being politicians and bureaucrats.

The Sudras plus the Vaishyas and the Kshatriyas—as in classical phrasing—comprise the above two types of citizenry.

Dealing with economic growth, it may be said the required *tempo* and volume of production demands the collaboration at least of the first-mentioned two elements in the population. In the various segments of a national economy, they would control the means of production and distribution. Prospering through the good offices of the state, they yield to none in dividing the benefits of social service in the body-politic. A number of methods suggest themselves whereby consumption can be stimulated. In its pristine form, production of goods and services is aimed at consumption. It would be very helpful if the exchange system with its profit motive proceeds to arm and drill also and agrees to deliver the goods in emergency or at every point of need.

All cultivators are not necessarily Sudras, serfs or servants. It is not proposed to restrict agriculture or farming to the Sudras without proprietary power and subjected to the tutelage of others. To rectify compulsory service, which developed certain reprehensible traits, feudal agriculture and tenure deserved to be reformed. Then, the work-programmes of the upper classes could not have by-passed the question of rendering relief to the sufferers the proletariat. Intellectuals, administrators, tradesmen and farmers presumably enlarged a policy of amalgamation and offered employment to a numerous class of the rank-and-file agriculturists. The field of social reconstruction widened. Bankimchandra noticed

various confraternities of non-Hindus—separate economic units—had, through the lapse of caste rules, been assimilated into the Hindu fold. Hegemony of the Hindus over an augmented labour force in their economic area came to be established. How far free mobility of labour and capital was permissible would depend on ascertaining to what extent it was an all-community economic organization. He noted too that cultural impacts had been brought down to manageable proportions by racial intermixture. In a debacle or age of expansion, the varna system permitted new races to be integrated into itself.

Isolated economies tend to foster a parallelism of group loyalties and camouflage class conflict. An all but irresponsible public administration is inadequate to counteract competition, let alone to supply the incentive of wealth being regarded as a social trust. Were the constituent organs or members of a society to make themselves into a commonwealth, should they pin their faith to swadharma, envisaging equal opportunities in a competitive economy?

It is usual to refer the ultimate rule of conduct to the science of polity. What is demanded is a theory of active peaceful co-existence within the regime of law: general will, social control concurrently with collective good, judicious racial and cultural relations, adaptation to rural and urban environmental changes, that is to say, to the new political circumstances. Other issues include the frequently expressed formula of classless society, 'full employment', income equilibrium, etc. In short, a perfect socio-political order or plutonomy would deal with the widest range of problems from the classical economic types as of the past generation, capitalism, welfare state, totalitarianism or fascism, respectively of the United States, Great Britain, Russia and Germany to a departure—against the inevitable cautionings of many—from the customary fundamentals of economic thinking. It is felt a modern state may be credited with the intent to create it. Whatever method of social inquiry it selects, it can be unique: It can first and always call for a referendum into the whole affair, focus upon the criterion of what is desirable, which might be ethical having universal applicability. Economic effectiveness of the objective will be reflected by the share in equal or reasonable proportions, of individuals, groups, institutions and the state in question, in the total pool of all possible major

consumer activities and larger increments of output. The poignant fact is that in proportion as man shares equitably or justly the economic values that are of permanent and growing interest to him with his fellow-beings for more fruitful personal, family and group living, he is moral—no longer an agent or victim of exploitation.

Here is a point where the economist will come in as a transformist: he may rely on projects—to take a few test cases—for using an international or interregional common market, the growth, fluctuation and control of income, locational changes and adjustments, etc., as a leverage to work out a policy of balanced economy, of commensal, material well-being unreservedly. His estimates would relate to the human being's gamut of activity towards the satisfaction of his moral nature—not in part merely to the kinetic nature's need of action. These, then, would formulate guidelines for the moral ethos to inform economic planning and bring about the diffusion of well-being.

It would be worth a good deal to split history into its economic and spiritual aspects. In this perspective, class struggles and world shambles, caused by fixations on past wrongs and taking reprisals for them, lust and anger, and the like, appear as examples of deep distresses that weigh heavily upon the fate of mankind. To alleviate them, tremendous emotional reactions would be generated: an avalanche of change would affect man's moral equipage. Even so, the Atlantic Charter is on record as having stated its aim 'to afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want.' This plea for dispassion, poise and peace involving all attempts at political or social organization under fundamental law warrants man's Sisyphean enterprise to sublimate his instincts, his lower nature. So he might make humaneness or moral considerations in his social, civic and economic dealings as normal as he does in matters religious.

III

Moral ethos enjoins self-dedication in fact for all castes and outcasts—in and outside the family. The technique of swadharma (moral responsibility) sets up as a superior standard the satisfaction of the needs of a near-utopian republic, where the Brahmin, engrossed in the

acquisition and dissemination of knowledge, the Kshatriyas, in home and foreign affairs, a large cross-section of the people, the Vaishyas and Sudras, producing goods and services in the private and public sectors of industry and business—with the Sudras, in particular, as technical helpers and camp-followers, having to implement a plan or toe the party-line of employment and service—are the main classes of dwellers. Thus, Bankimchandra had shown, human enterprise can carry out its gigantic social task. Opportunities, in this scheme, for subordinating personal preferences to public good are neither scarce nor small. Swadharma touches human needs and desires with an internal light—that is spiritual. The sublimating element is the consciousness-force that transmutes every individual's action proceeding from his essential nature, and translates him as a divine medium.

Under the procedure of gunakarma or the varna system, through man's separative self-affirmation and associative social activities, newer and newer vistas of truth have loomed large in his horizon. It would be, therefore, reassuring to be told that in an age of expansion as ours, as before, the varna system will hold out a lively, adaptable, social pattern, admitting new recruits, refugees, immigrants, alongside new ideologies, into its long-termed progressive movements.

The state's prerogative—the rajadharma—was presumed to resolve the claims of the individual, tribe, clan, commune or a nation by co-ordinating these in the interest of each. No claims could stand in disregard of the freedom of the constituent members of the society, severally and collectively. In theory, these outlined a *modus vivendi*, a way for all and sundry to respect their own customs and usages—their swadharma.

The relationship of Brahmins and Kshatriyas has been compared to the sacerdotum and imperium of mediaeval European polity. By the admission of their interdependence and equivalence, optimatinal Brahminical privileges are imperilled. Brahmins usually may dominate over the Kshatriyas. But the latter can win a dominance over all, having acquired the knowledge of the Eternal which they may convey even to the Brahmins. They can exercise this right in the midst of their urgent duties to preserve the law, enforce administrative measures and protect the social-economic structure.

Swadharma, as a discipline, allows freedom of work, profession or occupation, according to one's innate tendencies for self-realization. No external authority can super-impose its will on him. Socially, politically, economically, his freedom remains unimpaired. Thus it appears there may arise a classless society, where overlordship or exploitation is *a priori* out of order—where reason will rule and passions may not go on the rampage.

The target of planning, economic or other, cannot be work-only. Work and employment are means, not ends-in-themselves. The total objective of our physical-vital-mental action is moral—spiritual. It is fatal for our social economy to be enmeshed in perpetual political or other troubles, unless the superiority of spiritual forces over the colossus of materialism is recognized. The free society will have failed to absorb in relative plenty and peace the gifts of science and technology, without the sobering effect on it of a widespread perfection. It may be an all-overriding economic purpose to implement 'full employment.'² Granted high levels of employment, an economic organization may still be vitiated by 'uncertain expectation.' How *inter alia* to inhibit apropos the growth of surpluses of workers in man-management looks to be a measure of curbing its disorganizing effect. We shall have, any how, partly touched the truth of full employment in the luminous fact that, man, under the laws of Nature or divine dispensation, is phased always to be, if anything, a knowledgeable-activistic being.³ Any effort to contradict human nature's classification into the components of knowledge and action—formations of guna and karma, i.e., swadharma—seems foredoomed to failure. Without imputing any *maladies* to the doctrine of the three gunas, one might reaffirm the statement of the third chapter of the Gita, that these gunas provide in effect the principle of illusion, necessary for the ends of man's transient phenomenal knowledge—and that they condition every variety of his mundane activities. Bankimchandra pointed out that in an immature state of civilization, the harmony of intellectual and active habits remains a distant goal to attain. What one finds in an undeveloped society is an imbalance of these two virtues. Thus, society's progress will fall between two stools of insufficient, ineffectual wise persons and extroverted,

uncontrolled activists—one might conclude—like as chalk and cheese.

The individualistic and socialistic motives of swadharma are least suspect. Both in point of self-realization and self-abandonment it upholds spiritual emancipation for all. Equal opportunities are assured in order to ensure the ethical basis of human adjustment and altruism—the media for cementing human relationship. These attest the right to common amenities and comfort for each single member of the society. Here we face the prospect of shared responsibility between groups, confraternities and communities in a political economy, according to the best possible moral arrangement.

Bankimchandra's apologetics are repetitive of a claim to a benison. These might be presumed to have been rooted in his hypostatical conception or hope of a divine democratic rule or of a common law for mankind. It is surmised that in a world republic, the social architecture will be topped up with the intensely mental and rare supermental humans: and our interests, in the ordinary sense, will lie in establishing security against violence, in economic affairs, and in servicing the social organization in its many-sided development.

Bankimchandra's findings emphasize the inference that although finality cannot be reached in visualising the issues that will be raised during a topsy-turvy epoch, unless inherent contradictions paralyze the varna system, the postulate of gunakarma, the three modes of Nature (*sattwa*, *rajas* and *tamas*) conditioning human behaviour, would stand as the governing rule of classification of man's social obligations.

In the divergent social systems, it is not to be expected that castes or class-divisions will appear in the same garb, exercise the same amount of influence. Nor is it imperative that the listed castes without exception must co-exist. One or two classes predominantly, or a few of them normally, would play an optimal, effective, distinguished role: some of the classes may remain unregenerate or suppressed—others insignificant or scarce. In primitive, savage and civilized societies, the classes at last will tend to be sorted out as in the Indian enumeration of the principal caste divisions. Herein is adumbrated a principle of classification, a prescription of norms. More important than the actual classification of human types are the foundations of

such a classification—the criteria of swadharma and gunakarma—applied individually and collectively to predict at different levels the nature of human behaviour. When the ebb and flow of historical and geographical situations show themselves in a number of aspects, it is hoped these criteria will continue to have the necessary competence of being applied to the emergent, different social systems. We can imagine being confronted with the reconstruction of a society from scratch involving a demographic revolution, when, let us suppose, there occurs a population vacuum, or avenues for human resettlement have opened up for the first time by rehabilitating a territory with immigrants differing in language, race and religion and unable to stand their ground together in unity on account of social and economic disproportions, etc. Through contradictions, obscurities and difficulties in integrating such heterogeneous elements, social links would have to be forged—so that individual rights of placement, *i.e.*, settlement, and growth of the members within the coteries or groups comprising the tribe or community in its entirety, would be assured. One may watch out for the operations of gunakarma here too.

Plainly the basic human rights stem from the varna classification. It is worth noting how state sovereignty or international law would circumscribe such human rights or the pursuit of ends as formulated by the dynamics of gunakarma. The norms of conduct that these rights, etc., represent are not observably ignored by the laws of the civilized states and the laws of nations. It is possible that the rights accruing from varna-classification will harmonize also with the local customs of the ethnic groups or rationalize and compose their differences. Characterology—the science of human behaviour—favours acceptance of the human rights as laws operative in the world of men.

IV

Finally, it may be urged the science of swadharma or gunakarma partakes strongly of the conventions of an ethical discipline. It reflects upon the merits of transforming our lower nature, of evolving god-men in society. In levelling up animal—men to the supermind's plane consists one of its obligatory functions. It would be no more falling off from economic standards

to hold that this science is empirical—ready to obtain satisfaction on as many as possible of the pressing human wants concurrently with implementing the lofty ideal of complete spiritual freedom.

Bankimchandra, as a commentator of the Gitaic contrapuntal treatment of life eternal and life temporal, adds his testimony to the efficacy of the ethical formula within the boundaries of our empirical existence. With regard to the way out of the milieu determined by the three gunas, his attitude, analogously, is unequivocal. A pointer may be provided by his opinion on the interpretation of divine liberty. The gunas make the protective covering of man's experimental, impermanent, terrestrial personality. His consummate achievement is to be united with the cosmic, eternal Divine. Liberated, he is no longer under the spell of the routine moral law, the imperfect social code. There will be for him no duty in the absolute sense. Despite this disclaimer, his so-called duties become part and parcel of the divine work. Ego-less, and hence a neutralist, he lives for God in the world, with no other placatory programme but to do His will. Struggling out of the gunas' *cul de sac*, he attains moksha, the state of transcendence of spirit over matter. In the economic world, man is a desire-soul: in the more inclusive spiritual—a tool of Divine Providence.

The Gita (third chapter) says in essence: the unwise and the perverted are overprone to be corrupted unbeknownst by the bewitching Nature's ways (Prakriter gunasanmura) and arrogate to themselves her work (sajjante gunakarmasu). This subjection is soul's bondage. Suffice it to be mentioned that if human nature

were to evolve morally, it will put a high premium on materialistic pursuits—economic and cultural preoccupations—but reckon with the possibility of removing all barriers on the way to the fulfilment of the divine ends in and through Nature.

There cannot be any connivance of the social organization's competence—that it is accountable to the State as well as to man's spiritual conscience. It is a two-fold responsibility of the society. On both these counts, human life is invaluable. The underlying worry in many minds is relative to the stratified, pluralistic communal society. It is quite as good to recognize that its stability lies in the symbiotic interdependence of the so-called 'classes.' Directives of the state find their expression in polity, its proximate goal. More than any other the fact which helps to affirm its ultimate goal is that it cannot preclude the class or caste differences that pervade it being equalized in their spiritual aim.

It may be noted from Bankimchandra's riposte that political-economic pursuits as an aid to spiritual life had better been reassessed to bring about a transvaluation of values and clarify the basis of mankind's egalitarian ideas. His revisionist attitude was symbolical of nineteenth century positivism in showing the fallaciousness of chauvinism and in offering a psychology rich in materialistic content, besides an apology for the explanation of our society in the new times and a prognosis of the future.*

* Based, on Bankimchandra Chatterjee's Bengali glosses and commentary of the Bhagavadgita.



THE LEAGUE SYSTEM AND THE U.N. SYSTEM : A Comparative Study

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IN this modern age of nuclear warfare and technological advancement, a world organization, to smooth out differences and conflicts among nations and to save mankind from the scourge of war, is not only a desirability but a necessity. Though the desire for such an organization has existed for centuries and various schemes¹ were advanced from time to time, only the League of Nations and the United Nations represent the two successive, best organized and concrete efforts in this direction. For a decade and more, people throughout the world looked to the League as the agency by which it might be possible to establish peace and happiness in the world. In the early Nineteen Thirties, however, this mighty project began to disintegrate and after 20 years of its existence, the League perished into the blood and dust of the Second World War. That war had unleashed its forces for the second time within the memories of a generation, and that by virtue of the miracles of modern science it had shown itself increasingly destructive to the point of threatening the very existence of civilization, strengthened the need of an international organization, and long before the war ended a new scheme for world peace started taking shape. This inevitably led to the establishment of the United Nations.

The experiences of the League of Nations provided the foundation for the new international institution, and therefore, it would be pertinent to compare the two systems—the League and the United Nations—not only to mark out milestones in the history of the world organizations but also to note principle conclusions to be adopted for the present and immediate future.

At the outset it may be noted that the two systems, broadly speaking, have similarity in approach to the fundamentals of international problems. Like the League, the U.N. can act only

through and on sovereign states.² As in the League system, none of the organs of the United Nations is vested with any power of legislation over individuals or with any authority to levy taxes, regulate commerce, or maintain independent armed forces. In short, both the systems aimed at a world confederation of sovereign states. Yet the U.N. system is more elaborate and comprehensive in its organization than its predecessor.

In their process of inception the two systems differ. The covenant of the League was the product of a Commission consisting of nineteen delegates³ who met at Paris during the early part of the year 1919, while the U.N. Charter is the outcome of the work of fifty delegations that met in San Francisco from April 25, to June 26, 1945. Again, the Covenant of the League was part of post-war treaties, hurriedly drafted as a matter of compromise between divergent lines of thought—Wilson's idealism of 'League to enforce peace' which found support in the French desires for organized security and the British attitude which was extremely hesitant in its approach to the notion of enforced peace. The British solution was rather an extension of the method of the former Concerts of Europe, through wider international consultation and co-operation.⁴ A great authority has declared that the League Covenant embodies five different systems.⁵ The assemblage which drafted the League Covenant was a conference of conquerors meeting at a place where atmosphere was surcharged with intense bitterness of feelings still left over after the war. "From the point of view of human welfare the choice of the place of

2. Article 2 (ii) of the Charter.

3. Schuman : *International Politics*, 1953, p. 192.

4. Hardy, G. H. *A Short History of International Affairs*, (Oxford), 1952, p. 15.

5. Zimmern, Sir A. *The League of Nations and the Rule of Law*, London, 1936, p. 214.

1. For a brief description on development of the idea of international organization, See Leonard : *International Organization* ; Mc Graw Hill, 1951, pages 23-41.

meeting (Paris) was particularly unfortunate."⁶ It was therefore inevitable, that several inherent defects should creep in the League Covenant and that the scheme for the first international security organization was not comprehensive and well-planned. The U.N. Charter, on the other hand, was drafted by delegates who especially met for the purpose; the scheme has already undergone consideration at various levels, before a final shape was given at San Francisco.⁷ As such the Charter is a document distinct in itself, comprehensive and comparatively well-planned. A cursory study of the twenty-six articles of the League Covenant and one hundred and eleven articles of the U.N. Charter bears ample testimony to the point.

The organization which emerged in the U.N. Charter is, in general, another League of Nations or loose federal union. It presents "that political form of maximum stability and effectiveness, the mixture of federal union and unitary system, of order and variety, whether the proportions be properly adjusted or not."⁸ The doctrine of the sovereign equality of States is flaunted as its basic principle though, at numerous points, both elements of this idea are flouted in practice.⁹ It is further said that membership is open to all peace-loving States but subsequent events indicate that here, as in the League, and perhaps inevitably, membership is granted or withheld largely on partisan political grounds.¹⁰ It is however, gratifying to note that U.N. membership has risen to 99 States in comparison with the League's maximum, at anyone moment, of 59 States. Both the Covenant and the Charter lay down that the member nations can be expelled from the organizations

for violating some fundamental principles.¹¹ In practice, however, no member-State was expelled by the League though there were few member-States against whom a charge of infidelity and insincerity to their solemn undertakings could not be substantiated.¹² This is also true in regard to the practice followed by the United Nations. Here an important point of contrast may be noted; under the covenant, a State could withdraw its membership after two years notice;¹³ in the U.N. System a permission to withdraw was professedly given at San Francisco in such vague terms as to virtually reverse the permission.¹⁴ The U.N. Charter, itself, is silent on the point. The fact that there is no provision for resigning the U.N. Membership has been something of great practical value. An example would illustrate the point: Early in 1950, on the question of representation of China and the seating of KMT delegate in U.N. bodies, the resentment of U.S.S.R. had reached a high pitch; and as a protest the delegates of U.S.S.R. in U.N. bodies were withdrawn. Had there been provision for resignation, in all probabilities, the U.S.S.R. might have taken the extreme step. In such circumstances the re-entry of U.S.S.R. would not have been easily possible, and to that extent the U.N. would have received a great blow in regard to its character and functioning as an universal body. In contrast to this, in the League system, whenever a member-State found things disagreeable they resigned: Brazil and Costa Rica in 1926, Japan in 1932, Germany in 1933, Italy in 1935.

Again, in regard to authority over member States, we have already noted that the U.N. is merely a confederation of sovereign states. At most points, the organs of the U.N. have only power of recommendation, but at a number of points they do have powers of decisions and command exceeding anything in the League System.¹⁵ Majority of voting is accepted for the making of decisions much more widely than in the League, both for the General Assembly and other organs.¹⁶

6. Wells, H. G. *A Short History of the World* (Pelican), 1956, p. 317.

7. See "Documents of the U.N. Conference on International Organization, (UNIC), 1946, and for a mere sketch of various conferences, See Author's book *The United Nations and Power Politics*. (Seal publication—Agra), 1956, pp. 2-5.

8. Potter, P. B. *International Organization*, (World Press, Cal.), 1948, p. 260.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 260.

10. One of the biggest question that the soely tried United Nations ever had, has been the question of representation of China especially when China as one of the big Five holds a permanent seat in the all important Security Council. For a detailed discussion see Author's book, *Op. cit.*, pp. 93-97.

11. League Covenant Art. 16 (4), the U.N. Charter Art. 6.

12. Schuman. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 196-206.

13. Covenant Art. 1(3).

14. Goodrich and Hambro; *Charter of the United Nation*, 1946, Pages 86 & 104.

15. U.N. Charter Art. 41, 42, 87(c), 99.

16. Charter Art. 18(3), 27(2), 67(2), 89(2).

As a security organization, the plan outlined in the Charter differs from that of the League in three fundamental respects—(i) in the definitions of the functions of the Organs concerned (ii) in defining the obligations of the member States and in (iii) restricting the unanimity of decisions to the Big Five Powers.

Unlike the League system where both the Assembly and the Council were empowered to deal with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world,¹⁷ the U.N. Charter places the primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security in the Security Council and provides that in carrying out its behests, the Security Council shall be acting on behalf of all the members of the U.N. Organization.¹⁸ Secondly, the U.N. Charter clearly defines the obligations¹⁹ of member States to meet threats to peace and calls upon them to place armed forces at the disposal of the Security Council in its task of preventing war and suppressing acts of aggression. The absence of such a force and the omission of clearly defined obligations, had been a fatal weakness of the League machinery for preserving peace. The U.N. Charter makes specific provisions for the creation of an international armed force on a permanent basis. This armed force shall function under the direction of the Security Council with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee.²⁰ It is regrettable that due to power politics, these provisions have not yet been implemented. Thirdly, in accordance with the League Covenant, decisions at any meeting of the Council or of the Assembly could be taken by unanimous vote of all the members present.²¹ In case of failure to reach such an unanimous decision, the members of the League could reserve to themselves the right to take such action as they considered necessary for the maintenance of peace and justice. No wonder during the whole period of its life the League Council or the Assembly could not take a decision in any international disputes; all resolutions passed were merely in the form of recommendations. As compared to this, the U.N. system is an improvement in the sense that it

restricts the unanimity of decisions to the five permanent members of the Security Council only.²²

This sort of unanimity provision in the U.N. Charter, generally known as the 'Veto' provision has come, for strong criticism as being basically undemocratic. Obviously none of the five powers would agree to its own coercion by the U.N. Each may also block coercion of a small power if it chooses and may veto inquiries and proposal, likely to lead to such result. This may reduce the U.N. to the position of incompetency as far as coercive measures against one of the Big Five or its satellites are concerned. But as the framers of the Charter clearly perceived, the fact is inescapable that any coercion of any of the great powers is a prescription not for law but for wholesale violence. If the Big Five disagree on a matter involving their own interests, the application of force against any one of them will produce a major war. That is the very thing the U.N. is designed to prevent. The exercise of veto is the symptom and not the cause of the trouble.

Whatever may be the weaknesses of the veto system, the fact remains that the provision restricting the unanimity of decision to five permanent members only, as against the provision of conditioning the decisions to the unanimity of all the members present and voting, is definitely a better scheme of things. It is likely to make the security organization comparatively quick in decisions and prompt in actions. Again, the Security Council having the primary responsibility of maintaining peace and preventing aggression, with its member delegates permanently stationed at the headquarters in New York and therefore in a better position to meet deliberate and if possible make decision almost immediately on getting information of a threatening situation provides a more powerful system of enforcement than found in the League of Nations.²³

22. Charter Art. 27(3).

23. That the Security Council can function speedily may be illustrated by recalling some examples: When Korean War shot up on Jun 25, 1950, the Council could meet the same evening and determined by a vote of nine to ni (U.S.S.R. was absent and Yugoslavia abstained that the armed attack is a breach of peace and called for withdrawal of troops, etc. . . . On Jun 27, 1950 it could take a decision for enforce

17. League Covenant Art. 3 and 4.

18. Charter Art. 24.

19. Charter Arts. 33 to 51.

20. Charter : Article 45 to 47.

21. League Covenant : Art. 5.

It is pertinent to raise the question here. How far in practice this unproved scheme has fulfilled the expectations of an effective security system.

It is difficult to answer the question in categorical terms. One view maintained is that the short history of the United Nations Security System is a melancholy repetition of the League of Nations experience. In several instances, the role of the U.N. as protector of victim of aggression was not effective. There were the same long drawn out wranglings in the Council, the same sort of resolutions calling on both the parties to cease fire and negotiate and the same flouting of resolutions by the party favoured by one or more of the permanent members of the Security Council. Military action in Korea and the trade embargo against Communist China the only two cases where collective coercion was applied had been of doubtful international validity. In no instance, including the above two, could collective measure be initiated under Article 41 and 42 of the Charter. In every case where collective measures have been adopted the organ of the United Nations, that has been responsible, has recommended to members that they apply them.²⁴ It would, therefore, be more appropriate to say that the Security system as envisaged in Chapter VII of the Charter has never been put into operation. Failure to conclude Military Agreements under Article 43 has been the main cause.

Yet it would be going far beyond truth to conclude that the role of the United Nations in preventing aggression has been non-existent. It is true that the United Nations failed to justify all the high expectations raised at the time of its inception, but it is also true that from the very beginning it has to work in an adverse political atmosphere. Nevertheless even in an atmosphere of 'Cold War' and power politics, the United Nations has shown its utility. One cannot imagine what shapes events might have taken in Palestine, Indonesia, Suez Canal area, and elsewhere, had the United Nations not existed. It is true that the role of the U.N. was

ment action. Again on June 19, 1954, trouble flared up into a shooting war in Guatemala, the Security Council could hold its sitting within 24 hours to discuss the situation.

24. Goodrich & Simon: *The United Nations . . . and Security*, 1955, page 443.

not solely responsible for ending war in these areas there were other factors as well, yet the fact cannot be denied that the U.N. did provide a method of ending hostilities.

The establishment of United Nations Emergency Force in Suez Canal area (Nov. 1956) and more recently, the operation of U.N. force in Congo (Sept. 1960), are events of very great significance in the history of international organization. In Congo the U.N. operation is meeting its greatest challenge and it is yet too early to pass judgment on its effectiveness. But one thing is sure here as in several other previous international conflicts and tensions, the U.N. did provide a means to bring relations, between the two rival powers, under the moderating and harmonizing influence of the agreed purposes and principles of the United Nations. It made possible the conciliatory action of other Nations not directly involved in rival power conflicts but deeply committed to the avoidance of war and advancement of general peace and progress.

In the economic and social sphere, the experiences of the League system has helped in the systematic reorganization and co-ordination of this branch of international activity. One of the six principal organs of the United Nations, viz., the Economic and Social Council is entrusted with the task of promoting conditions of social and economic progress and cultural and educational development of all the nations of the world. In the League system no separate organ existed to especially look after this sphere of international activity. In the U.N. Organization more emphasis has been laid on the economic, social cultural and humanitarian matters which are so intimately related to the problem of world peace.²⁵ The United Nations Educational and Cultural Organization (UNESCO); the World Health Organization (WHO), the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development; the International Monetary Fund and such other specialized agencies are all designed to secure economic, social and cultural unity of mankind. The preamble to the UNESCO—"Since wars begin in the minds of men it is in the minds of men that foundations of peace must be laid"—further lends countenance to the humanitarian character of the U.N.

We have already noted that the U.N. is not

25. See the Preamble of the U.N. Charter and also articles 1(3) & 55 to 72.

a World Government; it is, like the League of Nations, merely a vast enterprise in voluntary co-operation. In most phases of administration the powers of the organs of the U.N. are confined to investigations and recommendations. In order that a system of voluntary co-operation among governments may operate fruitfully the participants must assure that the members of the international community will seek whatever benefits are to be obtained in common with other members of the community. There must be a generous exchange of concessions and genuine co-operation, there must be full and honest exchange of information and ideas with due publicity, there must be free inquiry and discussion. Attempts need be made to win over reluctant member nations and this requires vast propaganda and creation of international public opinion.

In this connection it is worth noting that efforts are being made under the U.N. to build up relations with non-governmental organizations for the cultivation of public opinion favourable to the U.N. and its programme as was never done under the League. Similarly, an effort is being made to employ properly and effectively the UNESCO for similar ends, in contrast to the inadequate use made under the League of Nations, of the Institute of Intellectual co-operation.²⁶

A few words about the U.N. Trusteeship system may also be stated. Under the Covenant of the League there existed the mandatory system which was devised as a substitute for annexation of the territories which the Allies had conquered from Germany and Turkey during the First World War. The Mandatory Commission of the League consisted of experts appointed by the Council and were not representatives of the member States. Under the U.N. Charter, the special organ of the system, the Trusteeship Council, is composed of members administering trust territories, all permanent members of the Security Council and elected members of the General Assembly. Further the new trusteeship system discards the rigid obligations imposed by the covenant upon the administration of the mandated territories: the trust territories, in the U.N. system, are now administered under agreements negotiated with the trustee States.

The supervision of the U.N. over trust territories is more effective than was the case in regard to supervision of the League over mandate territories.²⁷

From the study presented in the preceding pages the conclusion is irresistible that the U.N. is a distinct improvement upon the League of Nations. The U.N. has achieved considerable success yet the basic difficulties in the way of international peace and security still remains; its working proved beyond doubt that in the present conditions of the atomic age, the United Nations is not a complete answer but merely a step forward on a long journey. Its working has also proved that the problem of collective security is insoluble within the framework of a confederate system. Collective security without collective sovereignty is meaningless, without some constitutional institution to express the sovereignty of the whole world community and to create a law for collectivity, there can be no security can be built up. Without a world government (on federal lines) no lasting peace and security can be built up. Till a world Government is attainable, it is inopportune to stress the military aspects of the U.N. and collective coercion is not practicable within the framework of the U.N. The security system as envisaged in Chapter VII of the U.N. Charter cannot be collective in practice nor can it bring security. The Korean episode is a clear illustration of this point.

The history of the working of the U.N. has clearly demonstrated that our civilization has reached a stage when the traditional concept of national sovereignty need be surrendered. But mankind is slow to grasp new things; our political and moral concepts have failed to keep pace with the scientific advancement achieved. The criticism that the U.N. Charter has become obsolete since the arrival of atomic age is only true in regard to the factual situation but not in regard to prevailing outlook. In fact, until there is change in our outlook and consciousness of the fact that a revolution of international and national interests should take place, it is difficult to picture a better legal structure than the one we already have in the U.N. Charter.

In conclusion, we may say that the United

26. Potter, P.B., *International Organization*, 1948, p. 270.

27. For a detailed discussion, see Author's *United Nations & Power Politics*; Pages 20-24 & 123-127 (Seal Publication, 1956).

Nations is the second story of an edifice, built upon the foundations of continuing unity and co-operation of great powers to be maintained by the traditional method of diplomacy. It proves effective only to the extent to which persuasion and goodwill could go, as yet far from adequate to meet the exigencies of atomic

age, but nonetheless useful in providing a method and exerting an influence towards the control of violence and towards securing an atmosphere of peace. As observed by Prime Minister Nehru, it still represents man's best organized hope to substitute the Conference table for the battle-field.

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VINOBAJI'S POSTER MOVEMENT—ITS MEANING AND PLACE

By SURESH RAM

In July-August last year, when Vinobaji stayed in the city of Indore for one month and went round it, he came across such cinema posters as were indecent and offensive. Displayed as they were on the walls in the open, he called them as a medium of providing "free and compulsory education in sensuality". He urged upon the people of Indore to remove them and make their city neat and clean. Even he permitted Satyagraha for it. It was, perhaps, for the first time after Swaraj that he felt the need of popular Satyagraha. He said :

"I am not offering Satyagraha against the Cinema industry. I am fond of Science and would like Cinema to develop under its auspices But I cannot tolerate the invasion on the eye by these indecent posters. It deserves Satyagraha. I have declared a crusade against it".

This set the ball rolling. An organisation of the aged and respectable citizens of Indore, Sarvodaya Vanaprastha Mandal, approached a local cinema proprietor with the request to remove an indecent poster. He agreed. Later, however, he went back on his word. The Mandal also approached the Corporation and the civil authorities. But all in vain. Feeling helpless, the Vanaprastha Mandal asked the Madhya Pradesh Sarvodaya Mandal to take suitable steps in the matter. The Sarvodaya Mandal gave due notice to the cinema proprietor to remove the poster in question by a certain date, and added that in case of non-compliance, they would have no choice but to resort to Satyagraha. No reply. Thereafter in the early morning of 5th November,

1960, a batch of workers, led by the President of the Madhya Pradesh Sarvodaya Mandal, went to the spot, removed that poster and burnt it.

The movement has since spread in different parts of the country, specially in the Hindi-speaking areas. Recently it has made some headway in our capital, the city of Delhi. There it has evoked, quite naturally, a lot of criticism in the "social" circles as also from a section of the press. The need of grasping the significance of this drive cannot, therefore, be too much emphasized. It is necessary to understand its role and implications.

In every society there are certain norms and sanctions which are its mainstay. They cannot be the same all over the world. They develop in a nation according to its genius and traits. In our own country, moral values have always enjoyed the uppermost place in society. True that they have suffered some deterioration on account of various causes with the passage of time, yet their content has always been clear and well-defined. Among them the most conspicuous is the role of women and of the **Grahastha-Ashrama**. In our Shastras, women have been given the highest regard and attention. They have unequivocally declared that a nation which does not honour its women is bound to be doomed. Accordingly, respect to women has been the most important feature of Indian life and tradition. And they have very well deserved it all through. As Lokamanya Tilak used to say, the credit for preserving the **Dharma** in India must go largely to her womanhood.

It is obvious that an exposition of the female body, be it in any form or shape, violates the sanctity of the **Grahashta-Ashrama** and produces questionable impressions on the mind of the youth. This naturally tends to make them feel that a woman is essentially an object of possession and lust. It blows out the sacred idea of motherhood and the respect which is its due. Also it wrongly encourages the animal passion and has an unhealthy effect on their mind. Should this practice of exposure of our women go unchecked, where it would lead to can be easily imagined. As Vinobaji says :

"The very foundations of the **Grahashta-Ashrama** are being sapped these days. Chastity has been its basis. The husband-wife relationship is held as pure and sacred. We have introduced this relationship even in our idea of Godhead. That is why we worship 'Sita-Rama' and 'Radha-Krishna'. Thus the **Grahashta-Ashrama** commanded supreme respect. But this is being violated today. I cannot bear it. In these posters, mothers and wives are depicted in such an awful manner as makes our women pass the streets with downcast eyes. They should not tolerate it".

This is the basis of Vinobaji's plea for the removal of indecent posters. It can be said to have a three-fold purposes :

- (i) Restoring the respect due to our womanhood ;
- (ii) Upholding the prestige of the **Grahashta-Ashrama** ;
- (iii) Building the character of the youth.

There can hardly be any sensible man or woman, with the love of the people and the country at heart, who will deny the importance of this drive against indecent posters. Even the actress, depicted in the poster burnt at Indore, observed that she disliked the display of such posters. She added that she had never given that pose which was pictured therein. Also she regretted the way in which the cinema directors carried on publicity and displayed women artists.

Let us now take some objections raised against this campaign. They are : it is a denial of personal freedom, it detracts one's

attention from the important problems before the country, and it encourages puritanism.

As regards personal freedom, it must be noticed that Vinobaji has not voiced his protest against films as such, but only against those indecent posters which are displayed in the open. An individual is entirely free to have any pictures in his home or room or visit any theatre depicting any sort of scene. He pays for it and he has it. But indecent posters on street-walls and crossings offend the eye of the passer-by and go against all values what have been cherished for ages past. In fact, their display amounts to interfering with his normal life.

The second point has as little weight. Vinobaji's drive is bound to lead to formation of healthy habits, development of sound tendencies and growth of happy relationship between man and woman. It will thus strengthen one's will-power and capacity to act according to one's decision. Rather than detracting one's attention from any problem, the movement seeks to furnish the entire community with the required character and dynamism to face somewhat may.

The last one has also no bottom to it. Exposure of womenfolk is taken to be a fashion. But it is, as we have seen, very harmful and dangerous. A bid to stop this exposure only stresses the necessity of holding some values permanently in view. It is a plea for observing and maintaining a code of normal behaviour which will keep our moral sanctions intact. It will lead to the generation of wholesome trends which would facilitate our development according to our genius and thus accomplish our mission in life.

From the above, it is clear that the drive against indecent posters is a very timely, essential and valuable move. It is in the interest of one and all. Its fulfilment will help the building up of our youth and the nation from within. Let us all contribute our mite to make it a success. Vinobaji has given the call :

"Open your eyes. Clouds of crisis are hovering in the sky. The nation requires the brave for its defence. And we would have to cultivate habits accordingly I hope you shall not rest content until all indecent posters are removed"

THE ANDAMANS

The Sister Tenants of the Middle Deep

By KALI CHARAN GHOSH

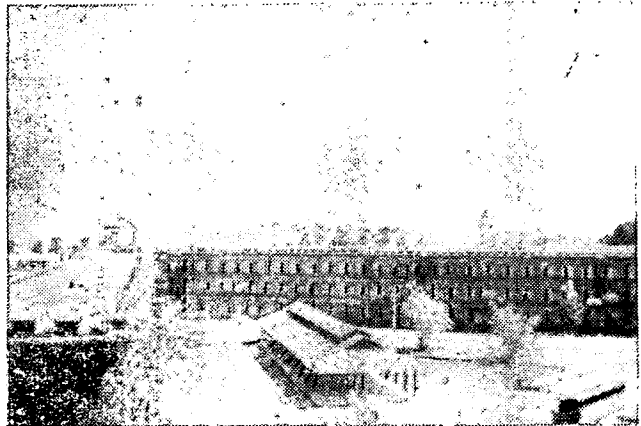
THE Subhas Dwip was first put to use in 1789 for the life convicts to settle and survive if luck would permit. But malaria did not exclude the white-skinned men and their myrmidons from its virulent attack and the settlement was abandoned for all practical purposes in 1796. The next fifty-six years were blank so far as the development of the colony was concerned. But the necessity arose during the Second Burmese War in 1852 for making it a naval base for the purpose of attack on the Burmese mainland. With the cessation of hostilities the problem of malaria again loomed large in the view and the Britishers had to leave the islands for the time being.

The next phase starts with the First War for Indian Independence, miscalled 'Mutiny,' when hundreds of non-too-peaceful prisoners had to be accommodated in conditions that could make physical and psychological submission possible without any very great trouble. At least this was the argument and the Andamans appeared with added importance. From that time onward serious efforts had had to be made to rob some of the rigours of the death trap, and all possible steps were undertaken to tackle malaria in all seriousness. While putting up a stiff fight nature gradually yielded to a degree.

It is one of the biggest jails comprising seven wings, four with fifty cells in a row and three with thirty-five and three storeys in each of the seven wings. The blocks radiate from the central watch tower which looks over each of the block and any attempt at escape from any of the wings would be at once detected by the vigilant eye of a single watchman. There had been no story of escape from the prison, mainly because it was impossible to leave the island of exile without the knowledge and consent of the authorities concerned. At the earlier stage a few of the political prisoners were allowed to work

outside the jail precincts and even to stay at night or for days together in shelters raised for the purpose but none was ever found missing.

After a lapse of nearly half a century, i.e., from 1857-58 to 1908, the business of developing the penal settlement earnestly began. There were breaks from time to time in depositing fresh batches of political prisoners in the dungeon, but the muster roll of the jail was never free from the name of a political convict. It is known that new-comers of 1908 had the good luck or misfortune of meeting a few of the previous century still languishing within the confines of their abominable monotonous



Andaman Cellular Jail—Outer View

Photo : Kanailal Pal

surroundings. Veer Savarkar while in the prison of the Andamans met an old man who was one of the surviving convicts of the Indian Mutiny. "This man sent me a message of congratulation" writes Shri Savarkar, "for my incarceration in this prison for an attempt to overthrow the Raj similar to the one they had planned in their days."

A fraction of the story of torture in the Cellular Jail could not reach the mainland because of perfect sealing of the chances of leakage. What reached the Government at high levels was seldom available to the highest of the Indian officers. But there came a time when

heart-rending inhuman stories of torture and violent deaths at the hands of the jail authorities surcharged the atmosphere and wafted by the wind touched the shores of the mainland and a persistent clamour went forth for more and more news of the prisoners over there.



Corridor—Cellular Jail
Photo : Bhaumen Basu

The Government had most unwillingly had to yield and in 1919 the Indian Jails Committee (Carew Committee) were appointed to enquire into the administration of Indian Jails, including the Cellular, in the Andamans. The Committee recognised that political prisoners or even ordinary prisoners in Indian Jails cannot for the sake of humanity, if for nothing else, be lodged in a place like the Andamans and subjected to the conditions of prison life there. The majority in the Committee, though not recommending that the Andamans should be altogether abandoned as a penal settlement, considered that it should be retained only for criminals, especially dangerous. The word was qualified by referring to "the frontier fanatic who has been guilty of murderous outrage for which, instead of being hanged, he has been sentenced to imprisonment for life", and "the large number of really desperate dacoits who are a source of danger to the security of life and property in the localities to which they belong."

The Minority Report recommended that the "the Andamans should be abolished as a place for transportation of prisoners in general." The ground stated was that "there was, in the Andamans, no such educated healthy public opinion as would afford a wholesome check on

the prison administration." The minority laid special stress on the unhealthiness of the place.

As a result of the recommendations of the Jails Committee a Bill: *Abolition of Transportation Bill* was introduced in the Legislative Assembly on April 22, 1922, with the object not "to abolish the punishment of transportation", but to "abandon the Andamans as a penal settlement." Forthwith some Presidencies began to take back their prisoners from the Andamans and particularly the political prisoners as a class were brought back to India.

The Chittagong Armoury Raid and other incidents of violent nature in various parts of India in 1930 made Sir Samuel Hoare forget the past promises, a solemn resolution of the Legislative Assembly, and to announce in the House of Commons, in July 1932, that "transfer to the Andamans had been approved of a hundred convicted terrorists," and on August 15, 1932, the first batch of twenty-five prisoners in bar-fetters and handcuffs were seen boarding with clanging noise of iron, the notorious 'Maharaja' in the Calcutta jetties bound for the Andamans.

But by this time public opinion had become stronger and more insistent than before and on November 13, 1933, Sir Samuel Hoare had to make a statement in the House of Commons that "the Settlement had been gradually transformed into a free colony and transportation was now normally on a voluntary basis." As a penal settlement Andamans ceased to exist from 1945. Thus ended an inglorious chapter of prison arrangement which had never enjoyed the support of any public man worth the name.

The price that was paid in human lives over and above the miseries that the prisoners had to undergo was not inconsiderable. There is no record available of the common convicts losing their lives from torture or by capital punishment and even for those who suffered for their crime of patriotism, the account, so far collected, seems to me to be absolutely undependable. From the search of contemporary records and publications more often than not, a name or two trickle out which had not been known before.

So far as could be ascertained the first victim of the present century was a young boy named Indu Bhusan Ray convicted in the

Alipore Bomb Case with Barindra Kumar Ghose, Upendra Nath Banerjee, Ullaskar Dutta and others in 1908. He belonged to village Sripfaltala, Khulna, and was arrested on May 2, 1908 from No. 32, Muraripukur Road. He was sentenced to ten years' transportation and was one amongst the first batch to reach Subhas Dwip.

In the jail he was forced to work on the 'kolu'—the heavy oil-exPELLER, and he usually became very tired before he could finish his quota for the day. Subsequently, Indu was sent to work outside the jail, a work which was found to be more arduous and humiliating than the labour inside. Indu became sick both in body and spirit and came back to the jail of his own accord. Forthwith "chains were put on his arms and hands, as Veer Savarkar says, "and he was marched on to his old residence; but he refused to go back to work in the settlement." After a grim struggle between a helpless youngman and death in all its hideousness, poor Indu preferred the latter and he hanged himself with the torn shreds of his jail costume turned into an improvised rope. "The youngmen must have found life too burdensome for the loss of his self-respect, to bear and to endure" according to Savarkar.

Then came the heroes of the Punjab in the thirties of the present century. They did not come in singles or twos but in dozens and scores and the Cellular Jail became the centre of tough fight between two forces, one of enormous might and another of limitless self-respect, patience and fortitude. One by one some flowers began to wither and drop down to the ground which they hallowed with their flesh and bones. Their spirit or soul fled back to India to take birth and continue the fight for freedom. Ram Rakha or Ram Raksha resorted to hunger strike for removal of his sacred thread which was not restored and he died. Nanda Singh followed suit because he must not submit to humiliating work. Bhan Singh fought a skirmish with the tindal and a petty officer and could not be brought into submission. Barrie, savagery incarnate, came with a posse of armed men and thrashed the prisoner to such an extent that he could not recover from its effect and died shortly afterwards. The others of the noble band were Jwala Singh, Roda Singh, Rulia Singh, Natha Singh and Kehar Singh. Amar Singh and

Budda Singh, two of the Burma Conspiracy Case, were the other victims.

The break up of the Cellular Jail was hastened by the deaths of three more prisoners who demanded redress, along with many others, of certain grievances that had become simply inhuman to bear. As a result of mishandling in the process of force-feeding, Mahavir had to give up his life on May 17, Mankrishna Namadas on May 26, and Mohit Kumar Maitra on May 28, all in the year 1933. Even the conscience of those who had never given any evidence of possessing any, revolted against themselves and the decision was taken, as has been previously stated, to make an end of it.

It is quite likely that the economic possibility of the Andamans and the Nicobars has not yet been fully explored. Most attention has been bestowed on the economic resources of the region in terms of timber. The question of agriculture and plantations, except the cocoanuts and all that relate to cocoanuts, has come rather late and there is much left to be done.

From time to time the Government of India wakes up to the possibility of other sources of income but never on their own initiative and it seems that they are not influenced by what can be done by the Japanese or even by the Chinese. In 1930, the Government instead of undertaking themselves the task of encouraging the Indians in pearl fishing, contemplated imposing a tax on a thriving industry founded in the Andaman Islands by the Japanese and which had long passed unnoticed by the authorities. In the shallow waters round the islands are beds of a mollusc called *Trochus Turbo*, a fruitful source of pearls. Prior to 1930, for several years, enterprising Japanese had scoured the area in light vessels from Singapore, harvested the molluscs and returned with their boats full of shells which were capable of making very attractive mother-of-pearl ornaments and other articles of beauty sold at fancy prices. The intruders were scared or prevented from carrying on their business by imposition or threat of imposition of new taxes and the venture fell through without being taken up by the Indians. The possibilities are there; the vista has been opened but there is scarcely any one to follow the line. Moreover, a comparative lack of knowledge in this line has been something like a hurdle to the Indians.

The coral reefs extending over several miles

from the coast have not been fully utilised and it is quite possible to make a more profitable use of the coral beds than at present, provided special research is conducted seriously by all those who mean business. It cannot give big dividends but if it is accepted that some sort of medium or small industries should be there, then here is one such.

In December last (1960), one out of the many excursionists in the Indian waters round the Andamans was a group of Chinese found engaged what looked like fishing in two trawlers of a peculiar type very suitable for long cruising. When intercepted, rather a very rare occasion for the Indian watchers in those areas, they disclosed that the coasts of the islands extending to a few miles into the sea are very rich in fish population and their labours have been paid in very big catches from time to time. Whether these men were really catching fishes, the denizens of the seas, or diplomatic tit-bits, it is rather difficult for lay men to say. But it is clear from what subsequently happened that they were out to 'fish in troubled waters' inasmuch as their vessels were confiscated by the Government of India and the crew sent to prison for a short period. Perhaps a formal protest has also been sent to our Chini-bhai for their act of doubtful intent.

For many years past the islands have been surveyed for geological wealth and half-hearted and halting work of prospecting has been carried on according to the whims and caprices of the powers that be. Recent exploration for oil has revealed "interesting prospects" and some zest has been put into the minds of the workers engaged for the purpose. It is surmised that the efforts are likely to meet with an amount of success because the survey party have been able to strike some structures which call for more intensive and intelligent follow up work. After the preliminaries have been gone through it was proposed to extend the operations for exploration of oil. It is expected that the regional mapping that has been hitherto done would be very helpful in suggesting the location of minerals other than oil. Moreover, the year 1959-60 discloses a systematic work which might prove to be of tangible benefit.

Special attention is now being paid towards plantation connected with rubber, which has evoked high expectations. Only recently about 10,000 acres in Katchal Islands of the central Nicobar

group and about 3,500 acres in Rutland Island of the Andaman group have been found suitable for rubber cultivation. Usually such exploratory operations are allowed to be wasted for the very simple reason that the succeeding steps are seldom undertaken. Any way, it is desirable that prompt steps are taken to implement the recommendations of the committee entrusted with the work of explorations of the possibilities of extending rubber and other plantations in the several islands.

The possibility of improving the yield of the present agricultural products is quite bright. There is plenty of suitable land and the paucity of labour will diminish with the influx of a larger number of men drawn from outside. It has never been suggested anywhere that there is no further scope for rehabilitation of refugees in the Great Andamans. Moreover, there are a large number of other islands which might absorb a good number of willing immigrants. All that grow, some of which have been mentioned already, if properly developed are likely to enjoy an export market like that of copra and cocoanut products. The chances of pineapple, carried but extensively, as a plantation seem to be brighter than other vegetable products and they should be brought to the standard of Hawaii, Brazil, Mexico, Cuba, Philippines, that have to depend a lot on pineapple plantations.

Reclamation of land is going on at a rapid pace and it is likely that destruction of trees will be quicker than before. Afforestation should be taken up simultaneously; otherwise the Andamans will lose most of its beauty and suffer a good deal in its economy. The thought of growing more bamboo suggests itself to one's mind irresistibly. It grows luxuriantly in some islands and experiments have better conducted in the neighbouring ones which so far have shown no hostility to the 'big grass'.

There is not much scope for very many industries, large or small, to grow but that does not mean that efforts should relax.

The one foreboding that haunts a casual traveller to the Andamans is the future of the Adivasis, the indigenous people who have withstood the onslaughts of time for how many centuries one does not know. Their population is on the decline. They have not yet established, with the exception of a very few, many contacts with the 'invaders' to their lands. The touch of civilisation has accelerated their rate of decay and

the only conclusion that points its finger to the future is their complete extinction, a future that is not distanced by any long period. That would be an evil day for India, an independent State on the face of the earth, which allows certain of its races to disappear. Let us hope that some miracle would happen that might help preserve these people in their pristine way of life ensuring them more health, a greater longevity and a normal growth of population.

The modern amenities of electricity, abundant water supply, wide, clean lighted roads, public transport, sea-side resort, cultural associations, cosmopolitan character of inhabitants, coming from all parts of India,—a fusion of traits of many creeds and races,—freedom from religious bickerings and breaking of heads, comparative absence of petty thefts and highway gangsterism, plenty of work, cheap medical aid, bank, schools, parks and playgrounds, strands and 'drives' on the beach combined with the nature's most prolific and elegant form, make Subhas Dvip a pleasant retiring place for the careworn travellers of the modern cities. 'Far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife' the 'sister tenants of the middle deep' provide a resort for ennobling thoughts about the greatness of nature as a balm to shattered nerves and a haven for distracted mind.

But the gateway is closely guarded by the Chief Commissioner (I don't ofcourse talk of Shri Bholanath Maheswari or Shri Rajawade personally) who, without there being any cause of emergency, controls the ingress of visitors from a distance of 740 or 780 miles away from the mainland. The Steamship Company is quite helpless to the citizens of a free India to provide them with a passage unless there is 'permission' from the Arbiter of the Island Region. Without assigning any reason whatsoever the Lord of a small State within the State (of India) can cancel any favour previously granted by him and the most careful arrangements for journey are set at nought when the time for purchasing a ticket has drawn near, a maximum of three days before the vessel is scheduled to start. Perhaps it simply may be due to repugnance to his administrative convenience.

Is it not possible to authorise the shipping concern, provided the formalities of quarantine have been gone through, to issue tickets according to the available accommodation in a particular trip? Please do not put obstacles in the way of those who somehow manage to undertake the pilgrimage to the Holy land sanctified by the blood of the martyrs and honoured by the first planting of the National Flag of Independent India on its soil.

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THE FIRST MECHANISED IRON MINE OF INDIA BUILT WITH SOVIET ASSISTANCE

By TARUN CHATTERJEE

Elaborating the foreign policy of a future Socialist Russia, Lenin said in 1916, that the socialist state would render disinterested assistance to the peoples of the colonial East. "We consider it our duty and our interest", he wrote, "to do this". This behest of Lenin has found concrete shape in hundreds of key industrial undertakings built with Soviet credit and technical assistance in India, Indonesia, Burma, Afghanistan, Egypt and other colonial countries which have won their political freedom recently.

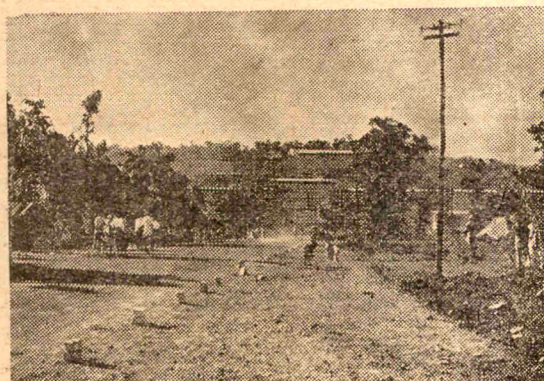
In India after the erection of the Bhilai metallurgical plant, the first offspring of Indo-Soviet co-operation, a new red-letter

day has been marked on October 31, this year raising Lenin's behest to a new height of success.

On this day, in the emerald green lap of the Rajhara ranges of Madhya Pradesh, the first mechanised iron-ore mine of India throbbed into life. It is the first of its kind in India, the biggest of its kind in the biggest continent of the awakened East. And it will have the fortune to feed its elder, the Bhilai plant, also the best steel plant in India, erected with the assistance of our Soviet brothers. On the same day Bhilai was officially linked with its fountain-head of ore by a newly laid railway.

Naturally inquisitive as every journalist

is, who feels happy with every step of his motherland towards progress, I craved to be on the spot to see the inauguration of the mine. I approached Mr. Lobotsky the Soviet assistant chief engineer for transport. His response was warm. He arranged for my journey with a Russian engineer in his jeep. We were to start before sunrise.



General view of the Rajhara Mine.
Photo : T. Chatterjee

Dawn broke in on the silvery gray ribbon of our motor highway, embedded in an undulated brown land, interspersed with narrow strips of green fields, toppling with ripe paddy stocks merrily waving in the cool morning breeze. Though according to calender it was the eve of winter, the sky was ablaze in crimson and purple hues. Our jeep cut through narrow strips of heel-deep waters bubbling over small boulders. Hill-streams they were. The distant hills loomed into view.

This was the region of the Rajhara hills, the 'stone-box' of Madhya Pradesh so to say, a magic stone-box in which were hidden till yesterday, the untold riches untapped as long as we were under the heels of the "Empire on which the sun never set!" Today the sun is not so kind to the Empire. The dusk of the British Empire is now transforming itself into the dawn of freedom over the ancient orient, awakening her from her age-long slumber, galvanising the East wind to prevail over the West wind. I greeted the smiling sun.

The green hills were now clearly visible. From the very thick of the green thicket, mushroomed corrugated sheds and conveyors. The past rubbing shoulders with the future, one might say. This area, previously devoid of habitation, is now humming with activity.

I felt I should leave the car and climb the hill on foot. A low-lander that I am, any hill even a 2,000 feet elevation as the Rajhara is, burdens me with emotion. I perspired up and up, stood still, and looked around the wild play of nature. Every 100 feet compensated for the lack of variety we are faced in our day to day life in the flat plains.

A small brown valley just at the neck of the hill, cleared of the trees and bushes. Here was the mine-head linked with the plain below by the serpentine diesel electric steel track.

An open space gaily festooned. Villagers, tribal people with local colourful dress, smiling women with flower ear-rings and wild flowers on their jet-black hair, sophisticated personalities with European dress, the Indians and the Russians, all mixed and mingled into an eagerly awaiting crowd.

A siren resounded over the hills, a dynamite blast rid the sky asunder. The salvo greeted the Railway Minister of India, Shree Jagjiban Ram, when he alighted from the Soviet diesel-locomotive which blew the siren. The minister was accompanied by the Soviet Chief Engineer of the Bhilai Steel Project, Mr. Goldin, the General Manager, Mr. N. C. Shreevastava and other leading personalities of the project. With a "Namaste" to everybody they went up the improvised rostrum overlooking a clay model of the mine. The General Manager, Mr. Shreevastava, taking the floor gave the audience a broad outline of the highly mechanised mine built with unconditional Soviet assistance and its immense significance for the second birth of India's iron-history. Second birth no doubt, because our country before the British conquest had a glorious metallurgical history. Sir Thomas Holland, Chairman of the Indian Industrial

Commission (1908) wrote in his report titled "The mineral resources of India":

"The high quality of native made iron ore, the early anticipation of the processes now employed in Europe for the manufacture of high-class steel,.....gave India at one time a prominent position in the metallurgical world".

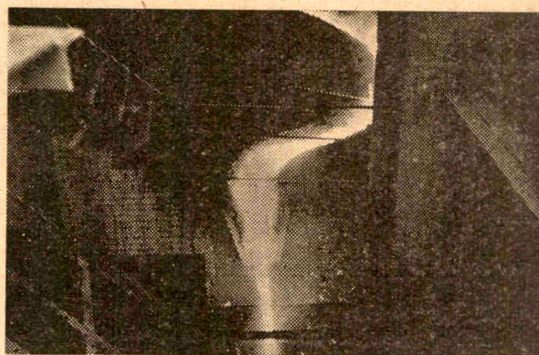
The admission is from the mouth of a British spokesman. What about our mineral wealth? US spokesmen try to convince the world that US 'aid' to India is greatly helping us towards economic progress. But why then the USA has so far meticulously refrained from rendering any help to us in building our industrial foundation? Do we lack in mineral wealth? The answer to this question was provided by her own "Technical Mission" which visited India in 1942. Page 24 of the Mission's Report has this to say:

"The reserves of iron ore in India are probably the largest in the world and are superior in quality to those of any other country.....There are important deposits in the Rajhara hills, estimated to contain 2.5 million tons of ore with 65.5% iron content."

The estimate is of course grossly wrong because below the surface of the 4 mile-long Rajhara hills lie stored 114 million tons of iron ore. Anyway in spite of the prospecting of the Rajhara ore and the MP coal mines (according to the estimate of the US Mission these mines have 17 billion tons of coal reserve) no offer of technical help came from the USA, after India's liberation, to tap these resources for erecting a national metallurgical industry. Our erstwhile rulers too kept the report of the US Mission strictly secret because their motive was to turn our country into the largest agricultural farm of England. Confessing this vile aim L.C.A. Knowles, an expert in empire economics wrote in 1924 in his book "Economic development of the overseas empire":

"The importance of India to Englandlies in the fact that India supplied some of the essential raw materials....and at the same time afforded a growing market for English manufactures of iron....".

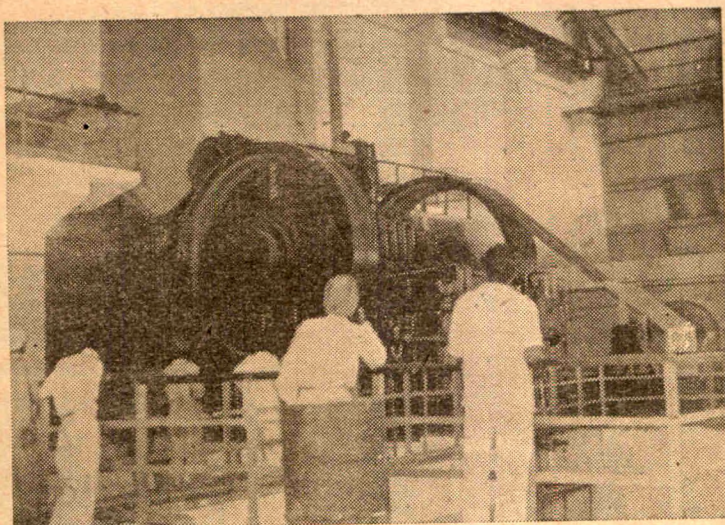
Such has been the Anglo-American policy towards India before our independence and after. No technical assistance came from them until the USSR offered such assistance to us under generous terms and without any strings. Then and then only the imperialists smelt danger and very reluctantly agreed to some concessions and assistance in the industrialisation of our country.



Iron ore extracted from the mechanised mine being smelted in a blast furnace of Bhilai

Photo : T. Chatterjee

The Soviet aid to our industrialisation takes into account all sides of the problem including training locally technical cadres. A modern mechanised and automated metallurgical plant cannot achieve full productivity if the method of extraction of ore and other raw materials are not modernised. So in the project of the Bhilai plant was incorporated plans for mechanising the ore mine at Rajhara and the lime-stone mine at Nandini. The remaining supply base, that is the coal mines of Korba and other places will also be mechanised when another huge plant will take its shape in Durgapur for manufacturing coal-mining equipment. The construction of this new joint Indo-Soviet enterprise has already started simultaneously with another heavy machinery plant at Ranchi in which three countries are taking part: India, the USSR and Czechoslovakia. No parallel can be found of such an all-embracing unreserved friendly assistance either in the British project at Durgapur or the West German one at Rourkella.



The Mechanised ore crusher
Photo : T. Chatterjee

Let us come back to Rajhara. The quarries here are open cut, where till yesterday, float ore was being raised by manual labour. It was an arduous task. The supply of ore fell short of the demand of even the two blast furnaces now operating in Bhilai. What would happen when the third blast furnace starts operation? Without mechanisation of mine labour, the production targets of the Bhilai plant, which are one million tons of steel and 300,000 tons of pig iron cannot be fulfilled, let alone the target of 2.5 million tons of steel per annum envisaged after the expansion of the plant by two more blast furnaces with higher capacity. For 3 blast furnaces working full capacity, 2.5 million tons of iron ore is required every year. For 5 furnaces the demand would be 5 million tons. The mechanised mine as it is now will supply to Bhilai 7,000 tons of ore daily, i.e., about 25 million tons a year, sufficient for the plant without extension. In future the mine too will have to be expanded to raise the annual production to 5 million tons. In that case with the annual consumption of 5 million tons of ore the Raihara deposits will last a little less than 23 years.

On the basis of a blue print, designed two years ago at the Mining Designing Bureau of the Bhilai plant itself, by the Indian and Soviet designers, the USSR supply 2,700 tons

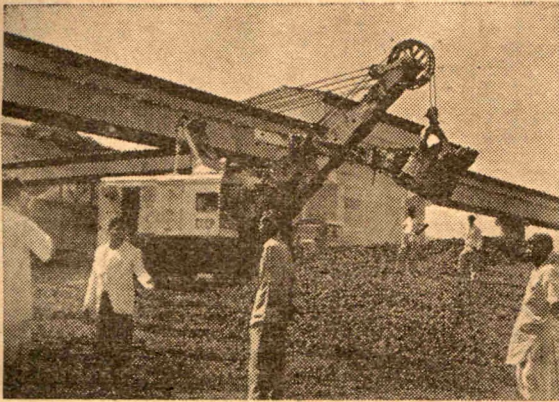
of machinery for erecting the mine. Mr. Shreevastava said that the machinery included power-shovels, a primary and a secondary crusher for the power-crushing plant and the screening plant. A 60-mile long high-voltage transmission line feeds power to the mine from the power station at Korba. The General Manager informed us that the mechanisation of the mine would cost 9 crores.

With a proud voice Mr. Shreevastava said that so far 1,400,000 tons of ore was delivered to Bhilai by manual labour, the total value of which is Rs. 48 lakhs. In the same period the railways earned from the Bhilai project as freight charges, for incoming ore and outgoing finished products, 6 crores of Rupees.

Mr. Shreevastava was also very glad to speak about the prospects of new employments and improved standards of living of the workers promised by the Bhilai project of which the Raihara and Nandini mines are but parts and parcels. About a thousand local persons found employment in the construction of the mine and the mine will offer direct employment to 2,000 persons and more indirect employment in the ancillary industries.

The General Manager specially commended the unstinted hard labour invested by the Soviet engineers and technical personnel in the construction and exploitation of the mine. He expressed his profound satisfaction with the cent per cent understanding which the Soviet and the Indian engineers and workers evinced during all stages of this difficult task. The same sentiment was expressed by Mr. Goldin, the chief engineer.

With the coming into being of these shrines of Indo-Soviet friendship in India, the railways too have changed their character. The railways laid in India by the English millocracy "with the exclusive view of extracting at diminished expenses raw materials for their manufactures" ("Future results of British rule in India"—



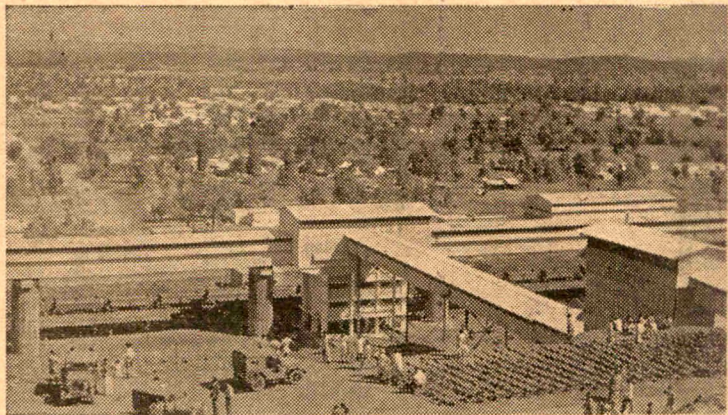
A Soviet mechanised shovel loading crushed ore on the Railway wagons

Photo : T. Chatterjee

K. Marx) are as envisaged by Marx, now playing a new role in the new advance of the Indian people after their political liberation from imperialist rule. And the new Rajhara-Bhilai Steel track has taken a lead in this respect by inscribing a glorious page in the steel-history of new India. We, as minister Mr. Jagjiban Ram stated at the inauguration ceremony of the mechanised mine, suffer from shortage of railway lines and sleepers in these vital links in our communication chain. Steel, more steel for this age of steel, for this age of machines, such is the demand of time, he said. Yes, Rajhara accepts the challenge and supply the rail and structural mill of Bhilai, inaugurated by Prime Minister Nehru, with ore for manufacturing for the Indian railways per annum 110000 tons of tracks and 90000 tons of sleepers. Such is the logic of events.

Time to depart. Looking backward from the jeep, the whole hilly panorama looked like a painter's canvas. The installation of the mechanised mine on the slope of the Rajhara, the expanse of the industrial township at its feet with hundreds of neat cottages equipped with all modern facilities, with a new 30-bed hospital and with a man-made lake, has changed the landscape beyond recognition. And the people have awakened for ever from their age-long rural lethargy and, stepped into the dawn of a rejuvenated industrial and disciplined India dreamed by Prime Minister Nehru who stressed in an article in the "Industrial India Annual" that without industrialisation, "we shall remain dependent on others."

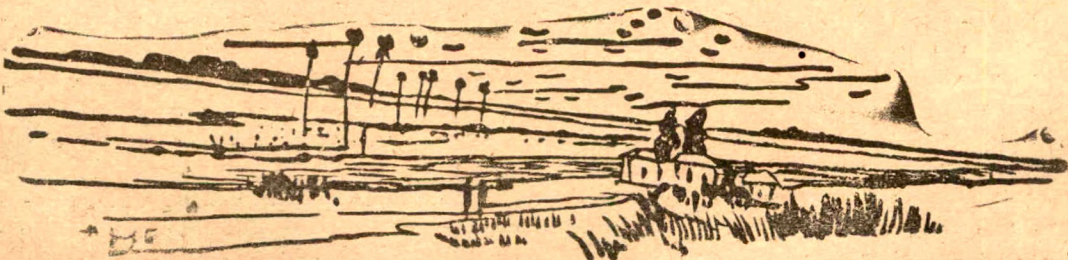
Had Tagore been alive today the



The Conveyors overlooking at township

Photo : T. Chatterjee.

"despair" which Rabindranath expressed in his essay "India as it is and as it might be" by seeing "the chronic want of food and water....the all-pervading spirit of depression....in our villages" would undoubtedly have melted away at this confluence of Indo-Soviet Friendship.



THE CONGO STORY

10. Towards A Settlement

By CHANAKYA SEN

The impending reconvening of the 15th session of the United Nations Assembly had lent a climate of urgency to the Security Council's meeting in February at which the Council, for the first time, gave a mandate to the Secretary-General to use force in the Congo to prevent civil war. That resolution, as noted, was adopted on February 21, and the U.N. Assembly session was to begin in the third week of March. Members of the Security Council knew that the murder of Lumumba had shocked Afro-Asian peoples and that there would be serious repercussions at the U.N. session if no determined effort was made to arrest the rot in the Congo.

The difficulties of implementing the resolution were many. The **New York Times** quoted an American correspondent in the Congo on March 12 as saying, "Far from applying its new mandate the U.N. force is having trouble holding on to its old one."

The first difficulty was the bitter opposition of the Congolese factions which interpreted the Council's resolution as an authorization to disarm them. The second major difficulty was the lack of complete agreement among U. N. members themselves as to how the new mandate was to be applied.

Mr. Hammarskjöld was reluctant to use force and the Congolese factions were ready to take the fullest advantage of this reluctance.

In the two or three weeks following the adoption of the Security Council resolution, the U. N. Command entered into protracted negotiations with Kasavubu for reoccupation of the vital river port of Matadi. As if to test the U. N. Command on its ability and will to implement the resolution, Mobutu's troops had suddenly swooped down upon Sudanese soldiers of the U. N. Command, disarmed them and driven them out of the port. During the negotiations Kasavubu raised a series of drastic conditions for

allowing U. N. troops to re-enter Matadi. One of these was that the Congolese Army be given a say in the occupation of all strategic points in the Congo and that all U. N. troop movements be subject to Congolese control.

Mr. Rajeshwar Dayal rejected these demands and advised the U. N. Command to use force to reoccupy Matadi. This suggestion, however, did not find favour in New York and Mr. Dayal was recalled to U. N. headquarters for consultations.

As the U. N. Assembly was re-assembling in New York to take up the unfinished work of the 15th session, pro-Western leaders of the Congo gathered at Tananarive, in the Republic of Malagasy, to evolve their own solution of the Congo problem. Among those who attended the meeting, Tshombe of Katanga was the most towering personality. With Lumumba dead, he was supreme not only in Katanga but in the whole country. Tshombe conferred with Kasavubu, Kalonji and other leaders and a series of resolutions were adopted as a result of their talks.

As briefly noted, these resolutions warned the United Nations of the grim consequences of implementing the Security Council resolution of February 21, and strongly protested against the arrival of Indian troops in the Congo to serve under the U. N. Command.

The leaders resolved that Congo should be a Confederation of semi-independent States, with a loose Centre looking after a limited number of subjects. Neither the composition of the Confederation, nor the powers of the Centre, nor the number and demarcation of constituent States could be agreed upon; these were left for future discussion.

A triumphant Tshombe returned to Elisabethville, exuding an air of complete self-confidence. His only difficulty was

that his authority did not extend beyond the province of Katanga, but Tshombe declared, "If they (other Congolese leaders) hold four-fifths of Congo, I hold four-fifths of the Congo's revenue." Tshombe stepped up reorganization of his armed forces under Belgian officers and invited a fresh quota of Belgian "advisers".

The U. N. session witnessed a repetition of the acrimony and passion that had come to be associated with the Congo issue. The only leader of some stature to address the session was President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana. In fact, Dr. Nkrumah delayed his departure for London to attend the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' conference in order to be able to speak before the U.N. Assembly. In his speech he proposed reorganization of the U. N. Command in the Congo into a "primarily African" force to carry out reorganization of the Congolese troops and establish conditions for reconvening Parliament to provide a unified Government. After his speech the Ghana President conferred with President Kennedy in Washington. The U.S. Government noted the modified tenor of Nkrumah's proposal: He had modified to "primarily African" his earlier demand for an all-African U.N. Command in the Congo. But, in any case, this proposal had no chance of being accepted.

The resolutions which were finally adopted by the General Assembly on the Congo made a settlement of the problem more, and not less, difficult. All attempts to provide a time-limit for foreign military withdrawal or for convening Parliament were defeated. The resolution which was adopted once again called for the withdrawal of Belgian troops and other personnel, but a clause providing for "necessary action", should the withdrawal not take place before a proposed deadline, failed to get a two-thirds majority. The resolution amounted to a vote of confidence in Mr. Hammarskjöld as it specifically stated that its provisions were to be implemented "by the Secretary-General". This portion of the resolution got eighty-three votes. Only the Communist bloc countries opposed. There were five abstentions.

In all, however, three resolutions were

adopted: The first was an amended Afro-Asian resolution calling for complete Belgian withdrawal and asking all States "to exert their influence and extend their co-operation" to bring this about. Belgian "non-compliance" with previous withdrawal demands by the Assembly and the Security Council was "regretted." The second resolution, again an Afro-Asian one, asked the Congolese authorities to resolve their differences by peaceful means, and set up a seven-nation Commission of conciliation to assist them towards this end. The members of the new Commission were to be designated by the Assembly President, Frederick Boland, of Ireland. The resolution also asked the Secretary-General to take effective measures to prevent the re-introduction of military equipment into Congo, and called for the immediate release of political prisoners, the prompt convening of Parliament under U.N. guarantees of safe conduct and security for Members. The third was a four-power resolution setting up a commission to conduct an impartial investigation of the deaths of Lumumba and his two colleagues. This, too, was an Afro-Asian move. The members of the Commission were to be selected from Togo, Ethiopia, Burma and Mexico.

The need to adopt the second resolution arose because of differences between African countries themselves over the recommendations of the Conciliation Commission which had visited the Congo earlier. Several countries had resigned from this body and its members were not allowed to meet Mr. Lumumba while he was still in prison. The Commission was headed by a Nigerian and its recommendations were not unanimous. The majority of the remaining members, however, had felt that the Congo could survive only as a federation or confederation and that the Central Government headed by Kasavubu and Ileo provided a working nucleus which could be developed as a basis for the future constitutional structure. This recommendation was repudiated by the Casablanca group of African powers.

The Congo had held the world stage for too long a period—nine months. In a world constantly caught in political ex-

plosions, this was too long a time to give to a single problem. By April, therefore, the dynamics of the cold war pushed the Congo out of the world's gaze. Other problems intervened. The United States and the Soviet Union, or rather China, stood at the brink of a conflict over Laos, and there was a hectic attempt by countries like Great Britain and India to exalt the Laos problem to an international issue to be settled by negotiations. In Cuba, the United States was involved in one of the worst fiascos in its history, a fiasco which shocked and bewildered millions of Americans and gave American prestige in the world a severe blow. An Army insurrection in Algeria threatened the existence of the Fifth Republic for a couple of days. The cumulative results of these new explosions was to push the Congo problem to the background.

The United States Government had now come to the conclusion that a settlement of the Congo problem had to be worked out rather quickly. Conditions were somewhat favourable. The African States stood divided between the pro-Western group led by Nigeria and Tunisia and the rigidly anti-colonial group led by Ghana and the United Arab Republic. International opinion was getting tired of the Congo problem. In the Congo itself, Kasavubu was suddenly prepared to play ball with the United Nations. He as well as Mobutu entered an agreement with the U.N. Command in April the result of which unfolded itself with dramatic suddenness in the course of a couple of weeks.

Towards the end of April a marathon "palavar", the African equivalent of parley, began in Coquilhatville, in Equateur province. On the surface it was a follow-up of the Tananarive conference. Tshombe was among those who attended; it was his first visit to Leopoldville since he had declared Katanga's independence in July, 1960. Kasavubu presided and among others present were Kalonji of Kasai, Mobutu, and a host of other less known political leaders.

The conference went on with the approval of the U.N. Command and on the surface it looked like an apparently end-

less search for solutions ever eluding. Behind the scenes, however, there was an unceasing move towards confrontations. Tshombe, annoyed with Kasavubu's agreement with the U.N. Command, wanted it to be scrapped. He even gave an ultimatum to Kasavubu to renounce the agreement, but Kasavubu not only ignored the ultimatum but agreed to allow U.N. troops to return to Matadi. Tshombe who was now supremely self-confident, walked out of the conference on the afternoon of April 25 and announced that he would stay away until he had satisfaction. He waited full twenty-four hours, but satisfaction was still not forthcoming. On April he and his aides drove to the airport to return to Elisabethville. To their surprise they found the airfield guarded by Mobutu's troops. The soldiers halted Tshombe's car and put him under arrest. They blocked the airport to prevent all the other participants in the conference from leaving until they reached a settlement. Tshombe stayed at the airport for two days and then went back to Coquilhatville but did not take part in the conference. The conference proceeded without him. His arrest and detention had U.N. approval.

Tshombe realized too late that he had overplayed his hand. He was so confident of his supremacy that he had no hesitation to come to the conference which he thought he would easily dominate. He was unaware of the conspiracy that had been worked out behind his back. It was evident that Kasavubu and Mobutu in their action against Tshombe enjoyed the tacit support not only of the U.N. Command but also of the United States. This one show of determination brought Tshombe down in no time. He languished in house-arrest in Leopoldville for about three months. At first his Government in Katanga fretted and fumed. Belgium made a protest. There was a feeble gesture of sympathy for Tshombe in official circles in London. But the United States had now firmly made up its mind that Kasavubu, and not Tshombe, was "our man in Havana". If Tshombe was the main obstacle to an agreement between Congolese

leaders and the U.N. Command, he had to be softened up. It took the U.N. Command nothing more spectacular to soften up Tshombe than to allow him to languish under house arrest for three months. Such were the foundations of the strength of this "strong" man of Katanga.

The months of May and June saw a series of agreements between Kasavubu and his supporters and the U.N. Command. Even more important was the agreement reached in June between a delegation from Stanleyville and the Government of Kasavubu. The Stanleyville regime under Gizenga had kept out of the Coquilhatville conference as it had boycotted the earlier conference of Congolese leaders in Malagasy. The powers concerned had realised that unless there was an agreement between Leopoldville and Stanleyville, there could be no solution to the Congo problem. The Stanleyville regime not only enjoyed the diplomatic recognition of more than a dozen countries of the world, it controlled about more than half of the Congo's territory and had survived all the predictions of Western correspondents that its fall was impending, that its leaders were constantly at loggerheads and its exchequer was empty. The Stanleyville Government was apparently getting supplies of arms and finance from foreign sources.

The agreement which was arrived at between Stanleyville and Leopoldville marked an important chapter in the Congo's troubled history. It was agreed that there should be a coalition Government in the Congo and that Parliament would meet as early as possible to settle the political crisis and to write a new constitution. It would reassemble in the University building eight miles from Leopoldville under full U.N. protection. The maintenance of law and order in the Leopoldville area would be taken over by U.N. troops, while Congolese soldiers would be disarmed during the session of Parliament. The two most important clauses of the agreement declared that the Congo should be rid of foreign interference of any kind and that the Congolese people themselves should work out a solution of their problems.

With Tshombe out of the scene and with

this welcome agreement signed between the two opposing factions, the Congo problem came nearer to a settlement than ever before since independence. It was not a settlement which the more articulate Afro-Asian nations completely favoured, but it was perhaps the best that could be obtained in the circumstances.

Towards the end of June, Tshombe was released and allowed to return to Elisabethville. He had been coerced into an agreement with the Leopoldville authorities and his parting words were sweet reasonableness. But no sooner had he returned to his provincial capital than he went back on the whole understanding and reverted to his old position of recalcitrance. He adopted a policy of stalling. He began to criticize the Leopoldville Government as a weak regime of opportunist people, and, for a while, tried to wean General Mobutu away from President Kasavubu. The General probably found his own position rather shaky, anticipating a challenge to his leadership of the army from General Lundula who had been basking all the time in Stanleyville. Mobutu made a trip to Elisabethville in July and, after his talks with Tshombe, left some of his army officers to negotiate integration of the Katanga armed forces with the Congolese National Army.

Tshombe refused to send the Katanga Deputies to attend the national Parliament's session and asked for a conference of Congolese leaders either in Katanga or outside the Congo to settle all differences. He was obviously aiming at securing acceptance for his own idea of a confederal constitution. For a while he even tried blackmail, threatening to sign an agreement with the Communist countries if the requested volume of help were not forthcoming from the Western powers. Emisaries were sent to Brussels and Paris; an effort was made to secure the moral support of the British Government. All this, however, failed and Tshombe realized that he was becoming, for the first time, seriously isolated from his erstwhile patrons.

Other far greater international problems intervened in July to overshadow

the importance of the Congo, Berlin—the German problem, for example. The Western powers were anxious to restore some kind of normalcy in the Congo; time was proving to be politically costly, and the enormous costs of the U.N. operations in the Congo were proving unmanageable. The bulk of this cost was being borne by the United States and it was obviously a strain on America's economy.

For more than eight weeks Parliament could not begin its session, although some Deputies arrived in Leopoldville and a series of back-stage negotiations started. Then towards the end of July the session began under U.N. protection; the majority of the Katanga Deputies did not attend, although some from Northern Katanga, an area hostile to Tshombe's rule, participated. From Stanleyville came the Lumumbist Deputies and at the beginning of August it was expected that Mr. Gizenga himself would come. It appeared that the Lumumbist Deputies controlled a majority in the Lower House, while in the Senate the political alignment was confused. The first task, as President Kasavubu told the Deputies in his inaugural address, was to set up a Government of national unity. Towards the end of July Ileo resigned as Prime Minister to make way for a new coalition Government. At the time of writing, this Government had not yet been formed, but negotiations were going on briskly and it appeared that either a Lumumbist or a neutral leader, if one could be found, would head the Congo's first national Government after the fall of Patrice Lumumba.

Many of the problems would, however, continue, demanding the utmost ingenuity and resourcefulness for solution. The integration of the various armed factions into a national army may prove to be the toughest problem; there is always the fear of another ambitious military leader trying to spring a second *coup d'état*. While Kasavubu's stature as a national statesman definitely increased during the last few months, much would depend upon his ability to co-operate with Gizenga. A new constitution would have to be written

reconciling the need for a strong Centre and the strong regional pulls in favour of a loose federation. The year-old chaos and confusion left a trail of problems which would take time and a great deal of patient reconstruction to be met. It was important that a base had at long last been discovered on which to build the future constitutional structure of the Congo. But it was only a base and the structure was yet to come.

Even if Parliament succeeds in evolving an agreed constitutional framework its implementation will raise a host of difficulties, of manpower, money and foreign assistance. If the Gizenga group succeeds in dominating the Government or even in influencing it substantially, ideological conflicts may break out between the pro-Western and radical elements in the National Government. It is significant that in describing the followers of the late Mr. Lumumba, Western news agencies use the term 'nationalists'. These 'nationalists' had survived at Stanleyville with a liberal patronage from the Casablanca group of powers as well as the Communist world; when in power, they would certainly import into the Central Government the consequences of this patronage.

The United Nations will have to remain in the Congo for a long time if only to prevent a fresh outbreak of violence. It will be expected to render the harassed republic massive economic and technical assistance.

The first task of the National Government will be to disengage the Congo from the cold war. It will be a difficult and painful process.

The Congo will remain a warning to all African countries and to their present or former colonial masters against what can happen if independence does not rest on sure foundations. It will be a warning mostly to Portugal and to her Western allies.

The consequences of the Congo have been traumatic for Africa and for the world. These consequences will remain for many years. The Congo has divided emergent Africa into two distinguishable camps. It has brought the cold war into

the very heart of Africa. The division of Africa into two ideological camps is a direct outcome of the intrusion of the cold war. There will now be an endless competition between African leaders for continental leadership and this may lead to new conflicts of minds, if not of armies.

The Congo has brought many of the world powers to their first confrontation with the African reality. Neither the Soviet Union nor the United States, nor for that matter, India or the United Arab Republic, had a truly Africa policy before the Congo explosion.

The United States has gone into Africa with a new responsibility. It took the brunt of the Congo problem on its own shoulders. It repeatedly threatened to intervene with arms if there was an intervention by the Soviet Union. It goes to American credit that such a situation has been avoided. The United States has succeeded in bringing order out of the Congo chaos, although this order will take time to mature into stability. America will now be expected to give the Congo most of the economic and technical assistance it needs. What is more important, the United States will have to evolve a more consistent Africa policy. It is already in the making. Without the Congo explosion, the United States would never have denounced Portuguese colonialism in Angola. It was the grim example of the Congo which convinced the American Government that a repetition of this tragedy in Angola would be too costly a task for the "free" world. The Congo crisis also persuaded the American Government to take a more unequivocal stand on South Africa. It led the U.S. to a search of moderate states and statesmen in the African continent, men who were prepared to co-operate with the West even if their general world policy was one of non-alignment. The Congo helped the United States to reappraise its attitude to neutrality. Washington realized that it was important to keep the cold war out of Africa as far as possible and that this could be done only on the basis of African neutrality in the cold war. This neutrality, however, did not mean

non-co-operation with the West; on the other hand, neutrality would have no meaning for the West if it did not provide for co-operation. The United States is now prepared to do business with African neutral countries provided they do not turn too much to the Soviet Union for economic, technical and military help.

Before the Congo crisis, the Soviet Union's Africa policy was confined to a limited measure of economic co-operation with a few of the newly independent countries—Guinea, Morocco, Ethiopia and to a lesser extent, Ghana. The Congo brought the Soviet Union into the vortex of African affairs and gave the Soviet leaders a dramatic opportunity to penetrate the darkness of Africa. The balance-sheet in the Congo may be superficially favourable to the West, but the Soviets have reaped a rich harvest. Without spending a penny and sending one soldier, the Soviet Union has emerged as the country which is prepared to go the whole hog in support of the extremist demands of African nationalism. The Congo problem has opened up for the Soviets great vistas of political and economic action in the African continent. Without the Congo crisis, the ideological and emotional collaboration between the Soviet Union and the Casablanca powers could not have been possible. It was no mean Soviet victory if a man like Nkrumah could be dubbed pro-Communist by an American Secretary of State. The Congo gave a great impetus to Soviet preparations for a massive confrontation with Africa. It gave a stimulus to African studies in the Soviet Union where several institutions are now working to train Soviet diplomats and other personnel in African languages and to give them an adequate background of African conditions. The renaming of the Peace and Friendship University in Moscow as Lumumba University was calculated to capture the sympathy of the young people of Africa who in many African countries predominate and will be the determining human element in the years to come. The main issue in Africa in future will be whether its poor and undeveloped countries, plundered for centuries by the

West, will be able to solve the multitude of economic and political problems through democratic processes. The Soviet Union and the Communist bloc will, in the years to come, descend upon the African mind in full force in order to wean it away for Communism. The Congo has introduced the great ideological and economic struggle of our times into Africa. It has opened up the continent to the age of the sputniks and astronauts.

For India, also, the Congo has been a great lesson. It has taken this country deep into the African problem. Previously our knowledge of Africa was as poor as our approach to it was sentimental. Our diplomacy was confined to a search for friendship with the emerging countries and a cautious, halting exploration of markets. We had sympathy for African nationalism without knowing how grim and acute the African struggle for freedom might be and how it could involve the whole world in its onward journey. The division of Africa into two camps creates problems for us. We are liable to be misunderstood by either camp, whatever attitude we may take to specific African problems. The Congo has made us popular as well as unpopular in Africa. An insidious propaganda campaign has been let loose against us describing us as a power bent upon colonialism in Africa. India's position is all the more difficult because of the sizable Indian population in various parts of Africa, which is yet to merge itself completely into

the emerging political life of the different countries where they live.

The basic difference between the political climates of Asia and Africa has been brought out by the Congo crisis. While Asian countries, with their ancient civilizations, have an inherent balance of mind, Africa is a seething cauldron. Compared to Africa's suffering, Asia's political history of the last two centuries has been not extremely unpleasant. The West has not only exploited Africa, it has heaped insult and ignominy, hatred and violence on the African mind. The emergent African is not tempered by the mellow influence of an ancient civilization. He is far too passionate in his lust for liberty; he is in a great hurry in his race for the status of manhood. He is angry. He hates as few Asians are capable of hating. He is violent. And he is just waking up to the many problems which stand between the end of his slavery and the beginning of his freedom. "Man's history is waiting in patience for the triumph of the insulted man," said Tagore. The African is the world's most insulted man. If history is waiting for his triumph, it is waiting for many shocks and convulsions. No country can be free from these convulsions and shocks. The historical importance of the Congo is that it has acquainted the world with the grim reality of the beginning of the triumph of Africa's insulted man.

(Concluded)



cope with things successfully. To top all, he fell ill and managed to lose his job.

When their mother died Basanta was sixteen and Jayanta was thirteen. They were in great distress. The household looked like a menagerie, they did not get anything to eat in time and could not attend their schools. Becoming desperate, they ran off to their maternal grandfather's house.

The old man had died, the old lady was now the head of the house. She welcomed them, but would not agree to their proposal of staying on indefinitely. "No darling boys," she pleaded with them, "don't do this. Your father has no sense, if you leave him alone he will waste everything. The house belongs to you, so he cannot sell it. But he will sell the doors and windows surreptitiously. You stay on somehow, then he will have to manage two meals for you, somehow. I don't think he will part with the paddy lands, if he has any sense left."

"But should not we continue our studies?" asked Basanta. "Are we to remain dunces forever?"

"Why, surely not," said their grandmother. "Basanta has passed the Matriculation, let him get into a college. Jayanta can continue his studies in the town school. It is not a bad school. There are a lot of successful candidates every year."

"We need a lot of money for that," said Basanta. "We have to pay tuition fees, buy books and also pay examination fees. Besides, we have to dress like gentlemen. Just look at our clothes. Can we go out in such dresses? And the boys who go to college in the big town, don't walk there. They share expenses and hire a hackney carriage."

"We shall arrange about everything. You just go and live with your father. Get your board and lodging from your father, the rest I shall manage."

"How can you granny?" asked Basanta. "You are none too rich yourselves now. Uncle will be angry, if you spend money on us."

"Why should your uncle be angry? I am not stealing anything from him, am I? Your mother left all her ornaments with

me when last she came to see me. She knew her husband only too well. She told me to keep them for your wives. But if you don't get proper education, how can you marry? You must marry well."

The boys agreed to their grandmother's proposals, and went back home.

They found their father somewhat changed. He had felt a little hurt in his pride, when both the boys left for their maternal uncle's house. So he got hold of an old woman from the neighbourhood and installed her as housekeeper. She cooked and washed the dishes and got board and lodging in exchange. But there was no one to look after the other chores. Still it was better than nothing.

The boys began their studies again. The father did not ask where the money was coming from. He knew instinctively.

Days passed. Basanta was not fond of studying, still he plodded on. He knew he would have to earn pretty soon. Jayanta was very good at his studies. He passed his school final with credit and got admitted into college.

At this stage many things happened. Jayanta's father went and married again and the old grandmother died. The new wife was a grown-up young woman and came from a very poor home.

The old lady, before her death, sold all her daughter's ornaments and made over the entire sum to Basanta. "Finish your studies, my darlings," she said, "an educated man never dies of starvation."

The household became somewhat better organised when the step-mother arrived, but trouble arose from another quarter. Jayanta's father had married in the hope that a poor man's daughter would look after him properly. The new wife could work, but she could also talk. She had a very sharp tongue in her head, so, though she could cook better than the old woman, she also quarreled incessantly with her useless husband, who could not give her any comfort or luxury. Jayanta's father Ramprasanna began to find it increasingly difficult to stay in the house and listen to his new wife.

"I hear that the house also belongs to

your sons. When you die, shall I stand in the streets?"

"They are good boys," Ramprasanna said, "they won't desert you. And there is the land."

The lady pouted her lips. "Oh, that tiny piece of land! How shall I manage with that alone? And everybody knows how a step-son looks after a step-mother. What an idler you are, to be sure. Cannot you step out of this house even once a day? You received some education, did not you? Cannot you earn anything at all?"

The man had to make an effort, after this. He could not earn anything worth mentioning, but as he could spend some hours out of reach of his wife's voice, he was content.

His wife gave birth to a daughter. She began to neglect her household duties, and became more quarrelsome.

Basanta was a short-tempered man. He tried to ignore the constant bickering for some days, then said, "I am leaving. I don't want to study any more. The house is unfit for human habitation. I have got a job in a neighbouring town. I shall manage to feed myself somehow."

"That is just like you", said his father, "As soon as you grow up, you want to get away. Have you no duty towards your aged father?"

"If there were any means for doing one's duty, I would do it. But there is none," said Basanta and he began to pack for going away.

He gave all the money to Jayanta and said, "This money will see you through, till you finish your studies. You are very good at it, so stick to it. You may achieve a successful life. If you cannot stick it here, do as I am doing. Go away somewhere else."

Jayanta stuck on, as he was not so hot-headed. He ate the bad food and suffered all sorts of privations. Things got worse and worse. The step-mother gave birth to two more daughters. Incessant quarreling and wailing went on all the time.

Jayanta was now working as a lecturer in a college, a few miles away from his home. But he was as uncomfortable as ever. His father had become a total wreck, so he was the only wage-earner. He could

not leave them as in that case they would surely die of starvation. He was unable to face that contingency. So he had to bear with every kind of discomfort. The food had become even worse. He had to buy his clothes after terrific tussles with his parents. He had to do it, else he could not go out to work. No other expenditure was allowed. A howl of misery met all his requests.

He managed somehow, every other season, but winter made him exceptionally uncomfortable. His father closed all the doors and windows of his bedroom. He wrapped himself in two old blankets and never came out of his room. His wife went about with the end of her sari tightly wound round her body. When that proved insufficient she adopted half a warm wrapper as a protection against cold. The three little girls went about dressed in multicoloured garments and looked like clowns. They hardly left the warm kitchen. Jayanta suffered from the cold most of all, as he had to go about a lot. The cold is terrible in all the small towns of West Bengal. The sharp icy wind pierced one's body through and through. The idea of going out was fearful. One could move about in the day time, but as soon as the sun set, one had to seek shelter inside his room.

As Jayanta came out, he saw that the sun was shining brightly. He could bear it outside. He began to walk towards Makhan's house. He was Jayanta's friend as well as nearest neighbour.

He had thrust his feet into the slippers and covered himself with the wrapper. It was clear sun light in the open, but the wind was icy cold. He walked very fast and stood before the door of his neighbouring house. "Are you inside Makhan?" he called.

"Come in, come in," called Makhan from inside.

Jayanta entered. Makhan was sitting in the sun, just about to begin his morning tea. He pushed a camp-seat towards Jayanta and cried, "Boudi (sister-in-law), please bring another cup of tea. Jayanta is here."

His sister-in-law came out with more tea and placed it in front of Jayanta. "You

are just in time. I was going to remove the tea things."

Jayanta took one sip of the hot tea and said, "You can call this real tea!"

"Why?" asked Makhan. "Is not the tea good at your home? You have got an old invalid there, so they must have to make tea all the time."

"May be they do," said Jayanta. "But it tastes like boiled hay to me."

"Is that so?" cried the young lady of the house. "But we hear, your mother cooks very well."

"Oh well," said Jayanta. "Perhaps she is a good cook. But what can she cook in our house? The rice is like stone chips and she cannot make edible dishes with grass and leaves."

"You are a funny family, all right," said Makhan. "You produce rice in your own land and lots of vegetable are grown in your kitchen garden. You have got milch cows of your own. You earn a fairly good salary. Still you have nothing to eat? Why do you allow such a state of affairs? Had your brother been here, he would have forced them to feed you better."

"My father is entirely decrepit and his wife is a termagant. I don't want to meddle with them," said Jayanta.

"Your mother is extremely thrifty," said Makhan's sister-in-law. "But why does she starve the family? My mother says she is putting by money. She wants to build a separate house for herself and to give dowries to her three daughters."

"If she is, I cannot blame her," said Jayanta. "Father won't leave her a pice. How these three ugly kids are going to get married, I don't know."

"You will be there to take charge of them," said Makhan.

"If I am stupid enough to stay on, something like that might happen," said Jayanta. "But I don't think I shall be such a fool."

"Will you follow your brother's path?" asked Makhan.

"I feel like it now and then," said Jayanta. "This starvation diet and this want of warm clothing have become intolerable. I tried and tried to make the old man say 'yes' to my proposal for buying a new quilt. But all to no purpose."

"You are too soft with them", said Makhan. "Stop their allowance just one month, then see whether they reform or not."

"I can't do it, because of these luckless kids," said Jayanta. "They don't get anything to eat, and next to nothing to wear. They are receiving no education. Though I am not overfond of them, still I don't want them to die of sheer starvation."

"Then just grin and bear it," said his friend. "Or you can marry and set up a separate establishment for yourself. But your elder brother has not married. That is surely an impediment."

"People don't bother about such things now," said Jayanta. "If I take permission from him, that would be enough. But you know what sort of a home I have. Should I bring a young girl into it? It would be sheer hell for her."

"What a fool you are," said Makhan. "Do you really believe that they spend all the money you give them? They save half of it. So, give them half of what you are giving and spend the remaining half on yourselves. Everyone says your step-mother is saving for a rainy day. So, if you give less, they will carry on, all the same."

"Perhaps," said Jayanta. "But the lady of our house will shriek like one thousand banshees. The new bride will get such a shock that she will run away at once. Money is not the real impediment. I can earn more, in fact, I have already got an increment. Besides, I am taking up some work in their 'coaching class'. That too will bring in some money."

"We shall talk further about this in the evening," said Makhan as he had to go out. Jayanta also got up. He did not feel like going back home so soon. He roamed about in the open field, and by the side of the tank and then went back.

It was time for a bath and lunch. In summer, he bathed in the neighbouring tank, or drew up water from the house-well and washed. But today was horribly cold. He did not want to bathe in the open. He would not get hot water for his bath. The proposal might throw his step-mother into fits. She would not give hot water even to her small daughters. Of all the family, the old father

was the solitary exception to this rule. But as he bathed only once a month, his wife bore with him somehow and gave him hot water.

As he came in, he heard his youngest sister Tarala shrieking for all she was worth. She was being bathed by her elder sister. Jayanta went and stood before the bathroom. "Would you mind getting out quick," he asked his sister. "I want to wash my hands and face."

"Won't you have a bath?" asked Sarala.

"No," said Jayanta.

Sarala wiped Tarala's body with a torn rag and said, "you are an adult, so, you can do anything you like. If we went without baths, mother would beat us black and blue."

"Get out, quick," muttered Jayanta. Sarala got out, dragging her sister by the hand. Jayanta washed his hands and face, then went and stood before the kitchen door. "Give me my food," he said.

The kitchen was warm and cosy. He liked to eat here. He would have liked it still more if there had been anything good to eat. However, he finished his lunch quickly and went back to his bedroom. He took up a book and tried to read. But he began to feel drowsy very soon. He had some letters to write, but felt too lethargic to do it. He laid himself down on the bed and tried to sleep.

But, no, sleep was impossible. Someone seemed to be pricking him with ice cold needles. His limbs were freezing. It was better to walk about. He threw aside the torn quilt and got up.

Makhan was quite right. What was the use of suffering like this? He should marry and have a separate home. His step-mother would shout herself hoarse and beat the children. His ears would be tortured, but otherwise he would be comfortable.

But how to proceed about the matter? His father would jump at the proposal, if it was submitted to him. As he himself was unable to go about, the task of looking for a bride would devolve on his wife. But this arrangement would do Jayanta no good. His step-mother would find out a bride all right. But her definition of a good bride was bound to differ considerably from Jayanta's own definition. She would like a girl, who ate

very little and worked like a Trojan. Jayanta's father would prefer a rich man's daughter, who would oblige him with a fat dowry. But what would Jayanta gain? To choose a wife for himself was not easy in this orthodox little town. The boys hardly ever saw their prospective brides before marriage. The two families conferred about the dowry and allied matters. If there was any cash dowry, the groom's parents had the spending of it. Jayanta's mind revolted.

The sun was about to set. Jayanta became still more depressed. This night would be colder still, he felt. What to do? He had to close all his doors and windows, that was unhygienic enough. If on top of that, he lighted a fire in the room, that would be courting sure death. He knew his father did this, though he refused to acknowledge it. But most of the glass panes in the windows were broken, no fatal accidents had yet occurred.

As soon as the evening shadows descended on the earth, the three little girls made a bee-line for the warm kitchen and refused to budge, in spite of all rebukes. Jayanta's father closed all his windows and started coughing. Now and then he called out to his wife, who came in and put all sorts of cover over him. He looked more like a sack of dirty clothes than a human being. Jayanta envied him. He was at least warm.

He took his dinner with his little sisters. "How can you go about like this?" he asked his step-mother.

"What can I do?" she answered in her usual sweet manner. "We are poor people and don't possess shawls."

"Not poor, but stupid," retorted Jayanta. "There are lots of people like us, but they value their lives and don't behave in this way." He re-entered his bedroom.

"What's the use of being nasty to me?" muttered his step-mother. "I don't send his money to my relatives. Why cannot he talk to his father? The old fool sits at home all day and does not earn a pice."

Meanwhile Jayanta was making his bed, not waiting for his sister, who made all the beds in the house. He never went to bed so early, but this evening he was feeling bored to death. He wanted to sleep and forget his

discomfort. He laid himself down and pulled the torn quilt over himself.

But as soon as he touched the bed, he felt as if he was drowning in a tank of ice-cold water. Cramps seized his hands and feet, and his throat began to ache with cold. What was this? Was he going to fall ill? He sat up, put on his warm coat and pulled warm socks over his feet. He began to feel better, and laid himself down again. He was not comfortable, still he could now bear the cold. But his temper now began to flare up. This was no life for a man. He was grown up, he was fairly educated, could not he do anything to improve his way of living?

He could not sleep unbrokenly. He sat up again and again. The nights of winter are pretty long. At last birds could be heard and day began to dawn. He got up frowning and washed his face. He wore every bit of warm clothing that he had and set foot outside.

Sarala ran out. "Where are you going brother? Won't you have your tea?"

"Oh, I shall have it somewhere else," said Jayanta walking off.

"Oh, what a temper he has got," said Sarala.

"He is supporting the whole household," said her mother. "So, we have to bear his tantrums, at least for another couple of years," said her mother.

Makhan was just getting up, when Jayanta entered with quick steps. "Oh, here you are," said Makhan, "sit down and have a cup of tea." He shouted for another cup.

Jayanta sat down and said, "You were right, yesterday. I am going to marry. I don't mind if I have to leave my father's family. I can't bear this state of affairs any longer. In fact, I was a worthless, fool to bear it so long."

"Good, very good, brother," said Makhan. "The season is too cold for a person, who is a bachelor. Shall I look out for a bride for you? Or, do you want the old people to arrange things for you?"

"Oh Lord, no," cried Jayanta. "What shall I gain by it? They would only try to secure some money for themselves, and I shall be as miserable as ever. Things might change for the worse even. You have to arrange everything and arrange them quick

too. I can give you only seven days. You must get a wife for me within this period."

"Are you mad?" asked Makhan. "A marriage within seven days?"

He thought for a moment, then asked, "What kind of a bride do you want? Perhaps it could be done. Everything seems possible now-a-days. I have seen a marriage being arranged and solemnised within one hour."

"I leave everything to you," said Jayanta. "The girl must come from a good family and must be fairly educated, that's all I want."

"Very well," said Makhan, "your demands are not excessive. And what do you want as dowry?"

"Nothing much," said Jayanta, "I won't take any cash. Whatever they want to give, let them give it to their daughter. Even if they are unable to give her anything, I don't mind. But I have some demands. They must give me a very good bed, and the best of beddings. I must have a very warm and very good quilt. I must have some good warm suits. Also a good shawl. And I shall stipulate against dressing in public, during the wedding, as is our custom. And if they can afford it, I don't mind having an electric heater."

Makhan burst out laughing and nearly fell down from his seat. "Are you serious or is this a joke?" he asked.

"I swear to you, I am not joking," said Jayanta. "I am really very miserable, I feel so lonely. You can tell the bride's parents, that they won't be bothered with a large number of guests from our side. My brother might come over. You and he would be my soul guests."

Makhan continued to laugh. "You deserve a good bride, if anybody does," he said. "You have no greed. Don't fear, I shall arrange a good match. Come in the evening, I may have some news for you."

Jayanta's curiosity was roused. "Do you know of anyone?" he asked.

"Why do you forget, that I too am a bachelor?" asked Makhan. "I am always hearing about eligible girls. But if they get you, they won't bother about me. My next door neighbour has got a niece. They are coming again and again to our house.

She may be suitable for you.. She is an undergraduate. My mother has seen her last year. She is not bad-looking. Do you want to see her?"

"No, no," said Jayanta. "I am not so very particular. I don't want a glamorous beauty, being no Adonis myself. If she is too pretty, she won't like me. You better see, whether they would agree to my demands."

"If they don't agree to such modest demands, then they don't deserve a good son-in-law. Of course, they will agree. You write to your brother at once. You can also tell your father if you want to."

"I shall write this very day," said Jayanta. "I shall tell father, on the wedding day. As he is unable to move about, it is useless telling him anything beforehand. And please arrange about the priest and everything. I must go now."

"Wait, wait," cried Makhan, "have your tea first."

Jayanta took the tea and departed. He felt better now, having made up his mind. He came home and wrote to his brother. Then he had his bath and breakfast, and started for his college.

The cold did not show any sign of decreasing. Jayanta came back from college, had his tea, then started for Makhan's house.

"Brother is extremely grave," said one of his sisters.

"He is planning to do something nasty," her mother said. "He too may run away."

"You are a lucky dog," cried Makhan as soon as he saw him. "I think it is practically settled."

"Is that so?" asked Jayanta eagerly. "Did you talk to them?"

"I did not," said Makhan, "but mother did. They jumped at the offer, when they heard your name. They have no end of admiration for you. They know everything about you and are sorry only that you don't have a better father. But they look to the future and are content. My neighbour is starting for his sister's house today, you will have the final word tomorrow. Get ready yourself."

"I am quite ready," said Jayanta. "But one thing my dear boy. There is bound to be

some omissions on our side. You know my position. I cannot arrange for a ceremonial betrothal or the sending of presents. I hope, they would not mind."

"Why don't you send your brother a telegram? Let him come and take charge of things. He has got only one brother. He must come."

"So I shall," said Jayanta and came back home. This night also was equally bad. He sent a telegram to Basanta.

Next day he received the final word from the bride's house. He felt relieved. There were only four days between this day and the wedding day. The bride's people lived in the same town where Jayanta had his college. They knew everything about him and did not have to stop for investigation. "You will get everything you wanted," said Makhan. "But there will be some delay about the warm suits. Local tailors would not be any good, so, they are having the clothes made in Calcutta."

"Oh, that's quite all right," said Jayanta. "I have taken about ten days leave from the college. I don't want the suits, for house wear."

Basanta got his brother's wire and arrived post haste. "You have done a good thing, brother," he exclaimed. "At least let one of us marry and have a family. I shall follow you pretty soon."

"But we must make a ceremonial present to the bride at the betrothal," said Jayanta.

"What do you suggest?"

"Grandma left two pairs of ear-rings with me," said Basanta. "Meant for our brides. I shall go and bless the bride, with one pair. But why don't you keep out of it, you are the bridegroom. Let me and Makhan arrange everything."

Basanta started towards Makhan's house. But he left his own home in a turmoil. The father and mother had no longer any doubts that the youngmen wanted to put them out of the house and set up for themselves. The lady started howling, the man sat with up-turned eyes.

Basanta came back and said, "I have settled everything. I shall go and bless the bride tomorrow. They shall come to bless you, the day after. But we shall have the

ceremony at Makhan's house, not in ours. I have given Makhan some money to buy some presents and sweets to send to the bride's house."

The brothers went on having talks incessantly. The atmosphere at home began to denote stormy weather. But the old couple did not dare to ask the boys anything. They were not eager to hear the bad news.

Next day Jayanta stayed away from college and Basanta went out with Makhan to bless the bride. "I have been invited out for tea", he said and left. The people at home did not suspect anything.

But the very next day the cat was out of the bag. Jayanta's half-sister, Bimala, had gone out for a stroll, braving the winter wind. As she approached Makhan's house, she heard the sound of conch-shells. She became very curious. They had not heard about anything taking place in this house. Bimala peeped, and found Jayanta, the centre of interest there. Something was being done to him. She rushed home pell mell and broke the news.

It was as bad as going away from home. When the daughter-in-law arrived, the real state of affairs would be at once revealed to her. Boys never bother about household matters. But the step-mother could never hope to hide anything from the new bride. She would at once know that Jayanta was being defrauded.

Jayanta's father became desperate and called Basanta. "What is this I hear?" he asked. Jayanta is getting married?

"Why was I not informed? Am I not his father? Who settled terms? I won't give my permission to this."

Basanta flared up at once. "Look here, father," he shouted. "Why do you want to court insult? Who is asking your permission? Jayanta himself had settled terms. As he is not taking any dowry, you need not feel defrauded. You better keep quiet."

Jayanta was eager to know something about the bride. But he felt shy and could not ask his brother. Basanta volunteered some information. "The family is cultured and educated. You won't feel cheated."

On the day of the marriage, Basanta bought a red bordered sari and presented it

to his step-mother. "When you step out to welcome the new bride, put this on."

She had to accept the gift, though she cursed the new bride inaudibly. The three kid sisters also got new frocks.

"You are spending money like water," said Jayanta. "I can contribute nothing now."

"Oh, that's all right," said Basanta. "Be ready with it, when I marry."

The time came for starting for the bride's house. Carriages came for the groom and his party, though the party was very small. The step-mother saw the party off, with a glum face.

Jayanta arrived at his destination and saw that the bride's people have kept their word. The dress presented to him was really very costly. The old studs and wrist watch, and the ring also were very good.

They had not invited many people. The ceremony took place in the evening and was soon over. Then the newly married pair was led into a bedroom. For the first time, Jayanta took a good look at the bride's face. Not bad at all. She was not very dark, she was at least two shades fairer than Jayanta himself. The face was nice, though she was no ravishing beauty.

The guests departed pretty soon, as it was too cold to remain away from home for any length of time. Before it was ten, the pair found themselves alone.

The bridegroom had been sitting with a proper shy face on a sofa, all this while. The bride was on the opposite corner of the sofa. Jayanta now had a good look round the room. The bedstead was good, so were the bedding. But good Lord, where was the quilt, that he had asked for? Some wretched blankets were placed at the foot of the bed. Jayanta disliked blankets intensely. This made him itch all over.

In a grave voice, he called "Sulata!"

His wife looked at him. She felt rather alarmed at the serious expression on his face and asked, "Can I do anything for you?"

"Your people agreed to give me some things I wanted, but I don't see them here."

Sulata felt extremely nervous. "I don't understand," he said. "What has happened?"

"Where is the quilt, I wanted? I don't like blankets at all," said Jayanta.

His wife smiled, "Oh, is that all?" she said. "I was really frightened, thinking there must have been some serious omission. The quilt is being made in Calcutta, as they could not get good material here. It is bound to arrive by tomorrow at the latest. It may arrive any minute now."

So it did. As she finished speaking, her mother entered the room with the quilts. "Please excuse this delay," she said and picked up the blankets.

"Oh, that's quite all right," muttered Jayanta.

As soon as his mother-in-law had gone out, he took off his shawl and got into the bed. He drew the quilt well over his legs and said, "Why are you sitting there Sulata?

Don't you feel cold? You have not a shawl even to cover you."

The bride smiled again and said, "Everyone does not feel the cold as intensely as you do."

Jayanta also smiled. "You must think I am a mad or an idiot."

"What on earth for?" asked his wife. "Don't we all know you? I have seen you many times, when I went to my aunt's house".

"Have you?" asked Jayanta. "Then you won't dislike me. I am really relieved. I find that God has been very kind to me, in spite of my foolhardiness. I did not see you before. But you must be feeling the cold. Come here, and get under your quilt. A good quilt is really a boon in winter. But why do you feel shy? It is very late and we can go to sleep now."

—O:—

BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged; nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published. *Reviews and notices of books in Gujarati:*

Authors and publishers of Gujarati books, desirous of having them noticed or reviewed in *The Modern Review*, should send them direct to, Shri Rangildas Kapadia:

Gandevi, Dist. Surat,
instead of sending them to the Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC HISTORY OF NORTHERN INDIA (11th and 12th centuries): By Bhakat Prasad Mazumdar. Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay. Calcutta, 1960. Pp. 417. Rs. 20.00.

The object of this erudite study is "to interpret the working of the social and economic forces which shaped the political destiny of Northern India" in the critical period preceding the Turkish conquest, for the purpose of examining their cumulative effect on the final catastrophe. The source-material is extensive, belonging at it does to *Smriti* digests, literary and semi-historical compositions, works on *Niti* and technical works as well as a large body of inscriptions among the indigenous sources, and various Arabic

and Persian historical works among the foreign sources. There is besides a large volume of secondary sources belonging mainly to very recent times. This extensive material has been utilised by the author with commendable industry and thoroughness, and what is more, with sound judgment on the views of recent scholars on numerous points of detail. The combined evidence is neatly summed up in the author's statement (Preface, p. xii) that it "reveals to us a feudal society characterized by social and political, disintegration, economic stagnation, moral bankruptcy and a pathetic dependance on stars and omens." The range of the author's study extends over all (and more than all) the topics suggested by the title of the work. It comprises the branches of civil and military administration,

(Chs. I-II and Ch. XI), social life (Chs. III-VI and Chs. XII-XV), and economic conditions (Chs. VII-X). Adequate and full references are given at the end of each chapter. Other important features are an exhaustive bibliography of 15 pages, and a useful index appended to this volume.

It is obviously not possible to examine here even any of the important conclusions drawn by the author in the course of his exhaustive survey. It is sufficient to point out that the present volume reaches a high standard of scholarship and is bound as such to remain an indispensable work of reference on the period in question for a long time. In the event of a new edition being called for, we would suggest the re-arrangement of the chapters in proper sequence, the addition of notices on trade and commerce during the period, and the inclusion of a few maps.

U. N. Ghoshal

NEHRU : HIS DEMOCRACY AND INDIA:

By Atulananda Chakrabarti, Published by Thackers Press and Directory Ltd., Calcutta. 440 pages—demy size; price Rupees Twentyfive.

The book is an analytical study of Nehru's India and shows how this India is shaping to confused patterns under stress of her "strange problems of progress" (p. 330). The Prime Minister's master key to the problems is the Plan. But there has been too much politics (p. 325) in it to let economics work its way. As it is, such a plan but lays out the proverbial path that is paved with good intentions. Along this path is daily marching an unending procession of hungry people, jobless workers and the fear-stricken future generation. While the Plan is extending the employment situation is worsening. (pp. 324, 347, 349). One of the most menacing feature of this situation is the desperate disorder in the ranks of the youth, at which Nehru bursts out: "Students have been, by and large, our most effective opponents" (p. 295). It is a failure rather of leadership (p. 353) than of the people.

On the contrary, the people are misled. For instance, as the Public Sector goes on disclosing its increasing inability to give material satisfaction, the people are diverted to discover the causes in the Private Sector. Unfortunately, such causes are there to help this diversion. The author only hints that the Private Sector is lacking in "mental approach" (p. 354) but he does not emphasise this sufficiently. Probably he is unwilling to open up more outlets of class prejudices or he may be studying the subject

more carefully for a future discourse.

Again it is India's Plan that has weakened her foreign policy. Political impartiality to contending world powers is motivated by the opportunity to receive financial loans with equal impartiality from opposite camps. He is conscious of his ineffective foreign policy: "In the final analysis, all foreign policy concerns itself chiefly with national interest of the country concerned" (p. 421). But he goes on losing these just interests for fear of "world complications" (p. 383), all the while protesting too much that his policy is "fearless." He showered vituperations on Munich (p. 382) but adopts worse methods of appeasement under cover of 'ends-and-means' (p. 408). In defence, he poses moral confidence: "Any country attacking India merely adds to its troubles. . . . It will bring them no profit" (p. 399). China and Pakistan are, accordingly, in a sea of troubles and only actuated by detachment from profit!

The beauty is that India's friendly powers understand India's aggressors and misunderstand India herself (p. 386). Something must be radically wrong, then, with the policy itself—so much so that even a master of words and thoughts like Nehru cannot clarify it. But how can it be wrong? "In our eyes Nehru is a romantic figure in foreign lands; and his command over the English language has kept Indian intelligentsia enthralled—too enthralled to have the least inclination to doubt that what he says in such perfect English can ever be wrong as a policy, much less as a foreign policy" (p. 398). Even then, assuming that he is wrong, are we justified to stop him from making mistakes? "The right to make mistakes is the most fundamental of human rights, and surely Nehru cannot be robbed of this right simply because he happens to be a Prime Minister, saddled with the responsibilities for four hundred and thirty millions?" (p. 171).

His preference for socialism to democracy arises from this that while democracy is the politics of parting with power socialism is the mechanism of concentration of power. At times, however, he is persecuted by a fleeting conscience. "In fact," Nehru said at the farewell of the Mountbattens, "I have often wondered why the people of India put up with people like me who are connected with the governing of India after all that has happened during the last few months. I am not sure that if I had not been in the Government, I would put up with my Government" (p. 235).

"The people of India" have at last started

wondering, and the question mark is daily spreading wider.

Here is a bravely outspoken book. And it carries lightly the weight of a tremendous enquiry and maintains a lively current all through its thoughtful interpretation of facts.

B. N. S.

NIRUKTA OF YASKA : Pt. II. Edited with Bengali Translation and Notes : By Dr. *Ayinaraswara Thakur, M.A., Ph.D.* Retired Head of the Department of Sanskrit, University of Calcutta. Published in the *Ashutosh Sanskrit Series No. V*, University of Calcutta, 1960. Pp. 331-689. Price Rs. 9/-.

Indian literature is rich in its philosophical speculations. With the growing interest for Sanskrit it has now been abundantly made clear that Indian teachers occupied themselves also with the problem of language. Such subtle linguistic problems as the origin of language, the science of meaning, the nature of the relation between the word and its meaning—all these metaphysical and psychological aspects of language did not escape their notice. Long before Aristotle, the Indian etymologists made a definite contribution to the concept of "Parts of Speech". The *Vedic* literature may rightly be regarded as the invaluable treasure for all these linguistic speculations of the ancient Hindus.

Even before Plato, Yaska, the father of Indian speculations on language had opened up a new vista for the students of linguistics. His *magnum opus Nirukta* is regarded as the conspicuous record of the scientific development of Sanskrit philology. Yaska's etymology is based on scientific method in the sense that it is closely related to the study of meaning and his work stands as a challenge to the common belief that etymology has nothing to do with the science of meaning. Later on such thinkers as Bhartrhari, Punyaraaja, Nagesa, etc., had followed in the footsteps of Yaska. In recent times scholars have also focussed their attention on this great work and we are fortunate enough to have at our disposal a valuable literature on it. Lakshman Sarup's "The Nighantu and the Nirukta" deserves mention as a pioneer work in the field.

In view of the importance of the *Nirukta* of Yaska a Bengali translation of it was a long-felt desideratum. It is highly gratifying to find that a Bengali translation of the work has at last come out from the hands of a veteran scholar like Dr. Thakur. The translation of the Part One had already been published. The work under review contains the translation of the third, the fourth and the fifth chapters of the great work.

The editor has utilised the two noted commentaries of the *Nirukta*, viz., of Durgācarya and of Skandasvamin. He has discussed the implications of different terms in their historical setting. The work contains detailed explanatory notes which are scholarly and highly illuminating. All controversial points on etymology of terms have been squarely faced and judged with a balanced outlook. We are delighted to find how clearly and with what precision the learned editor has presented the view-points of the masters. We are grateful to the veteran editor for the invaluable service he has rendered for the cause of Bengali language. He has to his credit a record of editing and translating several difficult classical texts and we feel sure that this book will add to his reputation as a scholar of eminence. We confidently hope that the remaining portion of the book will be out very soon and thus would lend lustre to the past record of publications of the University of Calcutta.

GOPIKAMOHAN BHATTACHARYA

THE OCHRE ROBE : By Swami Agheanand Bharati. Publishers: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, pp. 294, including Index. Price 25s.

Swami Agheanand Bharati is an Austrian and was born in Vienna. Leopold Fischer was christened in Karls Kirche, reminiscent of the old empire. This is an autobiography of one who became a convert to Hindu philosophy at an early age and laterly joined the Holy order of Sankaracharya and then took the name of Agheanand Bharati. While touring India, he visited my home in Calcutta. I did not know then that I will have to write about his book. He is touring or studying somewhere in the Western World. He is stout, bulky and unusually tall, perhaps, inherited from his father who was a Cavalry Officer in the Austrian army. With his shaven head and yellow robe, ready wit and conversation he made friends with the young people readily. He had not the detached way of a retired *sannyasi*, he did not prefer walking barefooted. He looked every inch a philosopher but not a detached mendicant.

He was never discriminating in food, his view was that food and drink had nothing to do with either God or religion. While he was still a boy he was attracted to the study of classical Sanskrit and learnt Hindi well. When the last war came he got involved in Hitler's "Free India Legion" and had the occasion to mix with the Indians. He fell often in the hands of the allies, taken as a genuine Indian. However, he managed to come to India and entered the monastic order and consecrated as a *sadhu* on the banks of the Holy Ganges. He

then travelled India very widely, from north to south, from east to west. He went through a variegated experience. He worked as a professor for sometime in the Banaras Hindu University; he went to the Himalayas to have a pastoral experience like Sankaracharya and studied Buddhism. From India he proceeded to Bangkok and taught Indian philosophy there. He finally reached America after visiting Japan.

In this book he "is positive and constructive as well as negative and critical". He has attempted to write his autobiography at the age of 37 years. He compares himself with the Indian philosopher Sankaracharya who died at the age of 33. Sankaracharya had travelled India twice on foot, founded an order and established four monasteries, the latter wrote 80 books and dissertations and renounced the world, when he was 8 years old and became a monk.

Agheanand starts with Sankar and describes that he has written about 80 tracts and claims that he has travelled more than the Master and he intends to continue Brahmin-Hindu tradition. After committing himself, he has written this autobiography to discover a way of life, "which may be what a good many modern people are looking for; but are unable to find their equilibrium in an apparently loveless universe; who are disappointed and feel that the tradition in which they were born, and which once they confidently accepted has failed them; who are, perhaps, afraid of the power around us today;" p. 10. Through his experience, which has been terrific he intends to develop a new kind of "humanism". This incidentally refers to late M. N. Roy, whom he met. He says, "I am trying to develop a new kind of humanism, one that values man but not mankind. . . . I want to show that whilst humanism can be universal it must at the same time be fastidious. A humanist of my kind does not value human beings as such, but certain human beings, namely many people who can be loved, and by whom one wished to be loved, and who desire to be helped." p. 10. In this he differed from M. N. Roy's "Integral Humanism." His early attraction to Sanskrit led him to the Brahmin-Hindu fold and when he came into contact with the Hindu monastic order in India, the legacy of 'materialism', left

over in him by the European Renaissance came into conflict. Otherwise he would not of Hindu monastic order. In his heart he is a Hindu; in his ideas he is a Hindu philosopher but he likes to be the jovial monk of the middle ages, 'raise the tankard of beer in one hand and bite the leg of flesh with the other' and shout "Yo Ho". He has tried to break a new ground for the Indian monastic order. The book is stimulating, thought provoking and solace to many who are bored with life.

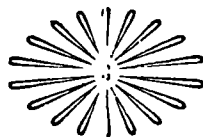
RAJANI MUKHERJI

SANSKRIT

THE VAJRASUCI OF ASVAGHOSA : With introduction, English Translation and Notes by Sujitkumar Mukhopadhyaya. Visvabharati, Santiniketan. Price, 3.50nP.

The first edition of the work was noticed in these pages in November, 1953. Now we have the revised second edition which utilises some valuable materials, not known or available to the editor previously. These include Hodgson's English translation and Wilkinson's edition of the text published as far back as 1835 and 1839 respectively. Strangely enough a manuscript possessed by the Jayaswal Research Institute of Patna was not available for collation. A copy of a particular passage, which was all that could be gathered, was however very helpful in restoring a reading (p. 7) which was indistinct or blurred in other manuscripts. The lack of scholarly co-operation indicated in this matter is extremely regrettable. A new and evidently a happy one—emendation, *nagna* for *lagna*, has been suggested at p. 4. Variants apparently missed in the first edition have been added (*vide* f.n. 101). One variant *iti* at the end of the passage marked DD has been silently taken out. Instead of the word Index of the first edition we have here a Bibliography and three separate Indexes of slokas of the Text, of the Notes and Parallel Passages and of the Footnotes and Vajrasucyupanisat the text of which is published in the Appendix as in the first edition. Distinct improvement is noticed in the printing and get-up with a nominal increase in price.

Chintaharan Chakravarti



Indian Periodicals

Law to Check Communalism

The *Chowringhee*, of Calcutta, writes about the proposed Bill to Check Communalism :

The following news item is reproduced from the *Daily Statesman* of August 11, 1961.

"NEW DELHI, Aug. 10—Promotion or attempts to promote feelings of enmity or hatred between different religious, racial or language groups or castes or communities will become specific offences punishable under the Indian Penal Code with imprisonment extending to three years or fine or with both, according to a Bill introduced in the Lok Sabha today, reports *P.T.I.*

"The Bill seeks to amend the I.P.C. for this purpose.

"An amendment to the Representation of People Act, which was also introduced, seeks to prohibit attempts at appealing to religious, racial, caste, communal or linguistic sentiment during election campaigns and provides for punishment on the same lines envisaged by the amendment to the Indian Penal Code.

"The amendment also includes the new offences in the list of electoral offences and corrupt practices. Further it seeks to disqualify those convicted of the new offences from membership of Parliament or State legislatures. Any person convicted of these offences will also be disenfranchised and will not be able to vote in any election."

No one will deny that propaganda for or against any race, language or religion is bad for unity among peoples who belong to different races, speak different languages and follow different religions. But one can never be sure as to the facts of promotion of hatred or promotion of admiration of this race, religion, language or that. For, instance, if there is a strong propaganda for the abolition of English as a State language or of Urdu and some persons may feel hurt and injured, and any propaganda for the adoption of Hindi as *Rashtrabhasha* may lead to ill feeling towards Hindi speakers among those who speak Tamil, Telugu or read and write Gurumukhi. So that the creation of ill feeling or a feeling of enmity is rather a psychologically complicated process and the Indian Penal Code, being administered by persons not so deeply instructed in the science of sensory stimuli and their emotional reactions, will generally fail to be rightly used. There will be many miscarriages of justice and persons will be maliciously prosecuted for just telling the truth, and many will escape punishment in spite of

rubbing in ill feelings and a spirit of enmity into all souls of all Indians by doing "positive propaganda" in favour of this language or that religion. There are other subtle propaganda for or against racial or language groups in which even the Prime Minister of India does not disdain to enter. For instance, the Prime Minister latterly said a lot of things about the Bengal Press and, some time ago, he spoke in favour of certain criminals of Assam who molested, violated property rights of and generally persecuted certain other citizens of Assam who spoke a different language from the official Assamese language. While writing this we find the Prime Minister speaking at length on the Punjabi Suba and "mentioning" the Sikhs, the Hindi-speaking Punjabis and so forth. So that the Prime Minister is an active creator of ill feelings and feelings of enmity between different racial, linguistic and religious groups. He may say, his intentions are very good and of a nation-building kind in-the-long-run; but then most malicious and virulent propaganda of any kind ultimately may do good to humanity. For God is Good and nothing happens in creation which has not a lot of potential goodness in it. In our opinion the present atmosphere of mutual hatred, distrust and exploitation mania is the result of the Congress policy of emphasising *Pradesh* politics and its natural implications in linguism and communalism. The Congress is ultimately responsible for all hatred and feelings of enmity and running parallel with the Congress are the Communists and the other political parties, who organise themselves on hatreds only. If the political parties can be called communities which they are in a manner of speaking, then all political propaganda will become illegal when the proposed Bill is passed. The Congress preaches and practises enmity against the Communists and *vice versa*. The other political parties are similarly disposed. All the propaganda in favour of Hindi and for retaining linguistically different areas forcibly attached to certain States like Bihar and Assam are also harmful and dangerous in so far as these create feelings of enmity in some hearts or others. The highest in the land sit and criticise either *Bangalis* or *Sikhs* or *Bhūrnihars*. So what hopes are there for any negative efforts at creating national solidarity by passing laws and amendments which will only be abused by policemen and junior officers at the instigation of Congressmen? Pandit Nehru will be well advised to give up these *very British* ways maintaining Congress *raj* over India.

English and Sanskrit

Reginald Massey writing in the *Sunday Tribune* (quoted in *Careers and Courses*) says about the use of English and Sanskrit in Indian Schools and Colleges :

The intellectual from Calcutta believes that his tongue—the tongue of Tagore—is incomparable. The man from Banares can produce some cogent advocacy for Hindi, but the man from Madras still swears by his beloved Tamil. There are a lot of other folks also, from places as far apart as, say, Lucknow, Ernakulum, Amritsar and Ahmedabad, who have different points of view. To each his own. And I think that they are all correct. But the trouble is that they're correct only from their own particular angle. And angle views, by the nature of things, are necessarily limited.

Each language has its own particular and unique merits, as also its own particular and unique demerits. For example, the peculiar rhythm of Urdu for the recitation of poetry is absent in other languages. But the harmony in Bengali is almost musical, thus making the folk songs of Bengal the best in India. So, though a group of Santiniketan singers would carry you away on a boat-song—no Bengali poet could electrify you with his verses as a Firaq can. And then again, which language in India can express better the very humour of the soil than Punjabi? I therefore repeat, to each his own. But each holds its own only within a small sphere of usability and utility.

I hence make the following sweeping statement : If we are to have a united India, a decent standard of education and science, and a respected place among the nations of the world, English and only English is the answer. A universal and wide adoption of English is called for immediately. Certain stark facts in support of the above are placed before the reader in the succeeding paragraphs.

India is today threatened by multifarious forms of disintegrating processes. The language racket is one of them. I call it a racket because unscrupulous politicians are whipping up mass emotions based on pious can't, falsehoods, and what is worse, half-truths. Some raise the slogan supposedly for the Gujarati and others raise it supposedly for the Tamil. And still others raise it supposedly for the Naga! It's about time that some voice somewhere raised a little squeak for the poor Indian. India, as a compact united whole, cemented by a single language and a single script is what we direly need. I really wonder how many people seriously think about this obvious requirement.

To my mind there could be only two possibilities for a national language : Sanskrit or English. Sanskrit is the mother of the Indian languages. But as it has been dead for so long it's difficult to revert to it at this late stage. That leaves English. It is the only common language left to us today; it has had a long and illustrious connection with India, and it is the only compromise formula between North and South.

Moreover, if Sanskrit is the mother of the Indian languages, let us not forget that Sanskrit is also the mother of English. For it has been conclusively proved that Sanskrit is the root of all the Indo-European languages. Therefore, I fail to see how we compromise our cultural heritage in any way by the use of English.

I believe that the study of Sanskrit is nevertheless necessary; we have neglected our classical language for too long. That is why we face a cultural bankruptcy today. Latin and Greek are compulsory subjects in European schools, that is why there is some sort of cultural integration in the West. But how many of us Indians know our classical language, the oldest classical language in the world?

We require English to provide the basis of political and national unity and Sanskrit as the basis of our common culture. At this the regionalists and disintegrationists will show their fangs and shout, "What about our Assamese?" "What about our Telugu?" "What about our Marathi?" etc., etc. Their cries will have the familiar tones of, "Islam is in danger?" To all this of course, the modest answer would be, "India is bigger than Assam or Andhra or Maharashtra."

Throughout India there is unanimity at least on one score; the lamentable fall in the standards of education. As one who has been humbly connected with education I stand convinced that this fall in standards has only one cause. That sole cause is the sad neglect of English studies during recent years. We know too well that knowledge of any subject of any advanced level, be it economics or physics or geography, can be imparted effectively only through the medium of English. And what do we do? We wilfully undermine the students' grasp of that language at the school stage. So that it is little wonder that at college-level they fail by the thousand every year, as they simply cannot understand the ideas or the instruction imparted. Perhaps this large percentage of failures helps the "paper-making industry" by that pernicious practice of "supplementary examinations." But that is its only merit.

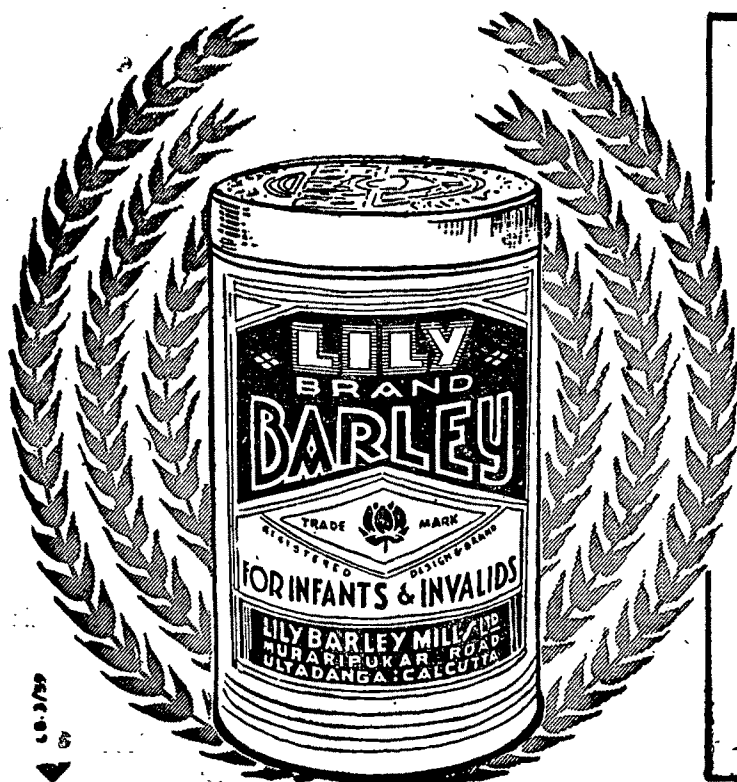
It is wishful thinking on the part of those

innocent people who piously hope that some of the Indian languages are fit media for higher studies. It is painful but true, that no Indian language is sufficiently developed today for the purposes of advanced instructions. Specialists are needed in every branch, be it commerce or science or art. And the greater the specialisation, the greater the requirements of linguistic precision. None of our languages have reached that stage, and I think that they never will. For while you are wasting your time and energy finding technical equivalents in Hindi, let me assure you that thousands of new terms and technical advances would have already been made during that self-same period. Which simply means that you will always be working at a disadvantage.

Experience has proved that the moment Hindi or any other regional language was taken as the medium of instruction the standards immediately fell. Observe the fiasco at the U.P. Universities, the classic case of Gujerat, and, more recently, the Tamil adventures at Madras University. Raja Rammohun Roy and the leaders of the

Indian Renaissance knew what they were about when they insisted on the mastery of English both at school and college. Those who control the universities must realise the utter tragedy of the situation. We can understand the politician's attitude for he has his eye on the next election. The teacher is concerned with the generations. In the year 2000, 39 years hence, it is the leaders of education today who shall be held responsible for the malaise. I make this statement both as a challenge and as a sombre warning.

The world is shrinking daily. New Delhi and New York, Moscow and Madras are almost next-door neighbours, and this obliges us to keep abreast of world developments, or as the alternative, fall back into a mediaeval torpor. No one loves his country more than the German and yet almost every German can speak English. Nobody loves his language more than the Frenchman and yet English is taught in French schools. You would be astonished at the very large numbers of Europeans who flock to England during the summer vacation to attend language courses,



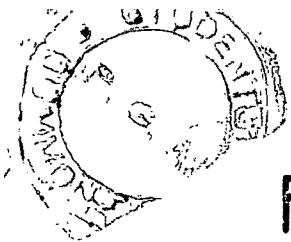
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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

GOETHE'S DEFINITION OF TAXATION

Original Record Preserved in a Museum

A short account of Germany's Tax Museum, which has got a collection of valuable records and documents has been published in an article under the above caption in *German News* which is reproduced hereunder:

In the year 1785, in the little German principality of Weimar there was a Minister of Finance whom the world of today knows less in this official capacity than as the much celebrated and greatest of all German poets—Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. And the simply-formulated, straight-forward definition of taxation which he drew up at that time might well hold good for the present era: "Taxes are such levies as are imposed by the ruling sovereign for the maintenance and protection of the State, for the prevention of distress and for the furtherance of the common weal. They must be levied as equitably as possible".

This humanistic explanation of the need for paying taxes to the State differs considerably from what we see on a relief carved some 4,000 years ago and found near Memphis. Here the figures depicted show that in those days the tax-payer humbly submitted his tax-return to the revenue officers on his knees and that whoever failed to kneel at once was promptly forced into the proper posture by a tax-attendant with a stick. Both these records—the original of Goethe's tax-definition and photograph of the relief in Memphis—are found in a museum, the only one of its kind in the Federal Republic of Germany: the Tax Museum in Freudenstadt.

The head of the revenue office in this picturesque little Black Forest town in Southern Germany had been interested for a long time in the development of taxation—as a hobby, so to speak. The material he had collected had become so voluminous

two years ago and was of such interest for people in general that he decided to exhibit the historical documents in the attic of his revenue office and to make them accessible to the public. Since then many people have visited the museum. The growing fame of the strange collection in the little town has led other persons besides the revenue officials of Freudenstadt to be on the watch for historical documents relating to taxation. Many precious records have been sent to the museum from other parts of the Federal Republic and even from foreign countries.

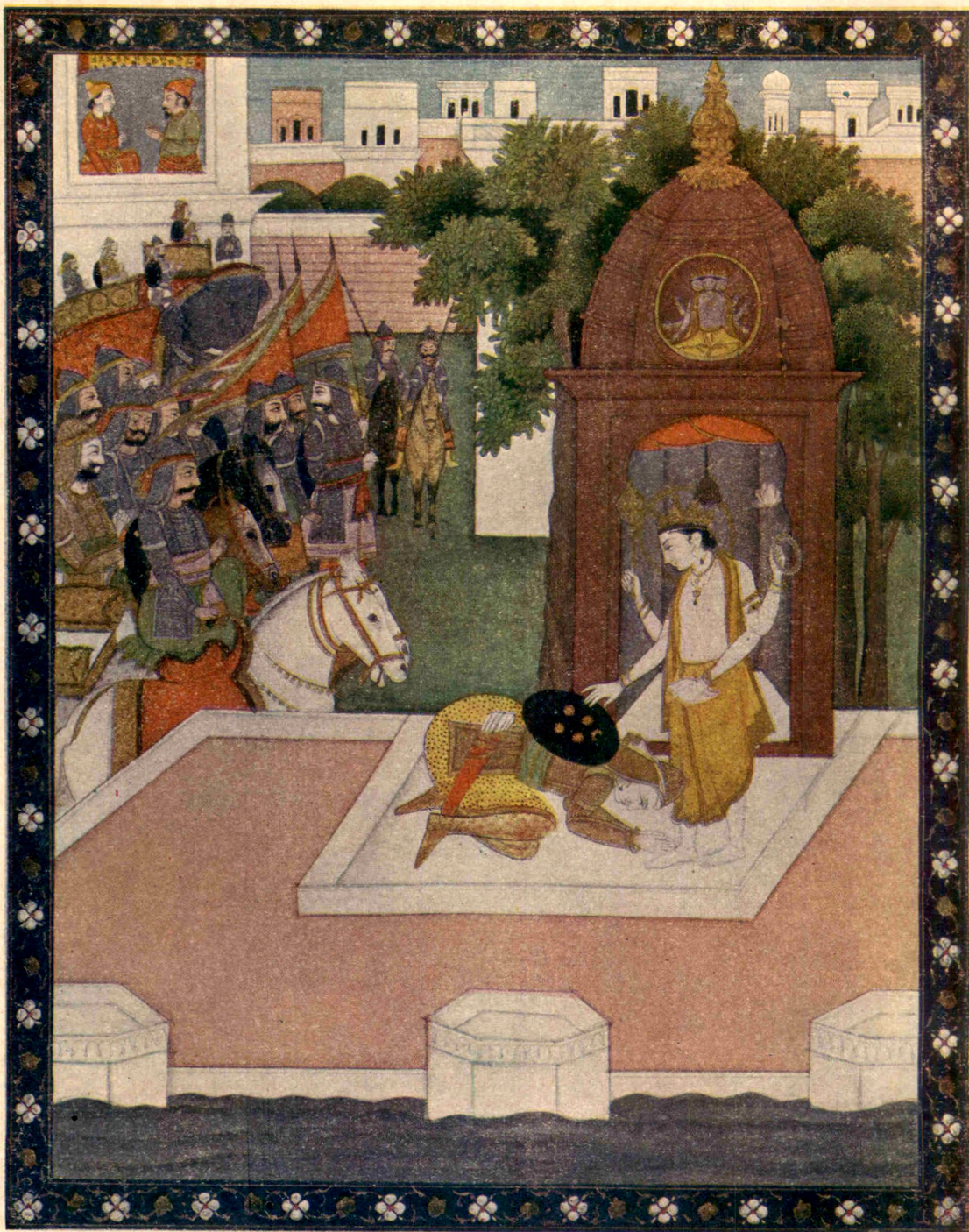
For the tax-payer who visits the museum it is quite a consolation, when he walks around, to find that people have, obviously, always paid taxes to the State. But when he looks at the number of tax-returns he must send in to the revenue office, or ponders on the multitude of questions he is supposed to answer now-a-days, he is sure to wish that he were far away from the highly-developed, industrial State of the Federal Republic which it is today, with its complicated tax legislation. He would certainly prefer taxes to be levied as they were levied in 1764. For in those days the revenue office only asked questions in the tax-return.

Documents, however, are not the only materials collected by the museum in connection with taxation. The humour of the Freudenstadt revenue officials is shown by the fact that they have also set up a collection of caricatures and jokes, the best of which (no doubt to cheer up the 25,000 tax-payers of Freudenstadt) are hung in the corridors of the revenue office.

This remarkable museum is not financed out of the taxes paid by the citizens of Freudenstadt. Its initiator and director, Dr. Pausch, head of the revenue office, has written two books—naturally both on the historical subjects of tax development. The proceeds from these books are the sole financial support of Germany's "Tax Museum".

Editor—Kedar Nath Chatterji

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YUDDHA YATRA—II
(From an old Kangra Picture)
By Courtesy : Mr. Ashoke Chatterjee

Founded by—RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

THE MODERN REVIEW

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NOTES

The World

The tensions that have reached a peak over the Berlin question still remain at that level, but the outlook has shifted slightly in favour of negotiations. Nothing much has transpired in the preliminary talks that are taking place now. Premier Khrushchev's proposal—or rather demand—that the nuclear test ban issue be merged with the negotiations on general disarmament, has now been virtually accepted by the U.N., of which the sixteenth session of the General Assembly is now in progress.

The background, so far as the last month was concerned, to the Assembly's deliberations is provided on the one hand by the resumption of nuclear tests, firstly by the Soviets and next by the U.S. Of course the self-imposed nuclear test bans, which the Soviets, the U.S. and Britain observed were set at nought by President De Gaulle in his typical blundering way when he went on with tests on his own out in the Sahara, much to the resentment of the African nations that are grouped around the Sahara.

The major points in these developments were:

(1) Russia exploded seven more nuclear bombs, bringing to eleven the number of Soviet tests since it ended the voluntary three-year moratorium, September 1. The Russians also shot a rocket 7,500 miles into the Pacific and said it hit within 1,000 yards of its target.

(2) The U. S. resumed nuclear tests with two underground, low-yield blasts in Nevada.

(3) The Communists raised new challenges to Allied access to Berlin. The West warned that such actions would destroy hope for a negotiated solution of the conflict.

On the other hand there have been certain critical developments in the Congo region that have caused a minor rift inside the Western Allies and has also caused repercussions inside the British Commonwealth of Nations. The crisis developed around the question of the secession of Katanga from the rest of the territories that formed formerly the Belgian Congo. The position, as viewed from the point of view of the U.S. was summed up by the *New York Times* of 17th September. We append extracts from the summary below, *in extenso*, because over this question interests of Britain and France, who are both involved financially in the Katangan mines and other commercial interests, differ from that of the U.S. As a result of which even the U.S. was pulled away from the support of the U.N. Secretary-General Hammarskjöld's action. The insidious and crooked campaign that made Rajeshwar Dayal's position untenable in the Congo was largely carried on at the instance of British and French interests which supported the Belgian attempt to retain a stranglehold on Katanga through the Belgian puppet Tshombe. The U.S. State Government blundered badly at the begin-

ning because of mendacious reports that came to it from its own officials of the diplomatic cadre, who evidently were either largely influenced by the British and Belgian consular officials or else were typical examples of the "gullible Yankee."

The N.Y. Times' summary is as follows :

"For fourteen months the United Nations has been engaged in an effort to bring law and order out of chaos in the Congo—a mission which, if successful, would greatly enhance the U. N.'s role as a supra-national instrument of peace."

"Last week the U. N. operation in the Congo plunged into its gravest crisis. U. N. troops were locked in bloody battle with the Congolese and die-hard Belgians of Katanga, the copper-rich province which seceded from the Congo eleven days after the former Belgian colony became independent on June 30, 1960."

"At the week-end the outcome of the conflict was in doubt. A defeat for the U.N. force would seriously damage Secretary-General Hammarskjöld's position, intensify Soviet efforts to remove him, and shake the structure of the U. N. itself. Moreover, there were large questions about the wisdom of the policy that led to the U. N.'s immediate predicament in Katanga."

"The Belgians, who made the Congo a colony eighty-four years ago, developed Katanga as the workshop of an otherwise poor and backward territory. By the time the Belgians, retreating before the wave of anti-colonialism sweeping Africa, granted the Congo independence, the annual production of Katanga's mines, cattle ranges, farms and industries was valued at nearly a billion dollars. Katanga's secession on July 11, 1960, deprived the rest of the Congo of the tax revenues from this wealth, without which the Congolese Republic could not long survive."

"Moreover, the Republic was in turmoil. The army mutinied and a political chain-reaction threatened to fragment the Congo into tribal regions. The Congolese regime appealed to the U. N. for help and on July 14, the Security Council voted to send in troops, the first contingents arrived the next day. Three main political camps emerged in the Congo."

"First there was the central government at Leopoldville, dominated in its early stages by premier Patrice Lumumba, an extreme nationalist, who turned pro-Soviet and anti-Western as Mr. Hammarskjöld resisted his demands that U. N. troops be used to end the Katanga secession by force: Russia, seeing in Mr. Lumumba a standard-bearer of its cause in Black Africa, supported him to the hilt and broke with Mr. Hammarskjöld over the issue, demanding that the Secretary-General be replaced. But Mr. Hammarskjöld had the support of the majority of the U.N. Mr. Lumumba's supremacy was short-lived. A military coup deposed him and in January he was murdered in Katanga."

"The murder of Mr. Lumumba, led to new talks among the various factional leaders. Last July Cyrille Adoula—a man acceptable to most of them—was elected by Parliament as Premier of a new government of national unity."

"Second, there was the regime of Antoine Gizenga, who inherited the Lumumbist mantle after the late Premier's death and formed a separatist government in Oriental Province. Mr. Gizenga has been persuaded to join the Adoula government as First Vice-Premier, but his links with the central government remain brittle."

"Third, there is the Katanga regime, headed by Moïse Tshombe, with its capital at Elisabethville. He has repeatedly rejected invitations to go to Leopoldville to discuss a compromise. He has defied growing pressure from the U.N. to rejoin the central government. His defiance has been backed strongly by Belgian industrialists who have invested heavily in Katanga and want their stake preserved. His strength has also rested to a considerable degree on the Belgian and other white officers in his 7,000-man army."

"The 16,000 U.N. troops now in the Congo have been operating under a number of U.N. resolutions. The original Security Council resolution of July 14, 1960, which sent the troops into the Congo, said their purpose would be :

"* * * to provide the (Congolese) Government with such military assistance as may be necessary until * * * the (Congo-

lese) national security forces are able to meet fully their tasks."

"Mr. Hammarskjöld interpreted this mandate as barring intervention against one faction or another—the stand that provoked the Soviet assault on him as a 'tool' of Western 'monopolists' determined to hold on to Katanga's natural resources."

"As the U.N. threw increasing support behind Congolese unification, the Security Council on Feb. 21, passed a new resolution designed to aid the central government and strip the Katanga army of its white mercenaries. The resolution said the Security Council:

(1) Urges that the United Nations take immediately all appropriate measures to prevent the occurrence of civil war in the Congo, including arrangements for cease-fires, the halting of all military operations, the prevention of clashes, and the use of force, if necessary, in the last resort;

(2) Urges that measures be taken for the immediate withdrawal and evacuation from the Congo of all Belgian and other foreign military and parliamentary personnel and political advisers not under the United Nations command, and mercenaries."

"In line with this resolution the U.N. command told Mr. Tshombe to remove the 512 non-Congolese officers in his army and sent troops into Katanga to see that this was done."

The Fighting

"At 4 A.M. on Wednesday, the 13th, the U.N. command at the Katangese capital of Elisabethville sent Indian, Swedish and Irish units to occupy key points in the city. The U.N.'s 'blue helmets' ran into Katangese army fire. It took eight hours of sharp fighting, in which two U.N. and at least thirty Katangese soldiers were killed, to capture the post office and radio station and put down resistance elsewhere in the city."

"The next day Katangese troops counter-attacked fiercely with mortar and machine gun fire. As fighting raged into the week-end, a 500-man Irish and Swedish garrison at the Kamina U.N. base, deep in

the interior, reeled under heavy attacks by Katangese troops and tribal warriors, and grave concern was expressed over the fate of a 150-man Irish garrison beleaguered at Jadotville, sixty miles from the provincial capital. Heavy casualties were reported on both sides."

"Mr. Tshombe, taking refuge in his residence, vowed a 'fight to the last soldier and the last bullet.' The Katangese were led by white officers, some in civilian clothes, many of them Belgians who had been removed from the army only two weeks previously. The whole Katangese resistance effort appeared to be stiffened by white 'ultras,' including soldiers of fortune and French ex-officers who had taken part in the abortive military revolt in Algeria last April. Across the border, white-ruled Northern Rhodesia promised medical supplies for the Katanga army."

"At the week-end Mr. Hammarskjöld himself was in Leopoldville. He had arrived there from New York, on his third visit to the Congo, only two hours after the U.N. had intervened in Elisabethville."

"The world reaction to the U.N. intervention was sharp. The Afro-Asian countries, which are overwhelmingly opposed to the Tshombe regime, were behind Mr. Hammarskjöld, urging him to go ahead and finish the job. Russia, hostile both to Mr. Tshombe and Mr. Hammarskjöld, found a new way of attacking the Secretary-General: it claimed the U.N. command was holding back in Katanga, after its initial success, to spare the 'colonialists'."

"Strong criticism of the U.N. action was voiced by France, which had been opposed all along to the U.N. Congo operation and which now accused the U.N. of exceeding its mandate and possibly violating its charter. Some support for this attitude was found in Britain, which expressed 'concern' and called for immediate cease-fire efforts."

"The United States, on the other hand, took the position that the United Nations acted within the mandate of the Feb. 21 Security Council resolution. The State Department expressed the hope that 'hostilities will be brought to a speedy conclusion.' It again affirmed U.S. support for the U.N.

effort to restore 'the integrity of the Congolese nation'."

While the fighting against the Katangese was proceeding a "reliable reporter" of the B.B.C., broadcast a running commentary on the actions of the small Indian contingent that was repelling a Katangan attack. This "reliable reporter," who is known as "Dick" Williams, is one of those whom the B.B.C. sent to Delhi in the early fifties—which explained his broadcasts to us very clearly—described the "inhuman savagery" of the Indian troops in Elisabethville, the capital of Katanga, during the fighting and further augmented his "reliable" statement by terming the behaviour of the Indian soldiers as being "quite indefensible", etc.

We, in India, have had long experience of these "reliable reporters" of the British variety. Long before the great-grandfather of Goebbels was even dreamt of, the East India Company used such reporters as the Abbe Dubois the Franco-Belgian catholic priest, who was paid £4,000 and given a pension by John Company's directors, about a hundred and fifty years back, for maligning the Indians to serve the interests of the dirty adventurers that were tormenting the helpless Indians with rapine and loot. So we on our part merely wondered how much this "reliable" fellow had been paid,—and by whom. But British papers became highly indignant—quite naturally—and eagerly joined in a chorus of vilification against the Indians. Unfortunately Pandit Nehru and Mr. Krishna Menon lost their tempers too and gave vigorous rejoinders, exposing the black-hand of foreign interests in Katanga in this campaign. Since then the higher authorities on both sides have tried to tone down this peculiar "misunderstanding"—at least on the surface—and so there need not be any further recriminations, for the time being.

The Secretary-General of the U.N., Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, who had been in the Congolese capital, Leopoldville, since September 13th, was trying his best to bring order out of the chaos created by the contestants in the cold war, who were each trying to shape the Congo according to their own desires and needs, without any

considerations whatsoever for the Congolese and their country. He was on his way to Northern Rhodesia, to meet and negotiate with Mr. Moise Tshombe, the Katanga President, for a peaceful solution of the tangle, when his plane was wrecked in a crash landing and he was killed. The cause of the crash is as yet an unsolved mystery but eager attempts are being made to prove the theory that it was not the result of an attack by one of the jet-fighters that have mysteriously appeared on the Congolese theatre. Foul play there has been, without doubt, but it is not yet clear whether the crash was the result of an fighter attack or that of the explosion of an infernal machine planted in the plane by the same agency as had activated the jet-fighters and their thoroughly mercenary pilots.

It was a tragic and premature end to a noble and dedicated life,—and perhaps it marks another step towards the ultimate dissolution of the U.N. But it is too early as yet to cry havoc.

September also covered the meeting of the "Unaligned Nations" at Belgrade. The Soviets marked the occasion by exploding the first of the multi-megaton nuclear bombs, thereby under-scoring the fact that peace as yet was but a fugitive in the face of lusts and passions that still dominate the powerful in this world. The Belgrade meeting has not produced anything significant in this period of mounting tensions.

The Laos affair is still dragging on in an indeterminate fashion and nothing tangible has come out of the conferences and behind the scenes meetings amongst the major actors in the puppet-show staged by the rival powers in that hapless though happy-go-lucky land.

In Algiers, the F.L.N. has made drastic changes in its leadership and the **colons** under the underground leadership of the Secret Army Organisation are again trying to overthrow De Gaulle.

In Turkey, the curtain was rung down over the last scenes of the eleven-month trials of those who were the main leaders of the Menderes government, by the executions of Menderes, the ex-Premier of Turkey, and of Polatkan, ex-finance minis-

ter, and ex-foreign minister Zorlu. Life imprisonment and long terms of penal servitude have been the fate of many others.

But the problem now before the Turks is whether the democratic way would be opened soon.

Dr. Subodh. Mitra

Bengal has lost another brilliant son in the death of Dr. Subodh Mitra, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta and of the Chittaranjan Cancer Institute, which he built up with assiduous care, skill and energy. He had left for Europe on August 28, to attend as co-Chairman of a Conference of the International Federation of Obstetrics and Gynaecology in Vienna. He was further to visit Paris, for a demonstration of the "Mitra Operation" for cancer and was to have visited Moscow, in response to an invitation by the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Health. Unfortunately he had a severe heart-attack while at Vienna and died of it on the night of September 4th.

Dr. Mitra was a tireless worker in the cause of relief to suffering humanity. He had contributed more than a hundred papers to scientific journals in German and English all over the world; particularly on cancer surgery of the uterus, and on toxæmia and anaemia in pregnancy.

Perhaps his greatest contribution to the fight against cancer was the "Mitra Operation for Cancer of the Cervix." The operation conceived by and named after him, was first demonstrated in Vienna in 1952, and its details were published simultaneously in the USA, Canada, and Britain in 1960.

That year Dr. Mitra demonstrated his operation at Berlin University's Women's Clinic. He also watched it being performed by the director-professor of Wurzburg University, and showed films of it at the Geneva Gynaecological Congress.

Dr. Mitra, who was connected with several social organizations, founded the Relief and Welfare Ambulance Corps.

As a Vice-Chancellor he was trying to solve the many difficult problems that have come before the Chief Executive of the Calcutta University of recent years. He was seriously concerned at the inability of Cal-

cutta colleges to admit freshmen and while trying to tackle the latter problem with his characteristic energy, he had a mild heart attack. Some of his friends advised him to take things easy after that, but his idea was to finish the job in hand first and then to take rest.

THE EDITOR

Indo-Ceylon Schools Boxing

It has now become an annual function that school and college boys of India and Ceylon should meet in the boxing ring to decide who are better exponents of the art of boxing for the year. This year an Indian team of school and college boys have gone over to Ceylon to fight against a Ceylon team in Colombo and Kandy. Mr. P. L. Roy of Calcutta has gone with the Indian team as the *chef de mission*. He is one of the world's greatest amateur boxers who has been Public Schools Champion of Great Britain, a Cambridge Blue in boxing and an Army-Navy-Air Force Champion of Great Britain. The Indian boys are lucky to have a man like P. L. Roy to lead them.

A.C.

The Lord Mayor of London

Dick Whittington was thrice Lord Mayor of London and his name has come down to posterity in a blaze of romantic glory. Millions of Indian boys and girls have read of this greatest of all Lord Mayors of London in their books of fairy tales and have grown up with the idea that a Lord Mayor of London is always a Lord among the Mayors of the world. Dick Whittington, however, is the only Lord Mayor of London whose name 'anybody' remembers in India. It was, therefore, a shock to us to know that a Lord Mayor of London had come to Calcutta to make an objectionable reference to *Chacha* Nehru. We thought it quite meaningless that a Lord Mayor of London should leave his gilded coach in London and travel by air to Calcutta. Then why must he pick on *Chacha* Nehru? In fact London made a mistake in making this acrimonious person her Lord Mayor. He is a man of limited vision who thinks nuclear explosions are the internal affairs of Great Britain. Had that been so, why should anybody worry about nuclear tests in India or Australia? The trouble with this nuclear business is that it does not remain "internal" to any country, but floats away and falls out all over

the world. Of the three things, *viz.*, Lord Russel, nuclear tests and British prisons, only the last is exclusively the internal affair of Great Britain. Lord Russel is more than a British and nuclear explosions are universal. This unintelligent Lord Mayor, therefore, is no credit to London and deserves the sack.

A. C.

National Integration

All the great men of India are meeting in New Delhi to consider ways and means for reintegrating India and to stop the present disintegration of India into Bihar, U.P., Madhya Pradesh, Punjab, Assam, West Bengal and so forth. Unfortunately, the great men of India cannot think excepting at very high level, and the disintegration occurs in the bazars, the back lanes and other low-level places where common people meet, talk and act thoughtlessly. The great men of India will no doubt discuss the fundamentals of national unity and criticise feelings relating to caste, creed, clan, language, etc., etc. But in fact it is greed and the ego of evil men that are at the root of India's present disunited condition. Too many tradesmen, money-lenders, tax-evaders and snatch and grab men have gained the freedom of India; and they are at the root of all anti-national tendencies. There are also the masses, who are illiterate, ill-educated, ill-mannered and left-out of all participation in the affairs of the nation. They must be made to feel their responsibilities.

A. C.

Taxis

Taxis in Calcutta are granted licences by the State to ply as public vehicles which can be hired by the people when they require transport. But these "public" vehicles have latterly become instruments of exploitation as far as the public are concerned. They can only be hired at the will of the drivers who pick and choose between fares in a manner which is not only undemocratic but degrading for the nation. The Calcutta police tolerate all law-breaking with a grace that is utterly disgraceful. They pass orders and then see those orders broken and ignored with a shameful complacency. This is also found in the thousands of empty rickshaws that crowd all the roads,

lanes, etc., of Calcutta. Of every ten vehicles on the road in Calcutta at least five are empty rickshaws. Traffic control in Calcutta is an expensive make-believe. The sergeants and the constables show themselves expansively in selected street corners which are visited by their senior officers. The rest of Calcutta is left to the tender mercies of taxis, lorries, buses, rickshaws and ill-mannered jay walkers who think the roads belong to them and the tax-payers must move along the roads by sufferance only.

A. C.

The Two Germanys

Politics, which is customarily guided by people who hold nothing sacred excepting their own "glory" and power; has become an evil force which for ever seeks to lower and destroy the humanity of man. Those bonds of sympathy and fellowship, those common efforts which make different types of human culture so rich in true emotions, have no meaning in the sphere of politics in which people come together only at the behest of leaders who seek power and the right to dominate and to impose their will upon the common man. Those who engage in politics have to dehumanise their outlook to a degree where it becomes a menace to all human beings and their civilisation. The present tussle between East and West Germany is at once farcical and dangerous. Farcical, because one cannot believe, somehow, that Germans could fall apart so far from an ideological angle, as to seal off one another and not have a common cultural life to, at least, some extent. Dangerous, because the Germans are an intellectual race and can be won over by others to follow a wrong path, provided folly is dressed up as wisdom by expert falsifiers of human values. There is no dearth of such men in the propaganda departments of the great governmental organisations of Europe, Asia and America. Politics can always succeed in making all humans act in an inhuman fashion, to the detriment of the true ideals of humanity.

A. C.

. VIEWS AND OPINIONS OF SIR NILRATAN SIRCAR

Nilratan Sircar was one of the most outstanding persons of 19th-20th century India. He was born in 1861 and he passed away in 1943. During his working life, which began when he was very young, he worked hard to develop his own personal qualities, which were many and great, and also for the betterment of our national life in the fields of education, research, medical aid, free thinking and industrial-economic progress. The few extracts that we have been able to reproduce in this number of **The Modern Review** from his speeches and writings can only give a rudimentary idea of his wide outlook and intensive vision. He was a vastly learned man who thought carefully, precisely and correctly whenever he dealt with any subject of scheme of practical importance. The Centenary Celebrations will last for several days in Calcutta. Other places in India will also celebrate his centenary and several biographies, memorial volumes and collections of his writings and speeches are proposed to be published during the centenary year. This centenary is of great social and intellectual importance to Indians; for Nilratan Sircar was outstanding as an intellectual who devoted his life and fortune for improving the social and economic condition of Indians during the period 1889—1943.

Extracts from the statement to the Royal Commission on the Superior Indian Civil Services by Sir Nilratan Sircar, 22nd January, 1924.

"THE time has certainly come for the cessation of recruitment of Civil Medical Servants in different departments through the door of the I.M.S. It has been abundantly proved during the War that such military reserve as is formed by the Civil branch of the I.M.S. is by no means indispensable. There was no dearth of qualified non-I.M.S. medical men either in or outside Government services to undertake military duties in emergency. The reserve theory cannot, therefore, now furnish a strong reason for the continuance of military encroachment upon civil departments. The higher appointments now held by I.M.S. officers should be thrown open to the profession. These appointments should be made and controlled by those authorities by whom the activities of the officers concerned are directed. The Educational and Scientific appointments (whose number must be increased by provision of an adequate number of competent assistants in teaching, research and clinical work, capable of replacing the higher officers, as occasions arise), as also other appointments held directly under the Local Government, should be made by the Local Government with the help of an Advisory Board and be controlled by the same Government. The officers serving directly under the Government of India should be recruited on the recommendation of an inter-provincial committee and controlled by the Government of India. The officers serving under the local bodies should be similarly recruited and controlled by these bodies.

"As regards the officers appointed under the existing conditions the control should be transferred from the Secretary of State to the Government of India or the Local Government.

"The price that India has to pay for appointing I.M.S. officers as Civil Medical Servants, particularly as teachers, must not be computed in terms of money alone. It proves too heavy not only because of our limited resources but also because of the cramping effect that the present system produces on the Indian mind. The system has systematically deprived Indians of opportunities of higher training and the great benefit of first-hand experience by keeping the higher posts—educational, research or clinical—almost as a close preserve for a practically foreign class. The whole atmosphere is humiliating to Indians. A system that seeks to train the flower of our youth merely as assistants and subordinates (the natural idea of being succeeded in his chair by one of his pupils being unthinkable to the average I.M.S. professor) cannot certainly be appreciated as an ideal system."

As Chairman of Reception Committee, All-India Medical Conference, 1928.

"An alien trusteeship of a people's life and fortune is almost a contradiction in terms. Sanitation, like education, is a social business and can be successfully conducted and administered only by a social agency which is an organic member of the society itself:—witness the Bengal Co-operative Anti-malarial Society, the Bengal Health Association and the Bengal Social Service League and similar organisations in other provinces, Principal Ramsbotham has perceived this truth in the sphere of higher education. It is

equally axiomatic in the sphere not merely of medical education but also of medical and sanitary administration. For among the governing factors in all sanitary reforms and movements are the social and the economic conditions of life, the environment, material as well as moral and above all, the psychology of the people; and alien administration, out of touch with these living realities, will either run counter to them and be brought up against a dead wall of irremovable and irremediable social facts or, weary of fighting half-understood obstacles in the path, grow funky and timid and fight shy of all social legislation even in the best interests of the people's lives and health. Sometimes indeed the mischief does not stop there. It goes in breeding jealousy and suspicion and, in the last phase an intolerance even to madness and sanitary administration, whose *raison d'être* is the service of the people, may even end by grudging a health exhibition under popular auspices for the people's education in public health.

"The same spirit of unpardonable official non-co-operation is in evidence when the question turns on organising medical and sanitary research under the responsible direction of Indian officers, and yet the Indian is nowise wanting in capacity for such work; witness the remarkable results achieved by many Indians working under great difficulty and also by the purely Indian installations of scientific research like the Bose Institute, and the Science College instituted by the late Taraknath Palit and Rashbehary Ghosh of loving memory, in the Calcutta University, both for training men and investigating scientific facts and phenomena. Nothing is more demoralising than a situation in which the natural master and servant change their places,—even the Biblical parable know nothing of this species of the "unprofitable stewards."

"It is futile to expect a vigorous growth of the faculty of scientific research under the cold shade of alien authority that has only a sneer of indifference, if not of jealousy, for genuine merit in the aspiring subordinate. The natural apprehension seems to be that a meritorious Indian in subordinate capacity, if encouraged, may raise his head too high by perseverance and devotion to scientific work.

"But in India we labour under a double disadvantage. The medical bureaucracy is not only alien, but it is also recruited primarily for the military as opposed to the civil administration. And this

makes any expansion in cal and sanitary service forms in the constitutional service exceedingly To perpetuate and strengthen injurious system in spite of the profession's test of the profession's natives in the legislative wrong. The ostensible sion of a war reserve and attendance to European families, cannot bear moment. The military reserve and the civil branch from the encroachments officers. Vacancies in the tific posts should be filled as for general medical tion there should be open competition in In the European Civil or there is no difficulty in no dearth of European regards the moffusil, and be excused for not agricultural and material interests as well as those of national sake of gratifying a sense of a "microscopic mirror that all the civil medical be Indianised. If we were against the death-dealing pant in the land, if we hearted indefatigable policy working for the diseases and suffering, administration must be of the soil, who will have as the intimate knowledge as a *sine qua non*."

Presidential Address Medical Council

"A vast amount of is now wasted in the traditional institutions in India admitted that the medical be linked with universities desirable to divorce research teaching. To do this should be converted in work, for the younger the inspiration to become

tomorrow. The Indian Research Fund Association should distribute a number of post-graduate scholarships in each medical institution to stimulate research work. Incidentally it gives us pleasure to note that Sir Norman Walker and Major Bradford came to the same conclusion about several years ago. The latter noted in his report that the organisation of research department in India as a separate department is a great loss to the country.

"We agree with the opinion of the Fletcher Committee that the "greatest need" is for man rather than for buildings. We also agree with their views that the present inactivity in clinical research by the professorial staff of medical institutions in India is unfortunate.

"While speaking on the subject we believe the idea of establishing a Central Research Institute in a place away from big hospitals has been permanently dropped. The folly of establishing research institute, in remote hills away from the sources of clinical material would be apparent to anybody who have visited these institutes in any part of India. It is economically an unsound policy which does not contribute to the efficiency or the speed of the work in any way. We hope such mistakes would never be committed in future."

Talk to Andhra University Medical Students, 1939.

I. AIM OF MEDICAL EDUCATION

"The aim of the medical education is to equip a student with such knowledge as will enable him to take part in the prevention, detection and scientific treatment of diseases and to raise the standard of sanitary living so that wastage of life is prevented and physical fitness of the people improved.

"To enable one to carry out this task efficiently, it is not only necessary to ensure a minimum entrance qualification for the medical and P.L. education but also a degree and method of training in the basic sciences as will enable the student to correctly diagnose the ailments in the human body in relation to his environment. Furthermore, he must be taught how to improve the physique of the individual and improve his environment so that sickness is prevented. If we have to raise the nation from say, C stage to A stage, we have to ensure certain minimum standard of teaching and practical experience, so that the students and doctors can effectively participate in a planned programme of progress.

"The ultimate aim of medical treatment

vention of diseases, while that of public health reform will be to transform the environment of the individual and the community in such a way that the causes of disease will be removed. For success of a scheme like this, the doctor, whether he is engaged in medical relief or public health reform, must maintain a sincere and correct attitude of *decorum* and conduct, without which no ordered progress is possible. Out of this desire a Code of Ethics has developed in each country and it should be the desire of every member of the profession to honour the same. It is also necessary that the whole medical profession should be united, in their endeavour to lift up the prestige of the profession to a high-level."

II. MEDICAL RESEARCH

"As I have mentioned in my Convocation Address, research is the sap of the plant of science. Fact finding surveys and a quest of the unknown constitute the ingredients of the sap. Unless the spirit of research is engrafted into the minds of the young learners it is not likely to take a strong root in their minds when they pass out and become members of a noble profession. When the results of research art to be utilised, the state should come in. As in a democratic constitution, the people form the State, so if the people appreciate the value and utility of research the State will automatically try to encourage research and to apply the same to the general uplift of the country. I am glad to notice that your college here tries to foster such a spirit among the students."

III. MEDICAL PROFESSION AND THE STATE

"In your province where the average area served by a hospital or a dispensary is 126 square miles and the average population served by each hospital or dispensary is 41,000 the need for an adequate medical relief is evident. If we have to increase the number of qualified medical men of the proper standard keeping the above requirements in view we must have to multiply our efforts manifold if we want to speed up our efforts to meet the requirements of national planning.

"We need more educational institutions and more hospitals not only for the alleviation of human suffering but for the efficient teaching of students. In this connection I should like to discourage the tendency to sink all our money in brick and mortar without equipping such institutions with the most up-to-date apparatus. I shall be glad to see a cheap type of building crop up in this country, with the help of our engineering

pean countries in this connection. If we do this we shall have more money to equip our institutions with the necessary apparatus and to take care of a larger number of patients than we are able to do at present. Researches regarding architecture have not made as much progress as it should particularly in the warmer tracts of India. I should like to draw the attention of the Indian Medical Council to this point and shall be glad to see that they do not insist on magnificent buildings as a prerequisite of the affiliation of medical colleges to the tails of the General Medical Council. We must cut our coat according to the cloth available in our country.

"The question of public health is much more complicated inasmuch as its successful working depends not only on the training of an adequate personnel but also because it involves considerable expenditure and the improvement of environmental conditions and on public health engineering projects. I commend this matter to your serious consideration as it seems to me it has not received adequate attention either from the people or from the administrators.

"In order that a modern University may be able to fulfil its purposes in a proper manner and on an adequate scale, it is necessary that there would be a clear understanding of the conception of general liberal education, the University being the chief educational authority responsible for fostering such education in its area of operation. This is needed in view of the fact that there has been a considerable difference of opinion even among eminent educationists as to what constitutes liberal education since the days Plato and Aristotle expressed their ideas on the subject. It is contended by certain critics that any education other than purely literary and purely scientific cannot be included in any scheme of general liberal education and that such education is beyond the scope of any university. This has resulted in considerable loose thinking as to the relative importance of purely literary and scientific studies on the one hand and studies of so-called utilitarian or non-cultural subjects on the other. There is also much confusion of thought as to how far the university is the proper authority for imparting technical education."

From the Presidential Address of
Sir Nilratan Sircar, All-India Theistic
Conference, Bombay, December, 1915.

THEISM IN PRIMITIVE RELIGION.

"In one sense, and that perhaps the
•• truest and best, Theism is the most ancient

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the worship of Reason, of an impersonal
 presence, or of the Perfect Man, and even
 the mechanics in their worship of
 Karma, are seekers after the one
 God and, as such, included in the fold
 of Theism. Let us lay that great saying to

CONTRIBUTIONS OF ANCIENT RELIGIONS TO THE THEISTIC RELIGION.

The Theists in India, then with
 the tradition of religious toleration and
 civility dating from beyond Asoka,
 make a world-religion of our
 seeking to fulfil and not destroy
 the faiths by which man has lived
 in any age or clime. Vedic and
 Upanishadic polytheism will restore to us the
 sense of Nature, our natural piety, our
 love with flowers, the rivers, and the
 rains, our hope in the illumination of
 the sun and our strength in the splendour
 of the charioted Sun. The Avesta will re-
 us the sense of wonder and awe and
 the youth with which Humanity in the fresh-
 dawn of thought illumined the abyss
 depths of the spirit and to whose vision
 the world was first revealed under the form of a
 superscription of Eternity. In these Upanishads
 meet the transcendent and the immanent
 in an original intuition, which is
 creative of Reality, an intuition which is
 once the mother of religion and of philosophy.
 But indeed these great historic religions
 cannot be thus exhausted of their contents;
 for they are not partial phases of the
 consciousness of man,—expressing as they
 do the whole of man's life on the natural
 and instinctive as well as on the ethical and
 the spiritual levels. They have a many-sidedness,
 an adaptation, and a flexibility which
 are apt to be wanting in the creations
 of personal idealism. Thus it is that the
 historic religions are rich in symbols which
 appeal to the imagination and the artistic
 sense; they clothe the eternal verities with
 authority in the form of religious dogma
 and in their ceremonials and festive aspects
 they satisfy the social sense, the instinct
 of companionship and play, binding together
 their votaries in communal bonds. But
 above all, they wield power over the mass
 the simple unlettered multitude, ministering
 to their needs of consolation here and hereafter.

HISTORIC THEISM : THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE FUTURE RELIGION.

The great historic Theisms of the world,
 the Christian, or Islamite, Vaishnabite or
 Jaina, will each bring to us new stores
 of grace. One will teach us the sanctity
 of sorrow and suffering and the central need
 of sacrifice for the uplift of the poor, the
 fallen and the fallen. Another will
 teach a burning sincerity as of the sands
 of Arabia, the simplicity and single-
 mindedness of putting the Divine Will above
 everything else, and the secret of putting
 the life in the trappings and garnishings of life
 and rousing them up in an overmastering

will help us to accept life as the Lila or Play
 of Love, and to find in wife and mother,
 friend and servant, the one Divine Lover,
 infinitely great stooping to be infinitely lit
 to love and be loved. The fourth will teach
 us the secret of Yoga, of communion, me-
 ditation, contemplation, in one word peace
 amidst the storm and stress of an apathetic
 and even a hostile world. Our closest spiri-
 tual affinity however is with the religion
 of the Upanishads, those prophetic utterances
 of the ancient seers of India, for whom the
 dawn of thought illumined the abyss
 depths of the spirit and to whose vision the
 world was first revealed under the form of a
 superscription of Eternity. In these Upanishads
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 the simple unlettered multitude, ministering
 to their needs of consolation here and hereafter.

THE PROBLEM FOR OUR UNIVERSAL THEISM HOW TO BECOME HISTORIC AND CONCRETE.

"The historic Theisms, then, whether
 Hindu or later Buddhistic, Christian, Jewish
 or Islamic, have their advantages over the
 universal Theism we profess, and unless the
 latter consents to enrich itself with the blood
 of Humanity by becoming historic and con-
 crete in its turn, it will always be in the air
 as it were, an idea, no doubt a governing

hardly religion swaying the lives and destinies of masses of men."

Industrial Situation in India

"The present industrial situation in India is one which calls for great watchfulness as well as prompt action on the part of both the Government and the people. The disappearance of Germany from the Indian market implies a displacement of trade of enormous value, a widespread disturbance of the economic equilibrium, which, unless it is guided by far-seeing and provident statesmanship, is bound to end in disaster. For Japan's industrial conquest of India by methods of peaceful penetration will not be restricted to those spheres of interest which have been vacated by Germany; this invasion, already a fait-accompli, and proceeding by rapid strides, if unperceived, will gather an irresistible momentum as it goes forward, carrying everything before it,—not merely chemicals, soaps, toys, or other commodities made in Germany and imported therefrom but also cotton, silk, glass, leather, matches, etc., in fact, the staple commodities of Indian industry and of India's trade with Great Britain, and the real significance of the transfer of trade lies deep below the surface. In all the factors which go to build up the economic organisation of a people, whether geographical or social, in cultural traditions as well as in the standard of living, Japan combines the hereditary virtues of the East with the scientific acquisition of the West, the fecundity, the productiveness, the tenacity, the subtlety of an Oriental stock, with the versatility, the progressiveness, the efficiency, the spurt and dash of the most go-a-head Occidental type. And the Japanese will, therefore, penetrate in an Oriental country to spheres of interest which the Germans and other European people found effectually closed against them. And it must always be remembered that the British economic connection with India has this great advantage that Great Britain and India have in one sense been complementary economic units, one predominantly manufacturing and the other predominantly agricultural; and even as regards manufacturing industries the dividing line between large-scale machine production and small-scale machine-cum-hand production is the line which will for some time keep Indian and British interests from wide or injurious over-lapping as well as from irresistible conflict. But Japan's combination of hand-power with the power of machinery, of small-scale as well as of large-scale production, of cheap labour attrac-

degree of reasonable security. No gal we are sadly lacking in business instinct, but it is only after many, and much trial and error that we have in our midst captains of industries able to create favourable command success. The crying evil in is in other fields, is that the people ower of initiative and without power on and organisation. It, therefore, Government, as being the ultimate managers in this great co-operative joint concern which constitutes the on, to supply the organising power, r circumstances is more competent ower or power of machinery.

It stands in our way is a theory or a eory, concerning the legitimate scope of government, a theory which is dead even in England—its home. f *laissez faire, laissez aller*, of leav- the course and drift of nature, the mpetition and of individual effort, s no doubt a sound rule for the ordi- of administration, but in all national where the problem is to equip the nit in the international struggle, this opelessly broken down and nowhere recent times than in Great Britain, ole trend of recent legislative, finan- ministrative activity has been in the ction. But Indian conservatism is a ial; even in the hey-day of Lloyd- nce with its gospel of State Aid and ce, the Secretary of State ordered a lia even from those spheres of State- y into which a gradual, continuous l advance had been made under a ernment keenly conscious of its obli- ardianship to the millions of artisans n dispossessed of their heritage of barren pittance. The experiments of of Industries in Madras had given nd chrome leather to the depressed th Indian artisans and they promised others of a hundred more fruitful t these were strangled in the womb. : can point to some beneficent State aid of Industry; Agricultural titutes and Technological Institutes h work as well as the work of the eaus,—even an Advisory Board of id Industries with a minister presid-

but only the big capitalists and

capitalistic organisations can possibly avail th selves of their valuable advice and profit by fruit of their valuable researches; and the pe who are most in need remain as helpless hopeless as before; for them the one thing n- ful is not to be advised but to be trained practical work, to be shown the way by being by the hand, and to be supported with cap and credit, the sinews of their economic v and it is certain they will in the threatened ec- mic vicissitudes and revolution drift help- and aimlessly as before, a disorganised rak until and unless the Government gives them lead, the practical driving power, which is t one supreme need of the time.

“No distribution of blue books and pamph- no model farming, breeding, or seed-distrib- no activities of bureaus or research institute. technical education in the country or provi for such education abroad, no labours of lab committees, mining committees or confere will save the situation created by the pre- crisis. In fact what is now needed is a more ac industrial policy of Government;—the Gov- ment should take the initiative in organizing : industries as may have a hopeful outlook in present condition of the market and with available resources at the disposal of the cou- The methods of Government help and organis- will vary according to the varying needs of industries so selected.

“Some industries, as sugar and indigo, require a great deal of preliminary experin- ing, both as regards the cultivation of crops the subsequent manipulation of the raw mate and these important industries, for which I has special capabilities, can be rehabilitated if Government were to carry the initial ex- mental stages to completion so as to place ther a market basis and then make over the conc- to private parties or companies on fair reasonable terms. In some industries Gov- ment may help by the supply of the raw mate as Mr. Swan points out in his report. The F- Department may make a suitable arrange- for the supply of suitable wood to indus- such as matches, and pen and pencil making other cases, the chief difficulty is to find adequate market for the manufactured comm- which cannot be profitably produced except a large scale, and here Government may help placing large orders and contracts during initial stages, as for example at the Tata : and Iron Works. In other industries such

those of cotton weavers, silk weavers and brass founders, improved tools, for example, fly shuttle looms, lathes, hand machines, may be supplied on a system of loan and recovery by instalments. Local demonstrations may be given in the use of these tools and processes, and co-operative credit societies may also be established among cottage workers where the conditions are suitable. But of all the ways in which Government can render material help to the growth of new industries in the country the most fruitful and far-reaching are :

(i) The supply of loanable capital on easy terms on the basis of reasonable security, and,

(ii) the grant of transport facilities by the control of railway rates and steamer freight, as well as by extension of railway lines.

"As regards the supply of capital, it may be noted that there are important industries, for example, dyes, glass-ware, etc., which under present conditions of competition require larger capital than private individuals in India are in a position to invest, and joint-stock companies as yet do not command sufficient credit to raise the money. For financing such industries a central bank advancing loans on adequate security, on cheap terms, should be among the first concerns of the State in India. It is a matter of common knowledge that in France and in Japan State Banks such as the State Bank of France and the Bank of Japan were originally founded with the object, among others, of assisting industry and agriculture by supplying the use of loanable capital at a moderate charge to farmers and manufacturers on reasonable security. For some time here in India the project of a central State Bank has been in the air; but in the various schemes proposed while such necessary matters as the custody of the Government balances and the Government reserves, the adjustment of the currency, etc., have been properly kept in view, I do not notice that one of the primary objects of such banks in all progressive countries, namely, the supply of loanable capital to support agriculture and industry has been at all mooted in the course of the discussion. It will be said that this will be within the province of the Presidency Banks. But as a matter of fact the Presidency Banks do not serve this primary need of financing the indigenous industries. They enjoy many of the advantages of State

Banks as custodians of the Government balances and in fine themselves and the export well-established and replenished by public discharging some responsibilities of a State not only carrying also of supporting of the country with a view to the security can be maintained.

"In the same way, the necessary in a manner granted by the Government. As Mr. S. C. Chatterjee has pointed out, increased control in the matter of the public interest of a permanent character from the trading community. In such instances, it has been marked, where equilibrium have been refused. The following example will show the advantage.

"According to the report for flour for the year 1900-1901, and over the period the traffic was 1,00,000 tons. The E. I. Ry. and the Government freight would have been 1,00,000 tons.

"Whatever may be the State-working can be no doubt that it will be assumed by the Government interest.

"Another important matter may render the Government industries with various bureaus and agencies expansion of market and in this matter follow the example of the Government.

"These are some of the Government may be the growing economic the war. Indeed it is solved only by the leadership of the Government.

SIR NILRATAN SIRCAR

By S. K. LAHIRI

Nilratan Sircar passed away at the age of singular combination of uncommon intellect at Giridih, a popular health-resort in Chota Nagpur, on Tuesday, the 18th May last. His death not only creates a void in the medical world of India, which it would be difficult to fill; but his disappearance from the wider sphere of his varied activities for the social, cultural, political, economic and industrial advancement of India is an irreparable loss to the country as a whole and the cause of her progress and development. Sir Nilratan Sircar's death removes one of the most accomplished and skilful among the physicians of the day, who had attained worldwide repute as a leading exponent of the medical profession and won recognition as one of the most brilliant ornaments of the noble profession to which he belonged. But the claim of Sir Nilratan Sircar to the remembrance of succeeding generations rests not on his unique achievements as a medical man and as a consummate manipulator of the humanising art of healing alone. His earnest solicitude for public welfare along with his ceaseless devotion and neverfailing enthusiasm impelled him to take a very active and prominent part in the public life of the country, notwithstanding the very high pressure on his time and energy that the multifarious duties of his extensive professional work entailed; this enabled him to render invaluable public service in various spheres of activity calculated to promote the well-being of the people. Though Sir Nilratan Sircar began his life in very humble circumstances, by his manful struggle against poverty and adverse circumstances, he achieved unique success and rare distinction. He retained till the last moment of his life his simple and unassuming character and unassuming manners. His sweetness of temper endeared him to his patients and generated confidence and respect in their minds; his consideration for the poor and suffering was well-known; his sympathy and regard for his friends was a notable feature of his character. He always abstained from making ill of others and in criticising those to whom he differed, he was in the habit of showing scrupulous care not to hurt anybody's feelings. He never showed any inclination to play to a gallery. Sir Nilratan Sircar's remarkable character, his spotless character, his notable public life, his devotion to public duty and the high ideal by which he was animated, along with a singular combination of uncommon intellectual gifts with rare moral qualities will serve as an inspiring example to the youths of the country. Sir Nilratan Sircar's achievements in the domain of medical science and practice placed him in the forefront among the medical men of his day, and he had the unique distinction of holding the position of leader of his profession for over half-a-century. To him along with late Dr. Sureshprasad Sarvadhikari belongs the credit of raising the status of Indian practitioners of medicine to a position of equality with British members of the Indian Medical Service practising in India. They demonstrated that given the same opportunity, Indian practitioners of medicine, in all its branches, were equal to their British compeers. He took a prominent part in the establishment of the Carmichael Medical College, the first non-official medical college in India, manned by Indian teachers of medicine, besides a number of important hospitals and medical institutions. Besides, he rendered signal service to the cause of medical education and research by attempting to place medical education in India on a more systematic and scientific basis and in other ways. The country owes her gratitude to Sir Nilratan Sircar, in an equal measure, for his services in other spheres of public activity. He was ever anxious to serve the cause of educational advance and expansion. His long and intimate connection with the Calcutta University,—as an elected Fellow since 1893, as an influential member of the Syndicate, as Vice-Chancellor, President of the Post-Graduate Department of Arts and also as President of the Post-Graduate Department in Science, and as a member of numerous Boards, Committees and Faculties—his membership of the legislature of the Province for a number of years and of various educational institutions enabled him to attempt to further educational extension and improvement in all possible ways. His interest in education was of a comprehensive character and this interest continued till the last days of his life. His ardour for education was not restricted to a narrow sphere; he concerned himself with education in most of its branches and all its stages, namely general education, from the primary to the highest stage, scientific education and research, medical education, technical education, etc.

Whenever the situation demanded—and such occasions occurred—often in this Province—Sir Nilratan did not hesitate to raise his voice against official encroachments on the field of education. He maintained his interest in education even when advancing age and failing health made it difficult for him to participate actively in matters affecting this most important problem. Sir Nilratan's devoted labours in connection with the organisation of the National Council of Education, and the establishment of the Bengal Technical Institute, which has subsequently developed into an engineering college under the National Council of Education, will be long remembered with thankfulness. He took a prominent part in the drafting of the first set of rules and courses of instruction together with the constitution of the National Council of Education as Secretary, with the help and advice of the late Sir Brajendranath Sil and many other distinguished citizens of Bengal. It may not be remembered that he was mainly responsible for influencing the late Sir Taraknath Palit to make his magnificent gift for the promotion of scientific and technical education. It was chiefly with the help of Sir Taraknath's contribution in the beginning that the Bengal Technical Institute was brought into existence and Sir Nilratan was for a number of years connected with it in an active and intimate capacity as Secretary. He was associated with the work of the National Council of Education as also of the Visva-Bharati till the last days of his life.

Sir Nilratan played an important part in the promotion of industrial development in Bengal. He was one of the pioneers of the tanning and soap industries in the Province. He took a bold step in starting a tannery with a view to producing finished leather goods, the managing agency of which was ultimately made over to Messrs Martin & Co. He also set on foot a soap factory. It may be noted with satisfaction that his example in these spheres has been followed by many young men as a number of tanneries and soap factories have subsequently been established in the precincts of Calcutta. His enthusiasm knew no bounds, and he took active steps, during the Swadeshi Movement, for the purpose of an enquiry into the requirements and prospects of manufacture of chemicals and allied products. Even so late as in October, 1939, while delivering the Convocation Address of the Andhra University, Sir Nilratan pointed out how each time a war blockaded the communications between

the East and the West, they discovered their helplessness in the supply of medical preparations and chemicals. He urged that with the excellent natural advantages which India possessed as regards her soil, climate and plant flora, and with proper and adequate training of young students in chemistry and allied subjects for handling these and other relevant matters, it should not be necessary or difficult for them to depend wholly on imports from other countries in the matter of the supply of medical preparations and chemicals. It may not be known to many that even the burdensome financial strain produced on his resources by his industrial ventures did not cool his enthusiasm for the industrial development of the country.

His long and intimate connection with the Indian National Congress until the split that took place on the eve of the introduction of the Montagu Reforms, his activities during the agitation in connection with the Swadeshi Movement and the Partition of Bengal, the bold attitude that he took up at the time of the Panjab disturbances, the intimate connection that he maintained with a number of public institutions and his numerous activities for raising the status of his country and his fellow-men, in various departments of life, during the entire course of his active life, showed how genuine and real was his interest in the political advancement of India.

Sir Nilratan joined the Brahmo Samaj early in life. He was a member of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, of which he became President. He took very active interest in the work of the Samaj in the earlier stages of his career, but his interest in the activities of the Samaj continued till the last days of his life. He presided over a session of the All-India Theistic Conference some years ago.

Sir Nilratan Sircar was, perhaps, the first among the physicians of India, whose great abilities and distinguished services received acknowledgment from European and American medical men. During his visit to Europe in 1920 the University of Edinburgh conferred upon him the degree of LL.D. and the Oxford University the degree of D.C.L., *honoris causa*. Since his passing away a number of eminent physicians in England and America have come forward to pay eloquent tributes to his memory and acknowledged his signal services and eminent position among the physicians of the day in befitting terms.

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MARX

An Interpretative Study and Analysis of the Marxian Paradox

BY NARENDRA K. SETHI, M.A., A.M., M.R.A.S., M.B.A. (New York)

MARX was a paradox unto himself. And surprisingly, modern Marxism has retained the paradox. Therein lies his victory and defeat, for in the propagation of this huge paradox lay Marx's finest hour.

This is the paradox of human values, of economic ties, of historical concepts and of materialistic notions. Marx triumphed in the realm of abstract intelligence, which he did not approve, and lost bitterly in the world of concrete reality, which was his domain.¹ Set out to change the current of economic wisdom and thinking, he unconsciously reverted back to the classical tradition and merely extended the Ricardian assumptions to their extremity. Despite his obsessive reliance on materialistic philosophy and revolutionary creed, he ended up as a visionary and wishfully dreamed "the hope of an ideal state".² And finally, even his self-pronounced motto "Follow your own course and let people talk"³ which to him remained the eternal truth led him to addict himself with a directly different creed of "passionate value judgments and ideological delusions."⁴

This innate paradox of Marxism becomes its sharp reality—the motivating spirit of Communism today which delights in deluding itself to this paradox. This has also resulted in the relative fading away of the "myth" of Marx and in presenting his motives and themes in a more integrated manner at least in the free world.

I

Marx is noted in intellectual circles for a variety of reasons. Perhaps, no other economist has left such a deep impact on man's mind and none other (with the possible exception of George) has been able to establish an institution of that majesty after him. The Marxian and the non-Marxian world pay tribute to him for different reasons but his name sustains. The vigour of Smith, the temper of Malthus, the mood of Ricardo, the spirit of Mill and the zeal of Keynes are overshadowed by the creed of Marx. Why? That is the question.

This question can be answered in two different ways depending on which side of the Marxian philosophy we are. The Marxists, themselves strongly feel that no dissection of Marx's thought can lead us to a perfect understanding of "what he really meant". They seem to believe that the various socio-economic judgments propounded by Marx should not be classified under separate heads because this would lead to a possible disintegration and perhaps a final rejection of his theories. On the other hand, the Western wisdom treats each of the Marxian ideas separately and on its own ground and then evaluates them rationally.⁵ It appears that both these approaches are one-sided because one tends to vivisection the framework of Marxian thought and the other oversimplifies by generalization. In this analysis, we will try to synthesize both these viewpoints by adopting a perspective which will correlate the various individual theories of Marx in one integrated socio-economic phenomenon.

1. Ruhle, Otto., *Karl Marx: His Life and Work*. The New Home Library, New York, 1943., p. 383. See also:

Schumpeter, Joseph A., *A History of Economic Analysis*, Oxford University Press., New York, 1955., p. 390. "As far as pure theory is concerned, Marx must be considered a 'classic' economist and more specifically a member of the Ricardian group. Marx used the Ricardian apparatus: he adopted Ricardo's conceptual layout and his problems presented themselves to him in the forms that Ricardo had given to them."

2. Haney, Lewis H., *History of Economic Thought*. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1949, p. 494.

3. Marx, Karl., *Capital*, Modern Library Edition, New York, Preface. This is a quotation from Dante. For its interpretation see:

Hook, Sidney., *Marx And the Marxists: The Ambiguous Legacy*, D. Van Nostrand Company., New York., 1955., p. 48.

4. Schumpeter., *op. cit.*, p. 385.

5. For an analysis of this point see Schumpeter, *Ibid.*, p. 389.

Schwarzschild has summed up the theories of Marx in a very significant sentence which underlines "the theories of inevitability, revolution, proletarianism and science."⁶ In other hands, it is quite safe to say that Marx built the edifice of his doctrines on a triangular base of philosophy, political economy and history. The first gave him his stress upon dialectical materialism, the other suggested the labor theory of value and surplus value and the third manifested itself in his emphasis upon the state.⁷ In all these three domains, Marx exhibited a receptive intellect rather than an original mind. He was prone to a large set of exterior influences. For example, he borrowed his philosophical base from Hume, Kant and Hegel; his economic reasoning from Ricardo and others and his historical materialism owed a great deal to the 18th century French school, especially Helvetius and Holbach.⁸ Therefore, much that he taught was not new and most of what he propagated was not novel. What was new, however, was, as Schlesinger says, "his (Marx's) realistic approach to the interpretation and transformation of political institutions"⁹ or as Ruhle says, "the fact that he (Marx) bestowed his teaching on the proletariat as the vehicle of an upward movement which had become historically indispensable."¹⁰

In yet another sense, the underlined significance of Marx's originality can be seen in his "time consciousness". For as Meyer says, "It is attempt at an over-all synthesis of 19th century moral and scientific thought which has given Marxism such a powerful influence over intellectuals and vast social movements."¹¹ This is

an area where conventional Marxism succeeded. Marx found ground for the ideological 19th century revolution. And his was in an impressionistic mind (that synthesized the diversities lived and in doing this established a perspective for generations. It was a show of his originality. An attempt at building up transient assumptions of Marx says:¹²

The theory of the attempt to combine the utopian and the hardheaded and

And with this reason Marx's writings and his "Messiah" was after all a sage or the harbinger of a fiery and energetic fight. His erudition and sincerity at its best, remains a philosophy and at its worst a parody or a futile imitation.

Marx's most fiery writings are controversially, that is) monographs. *Communist Manifesto*.¹³ This is no document of the kind that has so clearly marked its phase in its development. Its influence¹⁴ as this book is marked by its temper and

6. Schwarzschild, Leopold., *The Red Prussian*, Hamish Hamilton, London., 1948., p. 87.

7. Hunt, R. N. Carew., *The Theory, And Practice Of Communism*, The Macmillan Company., New York., 1951., p. 14.

8. Hunt, R. N. Carew., *Marxism: Past And Present*, The Macmillan Company., New York., 1954., p. 6. For an enlightening discussion of the sources of Marx's thought see,

Schlesinger, Rudolf., *Marx—His Time And Ours*, Routledge and Kegan Paul Limited, London., 1950., pp. 21-44.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 430-431.

10. Ruhle., *op. cit.*, p. 395.

11. Meyer, Alfred G., *Marxism: The Unity of Theory And Practice*, Harvard University, Cambridge, 1954., p. 144.

12. See above, for Marx's undue concern and dogmatism. "For wisdom except his own the Socialism he proclaimed the limits of his system was Allah and Ruhle, *op. cit.*, p. 383.

13. Meyer, *op. cit.*

14. *The Communist Manifesto*, Ryazanoff, D., Inter York., n. d. All sub book are from this edition.

15. *Ibid.*, Foreword.

tral theme of Marxian thought. Here is the root,—untarnished by massive intellectualism and unspoilt by excessive footnotes or documentation. It is a curious prelude to the scholarly *Capital* where the emphasis is different. The *Manifesto* is the cry of a young revolutionary (Marx was 38) the fierce outburst of a fiery rebel. It lacks the maturity of the economic argument so apparent in *Capital* and shows less traces of a mellowed and matured spirit which are more reflected in the later. But it has its own salient features which immediately make it the “bible of socialism”.

There is no Marxian idea which cannot be found in the *Manifesto*, at least in its embryo form. Marx's later concern with *Capital* is quite apparent here. For example, he says :¹⁶

The chief requisite for the existence and the rule of the bourgeoisie is the accumulation of wealth in the hands of private individuals ; the formation and increase of Capital. The chief requisite for Capital is wage labor.

And,¹⁷

“Capital, is not a personal but a social force.” His later ideas in *Capital* show the extension of these basic doctrines, and so far no writer has been able to indicate any deep-seated inconsistency in Marx's views as reflected in his two major works. He also refers to the basic cause of strife in human society which to him is the “history of class struggles”¹⁸ and which in the modern age manifests itself in the sharp “contraposed classes—bourgeoisie and proletariat.”¹⁹ In this bitter strife, Marx foresees the ultimate downfall of the privileged class and the victory of the labor. He says :²⁰

The bourgeoisie produces its own grave-diggers. Its downfall and the victory — of the proletariat are equally inevitable.

This is Marx's ideal postulation and he seems to rationalise this by advocating a “worker's revolution”²¹ which would eventually “end the mutual hostilities of the nations.”²² And there Marx visualises a State where “the free development of

each will lead to the free development of all.”²³ At this stage, his argument assumes far-reaching rhetorical overtones and he issues a cry to unite the proletarians of all lands. He says :²⁴

Let the ruling classes tremble at the prospect of a Communist revolution. Proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. “*Proletarians of All Lands, Unite*”.

Marx suggests the following ten steps for the successful achievement of the revolution.²⁵

1. Expropriation of landed property, and the use of land rents to defray State expenditure.
2. A vigorously graduated income-tax.
3. Abolition of the right of inheritance.
4. Confiscation of the property of all emigres and rebels.
5. Centralization of credit in the hands of the State.
6. Centralization of the means of transport in the hands of the State.
7. Increase of national factories and means of production, cultivation of uncultivated land, and improvement of cultivated land in accordance with a general plan.
8. Universal and equal obligation to work, organization of industrial armies, especially for agriculture.
9. Agriculture and urban industry to work hand-in-hand in such a way, as, by degrees, to obliterate the distinction between town and country.
10. Public and free education for all children. Abolition of factory work for children in its present form. Education and material production to be combined.

This was Marx's plan for an ideal society, the blueprint for social progress and materialistic development. Marx considered his plan infallible as well as adaptable everywhere in the world. He believed in the so-called universality of his doctrine and all his assumptions are clouded by this approach.

The theories advocated in *Manifesto* seem to indicate very strongly that Marx was trying

16. *Ibid.*, p. 41.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 44.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 25.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 26.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 42.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 52.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 50.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 53.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 68.

25. *Ibid.*, pp. 52-53.

create an ideological superstructure on a materialistic foundation.²⁶ This distorted his sense of proper equilibrium and emphasis. For example, he enumerates these measures "as a means for revolutionizing the mode of production" but he scarcely says anything about the change in the productive forces.²⁷ Further, Marx seems to attribute a very broad character to the society and its dominant class without considering fully the implications of such forces like the moral, cultural and sociological. And his emphasis upon the historical "truth" of class struggles also suffers from this lack of equilibrium. Modern anthropological research does not agree with the Marxian idea of class-evolution or class-strife. Therefore, much of this argument will be interpreted as misguided rhetoric rather than as sustained judgment.

But an important fact still remains. In spite of its failings and intellectual weaknesses, this *Manifesto* has become the watchword of all socialistic doctrines and revolutionary creeds. Its passionate cry seems to evoke the rebel in mankind and modern history bears enough testimony to this fact. It has also taught a bitter lesson to Capitalism: that of, not taking its economic values for granted, but defending them. In this way, unconsciously, Marx has added a new depth-dimension to the forces of Capitalism. The *Manifesto*, however, continues to remain the bible of socialism and its revolutionary overtones coupled up the fiery passages of rhetorical devotion and angry argument find easy audiences in the modern socialistic world.

III

It is still another testimony to the Marxian paradox that he titled his most famous book by the very name whose forces he wanted to crush and whose spirit he wished to end. His *Capital*,²⁸

26. Rühle, *op. cit.*, p. 371.

27. cf. Meyer., *op. cit.*, p. 28. "Marxism views society as a social universe, an all-embracing system in which everything is related to everything else." And also cf. Hook., *op. cit.*, p. 35. "Marx's fundamental errors arise from an uncritical extrapolation of what he observed in capitalist societies to all class societies." (Italics are mine.)

28. *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy.*, Modern Library, New York, n. d. All subsequent references to this book are from this edition.

very succinctly "Economy" has affront to Capitalism at a different level than the *Manifesto* was written with a charged with emotional value-judgment; sober; one is subdued in contrast to the proletarian, the other intellectuals or, however, they both hold the social labor yet the *Manifesto* is more attuned to it. It was only after it was brought before and erudite doctors to the scholarly

He clearly this monumental analyses his history. He says:²⁹

My standpoint of the economic is viewed as a can less dual respecture he may subject

Then, he enters and begins to dialectics and his

My dialectic from the site. To human being, which he even subject, and the phenomenon on the contrary than the human mind thought.

29. *Ibid.*, I

30. *Ibid.*, I

Marx, at this stage, the "reality" is the "material phenomenon which he calls the material mind and it is this single-mindedness that is the characteristic part of the Marxian wisdom. Then, Marx starts his bitter attack on the system of capitalism and private property. His oft-quoted sentence is, "The English Established Church will more readily pardon an attack on one of its 39 articles than on 1/39 of its members."³¹ He terms it "The Furies of private property."³² He re-iterates the same argument about the eventual downfall of Capitalism by its own system and which he had advocated in the *Manifesto*. He believes:³³

The contradictions inherent in the movement of capitalist society impress themselves upon the practical bourgeoisie most strikingly in the changes of the periodic cycle, through which modern industry runs, and whose crowning point is the universal crisis.

Marx has devoted almost the entire work to the advocacy of his theory of surplus value, and capitalistic exploitation. A brief look at the chapter-headings will prove it.

- I Commodities and Money.
- II The Transformation of Money into Capital.
- III The Production of Absolute Surplus-Value.
- IV Production of Relative Surplus-Value.
- V The Production of Absolute and Relative Surplus-Value.
- VI Wages.
- VII The Accumulation of Capital.
- VIII The So-Called Primitive Accumulation.

It is often claimed that Marx's most original contribution to economic theory is in his formulation of the surplus-value theory. But Engels pointed out in his Introduction to the Second Edition of *Capital* that Marx never claimed its originality.³⁴ In the most elaborate facade of the theory lies hidden the main economic doctrines

of Marx and sometimes it becomes exceedingly difficult to separate the chaff from the grain. Even for the sake of simplicity, even at the risk of slight inaccuracy, one can sum up the basic tenets of Marxian economics in the following concise manner.³⁵

Labor alone creates value. All profits are derived from unpaid labour time. Capitalists are driven by competition to accumulate capital, which becomes concentrated in fewer and fewer hands, with the result that the smaller businesses disappear and their owners are driven back to the working class. The accumulation of capital in the form of labor-saving devices reduces the use of human labour and at the same time the profits of the capitalists who are, therefore, compelled to offset their losses by intensifying the exploitation of their workers over whom the increase of unemployment has given them an even stronger hold as they who are now prepared to work on any terms. Hence the misery of the workers eventually almost the entire population will progressively become more and more unendurable. This will lead them to combine for their own protection and to create a force which will eventually destroy the whole system.

IV

We have seen the gradual widening of the Marxian paradox, as reflected in his economic doctrines and social views. We have examined the development of his ideas, their close allegiance with other thinkers and social philosophers. And we have also discussed some of the major value judgments of his two major writings. The resultant Marxian mood, in all its complexities and abstractions, all its dreams and ideal postulates, remains a great intellectual experiment in human history. Apart from that, it is also to be held responsible for developing a newer perspective of social criticism in the domain of

Ibid., p. 15.

Ibid., p. 15.

Ibid., p. 26.

Hunt, R. N. C., *The Theory And Practice of Communism*, op. cit., p. 55.

35. According to Hunt, the three main laws of Marx based on Surplus-value concept are (1) The law of capitalistic accumulation; (2) the law of the concentration of capital; and (3) the law of increasing misery.

Ibid., pp. 59-60.

Capitalistic thinking itself. But Marx never foresaw this curious development of his thesis. It has been super-imposed at a later date. But it has continued and threatens to do so.

Marxism remains *the* dream and Marx *the* great dreamer. He had himself admitted in "*Theses on Feurbach*" that "Hitherto, philosophers have sought to interpret the world; the point, however, is to change it." Change, he did but what a change!!!

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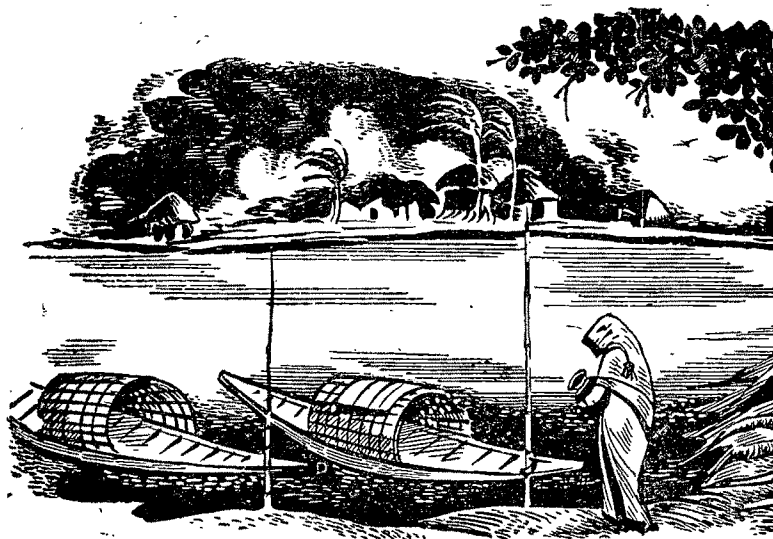
Loucks, W. N. C

Harpers, New

Schumpeter, J. A.

Gide, C and R

Doctrines, D.



POLITICAL RIGHTS OF PUBLIC SERVANTS IN INDIA

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I

rights belong to the office of a public and they are, in particular, his right to of tenure, his right to be paid, his right social disciplinary process, etc. These hough not always formally recognised, irded both by the official and the public tial to the office. But there are in addition, ic questions. First, there is the right officials have now come to share with other the right to organise and form civil unions. The second question which is be discussed in this paper is the extent il servant's political rights. It is a question aises problems affecting the whole field ions between politics and administration. some countries, there is no restriction at public official's right to engage in politi- ities, and no restriction on his right to elective assembly including national re. In other countries some classes of are allowed full political rights, while asses are restricted in their exercise. In nate analysis, the extent of restrictions olitical rights of public servants depends e general political environment of the concerned.

Herman Finer has divided political s into two parts: (a) that which con- e exercise of the vote and general politi- rity, and (b) that which concerns candi- or legislative assemblies.¹ So far as the vote is concerned it has come to be l by public servants generally as a con- : of the spread of democratic ideas and ssure brought to bear upon legislative und governments by civil service unions. session of this right has been the cause of ngth and importance of civil service -especially, their electoral importance to

politicians.² The public servant is not likely to be deprived of this right, nor is it any longer a subject of controversy or dispute.

But the disputable question is whether a civil servant should be free to join a political party or stand as a candidate for a legislative body, or canvass for a candidate in an election or collect fund for a party or a candidate or subscribe to that fund or speak publicly or write in the newspaper against the policy of the government of the day. It is this aspect of his political rights which has aroused a keen controversy and has entailed an examination of certain assumptions of the status of the state and the place of the citizen in it.

II

India is one of the few countries in the world which has had a highly institutionalised civil service for a century. But in the particular context of India, the civil service was a bureaucracy and a governing corporation and the safeguards and privileges granted to public servants were entirely incompatible with the independent and proper functioning of popular governments. The civil service was not accustomed to serving under full-fledged parliamentary government nor had precedents been established defining relationship between civil servants and the political executives.

At the time of independence one of the major problems that faced the country was the relation of the civil service with the new state. Apart from the tradition and character of the civil service, the issue was complicated by the system of parliamentary government which India adopted bringing in its wake unfamiliar problems of proper spheres of responsibility of civil servants and politicians and legislatures. All this required sufficient time and great caution so that foundation may be laid for the successful working of parliamentary democracy.

Finer, Herman., *The Theory and Practice of Modern Government*. Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1956, p. 874.

2. Chapman, Brian., *The Profession of Government*. George Allen and Unwin Ltd. London, 1959, p. 298.

The initial reaction of the democratically constituted governments and legislatures to civil servants was one of distrust and fear. Even, the national struggle against the British authority partly fed upon arousing popular indignation against the bureaucratic machinery. This natural tendency of all those engaged in the fight to decry civil servants as servants of British rule led to the construction of a specious anti-thesis between independence and civil service. There was a widespread belief that bureaucracy was necessarily "irresponsible" and, therefore, undemocratic and anti-national.³

However, after independence, the old attitude to the body of civil servants wore out and it was amply realised by the Indian leaders and statesmen that a stable and efficient civil service was the most important condition for ensuring peaceful and orderly progress of the country. It was also realised that the civil service would have to be kept above the din of partisan controversies so as to prevent the induction of party politics into recruitment, organisation promotion, etc., of the civil service. Thus, the former hostile attitude of politicians to civil servants gave place to one of understanding after a few years of independence.⁴

When the Constitution was being framed civil servants found a formidable and doughty champion of their rights and privileges in the late Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, who, acting as a monument of forbearance, patience, and understanding secured constitutional guarantees to them. Articles 308 to 323 of our Constitution are a kind of a character for the civil service. The Constitution replaced the old cameralistic bureaucratic administration by a political executive accountable to a representative legislature. It made a distinction between government and administration and gave due recognition to the per-

manent civil service as an important and indispensable link in the chain of parliamentary government. It provided for reasonable security of tenure and abolished any room for patronage by investing in the Public Service Commission authority for recruitment, etc.

The acquisition of new service functions has placed a new interpretation upon the traditional theory of state sovereignty in India as elsewhere. The state of today has become an industrial instrument, and it is only natural that it should not be regarded very much different from any other employer. The state is said to be a model employer and it is universally recognised that it can best discharge its peculiar responsibilities by a liberal attitude towards the prerogatives of its employees.⁵

Besides, the modern democratic society is essentially federal and the pluralist attack upon state sovereignty has also grown out of the facts of employees' associations. Therefore, the pluralists and administrative syndicalists press for autonomy of staff associations within the basic decisions of the representative legislature.⁶ "Spontaneous democracies",⁷ as the staff associations have been described by Sydney and Beatrice Weble, are not only tolerated but also encouraged in a democratic state so long as they do not interfere with its own corporate functioning. This is being made possible by admitting civil servants to "some form of self-assertion within the administrative hierarchy."

III

Civil service neutrality is the sheet-anchor of democratic administration. Civil servants are the servants of the whole community and they should never endeavour to identify themselves with a political party which is, after all, a part of the community. They are to serve all governments irrespective of their political complexion. Lord Attlee has described the concept of civil service neutrality as "one of the strongest bulwarks of

3. "The national leaders had on occasion reviled the public services. . . . Yet, on assumption of power, not only did they leave public services undisturbed but began to use them forthwith as instruments for their immediate purposes . . ." A. D. Gorwala in *Leadership and Political Institutions in India*, Edited by R. L. Park and Irene Tinker. Oxford University Press, 1960, p. 331.

4. "Especially interesting were the decisions to safeguard the existing rights of serving members of the key public services. . . ." A. D. Gorwala. *Ibid.*

5. Laski, H. J., *A Grammar of Politics*, George & Unwin Ltd., London, 1950, pp. 79-88.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

7. Quoted by Mosher, W. E. Kingsley, J. D., and Stahl, O. G., in *Public Personnel Administration*. Warper and Brothers Publishers, 3rd Edition, p. 349.

democracy".⁸ "It is the principle of the British Civil Service" says Peter du Stautoy "that its membership should be completely non-political".⁹ Mr. S. Lall, a retired Indian civilian of wide and varied experience, has also remarked that "one of the main tenets of the political party system of government is that civil servants should serve loyally the government in power, no matter what its party complexion is."¹⁰ Politicians, political executives and people will have no trust in the advice of civil servants if the latter are permitted to engage in political activities or join political parties. In such a circumstance, public faith in the non-political and impartial attitude of the civil service as a whole will be shaken. This faith must be maintained even at the cost of certain sacrifices. Hence, the suggestion that "a civil servant should forgo the delights of participation in politics as long as he remains in the public service".^{10a}

But this presents a real dilemma : Is it possible to secure the intelligent and willing co-operation of a civil servant by making him "a legally created homunculus"¹¹ or an 'automation'? Can we achieve best results out of him by allowing him to degenerate into some kind of a "moral and political eunuch"¹² or an "idealised entity without passion and parts"?¹³ We are not inclined to agree that civil service neutrality means "emas-

culatation" of civil servants or that it paves way for their "intellectual or spiritual castration".¹⁴ The traditional concept of civil service neutrality, which was based upon a dichotomy of governmental process into politics and administration was a negative doctrine of political sterilization and spinsterhood and it implied a passive and a most mechanical role of civil servants in administration.

This doctrine is fast giving place to a doctrine of positive and non-partisan participation by civil servants in the management of governmental affairs.^{14a} The role of civil servants is changing from a mere mechanistic agent of the political executive to that of an active collaborator and participant in the formulation of policy.¹⁵ In the picturesque language of Sir Josia Stamp, the modern civil servant has become a maximiser of social utility. He is, to quote another authority, to be regarded not as "the agent of a particular government entity but as a centre of social co-operation."¹⁶

This concept of neutrality is further sought to be related to the theory that the sovereign state must command the unquestioning obedience of its employees. In the political and economic conflicts which divide the modern state, the state must rely upon the absolute neutrality of its permanent employees. "It is the essence of governmental bureaucracy" observed Friedrich and Cole "to be neutral with regard to the interests and opinions which divide the community."¹⁷ Political neutrality does not, however, mean that a civil servant may not hold views on politics, like any other citizen, or that he may not vote in elections. It means only that he must not, in any circumstances, allow the general public to know of any political view which he may hold. Here he differs from a private citizen, because a civil servant is not only a private citizen, but also something more. He is a servant of the state, and of the government of the state. He is, therefore, concerned in the maintenance of the scheme of law and order for which the

8. Attlee, the Earl., *Civil Servants, Ministers, Parliament And the Public in the Civil Service in Britain and France*, edited by Robson, The Hogarth Press, London, 1956, p. 16.

9. du Stautoy, Peter., *The Civil Service*, Oxford University Press, London, 1957, p. 55

10. Lall, S., *Civil Service Neutrality*, *The Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. IV, No. 1, 1958, p. 2. Mosher and Kingsley distinguish between neutrality as a private person and impartiality as an employee. "We hold" they say "that in the present grim age personal neutrality is not a virtue but is tantamount to civic immaturity". *Public Personnel Administration*, Third Edition, p. 470.

10a. P. du Stautoy, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

11. Quoted by Mosher and Kingsley in *Public Personnel Administration*, p. 352. The phrase was coined by Friedrich and Cole in *Responsible Bureaucracy*.

12. Rawlings, R. W., *The Civil Service and The People*, Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1945, p. 89.

13. *Ibid.*

14. *Ibid.*

14a. Lall, S., *op. cit.*, p. 1.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

16. Waldo, D., *The Administrative State*. The Ronald Press Company, New York, 1948, p. 94.

17. Friedrich, Carl J. and Cole, Taylor., *Responsible Bureaucracy*, Harvard University Press, 1932, p. 14.

state and its government stand. He has a peculiar position, peculiar powers and, therefore, peculiar responsibility. He is a citizen, but he is also an official.¹⁸ Therefore, in the words of E. Barker, he cannot be simply and wholly a citizen. Thus the question posed by Dr. Barker is, what amount of the full liberties of the ordinary citizen he should lose, by virtue of being also an official.¹⁹ The same question is thus stated by the Mac Donnell Report: "Does any conflict arise between the desires and interests of the civil servant, regarded as a citizen, and the duty of the civil servant, regarded as such; and if such a conflict may or does arise, to what degree should either claim prevail over other?"²⁰

IV.

According to the Jagannadhadas Commission, the provisions of Conduct Rules which impose restrictions and prohibitions on government servants as regards public expression of opinion, criticism of government, acquisition and disposal of property, acceptance of gifts and other cognate matters are reasonable, and they require no modification. Official discipline is considered essential for the reason, among others, that the Government being answerable to the whole community for the conduct of its employees, must ensure that the employees confirm to standards of conduct which the community, and the Government representing it, lay down for them.²¹ While the result in many other demo-

cratic countries has been achieved by enactments, in India the restrictions on servants' right to strike, demonstrate in politics have been placed. The rule-making power of the executive government of India have provided in the Services (Conduct) Rules, 1955, provisions on the political right of civil servants are as follows:

1. No Government servant shall join, or be otherwise associated with, any political party or any organisation which takes part in politics nor shall he take part in, subscribe in aid or in any other manner, any political movement or activity.
4. No Government servant shall in any way otherwise interfere or undertake any action in connection with or take part in election to any legislature.

Provided that:

- (i) a Government servant shall be entitled to vote at such election as he may wish his right to vote, but he shall exercise his right to vote in the manner in which he may think fit to vote or has voted.

Similar provisions are found in the Services (Conduct) Rules, 1956, and the Services (Conduct) Rules, 1954. It is except for the limited right of placing his name on ballot paper at very infrequent intervals that an employee cannot participate in any political movement or activity, nor take part in political campaigns. He cannot join a political party, nor be an inactive member, or contribute funds. He cannot express any opinion on political issues, and he cannot, in any circumstances, stand for election to any office. This, in practice, amounts to a complete neutralization of Government employees, the grades to which they belong. The discharge of duties they are called upon to perform in turn, has been done in the name of complete neutrality. But a question may be asked whether he observe complete neutrality

18. Barker, E., *Civil Service and Civil Liberties*. The Journal of the Institute of Public Administration, Vol. XIX, No. 3, 1941, p. 178.

Mosher and Kingsley have also observed that restrictions on the rights of civil servants "arise out of the duality of the state as sovereign and as employer." *op. cit.*, p. 476.

19. *Ibid.*

20. Quoted by L. D. Epstein in *Political Sterilization of Civil Servants: the United States and Great Britain*; *Public Administration Review*, No. 4, Autumn 1950, p. 284.

21. Rawlings quote the official regulation governing the conduct of British civil servants as follows: A civil servant is not to subordinate his duty to his private interest, but neither is he to put himself in a position where interest and duty conflict. The state is entitled to demand that its servants shall not only be honest in fact but beyond the reach of suspicion of dishonesty. He must not

only keep official secrets but must not hold over his friends as to ensure that he is not brought under suspicion. *op. cit.*,

government has assumed a fascist thing? Can he cease to trouble himself with such mundane matters as the possible breakdown of democratic government or civilization itself?

In their evidence before the Jagannadhadas Commission,²² class IV employees and class III industrial employees characterised the above-mentioned restrictions as "unduly severe and against the spirit of the constitution." They urged that a government employee should not be deprived of the rights guaranteed to him as a citizen of the country. However, the question of political rights was not raised by employees belonging to class I and II services. The demand for removal of restrictions on political activity came from unions of Railways, Posts and Telegraphs, Defence Civilian, and Civil Aviation employees, and those of dockyard and press workers, and of certain non-industrial manipulative grades.

This demand, in the opinion of the Commission, sprang not from "a desire to have opportunities for political self-expression but from a desire to supplement trade union action with political pressure."²³ "Since wage policies in India" declared the Commission, "are being increasingly influenced by wide political and social considerations, it is understandable that organisations of the lower-paid employees of the Central Government should wish to have the freedom directly to influence political and social policies and programmes."²⁴ Section 16 of the Indian Trade Unions Act, 1926, which provides that a registered trade union may constitute a separate fund for the promotion of the civic and political interests of its members and may meet expenses incurred by a candidate for election as a member of any legislative body or local

authority, appears, to the Commission, to be "a standing inducement to such Central Government employees as have the right to join trade unions to seek freedom for political activity."²⁵

Another reason for the demand of political freedom advanced by the Commission is the fast expansion of the public sector and the consequent increase in the number of government employees working in various public enterprises irrespective of the form of management. If employees of non-departmental undertakings are permitted to engage freely in political activity, it would be utterly illogical and unreasonable to deprive railway employees, for example, of the same rights. In fact, it has been found by the Commission that the employees of Hindustan Air Craft Limited and Bharat Electronics are free to participate in all kinds of political activity, whereas the Damodar Valley Corporation and the Indian Airlines Corporation have made rules regulating the conduct of their employees which are similar to the Central Civil Services (Conduct) Rules. It was rightly remarked by the Commission that if the employees of "public undertakings are uniformly freed from political restriction, the question that would remain is whether the Government's direct control over their servants, and the absence of such control over employees of public undertakings would justify a differentiation."²⁶

The Jagannadhadas Commission has extolled the attribute of impartiality and political neutrality of civil servants in India in order that the system of government we have adopted here may work successfully. The Commission has said, "It is necessary for a proper working of the system of Government adopted in the country that civil servants who influence the policies of government or have administrative or executive powers, or are otherwise in a position because of their public office, to influence the citizen, or who are concerned with conduct of elections to legislative bodies, should remain aloof from current politics. They must be required to so conduct themselves that the community can have confidence that whatever party is in power, they would serve the Government of the day with loyalty and devotion In other words, a civil servants' political rights should not be such that in exercising them he may suffer either in his integrity, or in his

22. The Second International Conference convened by the T.U.I. of Public and Allied Employees was held in Leipzig from August 20 to 24, 1959. The conference issued a Declaration which says: "Public Services must have the same rights as all other citizens Civil Servants and municipal employees must be free to take an active share in political and trade union life without running the risk of endangering their career"

23. The Commission of Enquiry in Emoluments and Conditions of service of Central Government Employees (1957-59). Ministry of Finance, Government of India, p. 528.

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 528-29.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 529.

26. *Ibid.*

legitimate service interests, or which may lead to a weakening of the merit system in public appointments."²⁷ Thus in the Indian political environment any argument for political freedom for civil servants has to be necessarily considered along with another freedom—that is, freedom from inefficiency, insincerity and demoralisation of civil servants. The bad effects of restrictions on their political rights have to be weighed against the benefits that are likely to flow by way of keeping civil servants out of partisan politics.

V

It may be profitable to study the development of restrictive rules in the U.S.A. and Britain and to discover whether the kind of danger that political spinsterhood seeks to anticipate is the same for India as for Britain and the U.S.A. In the United States, the Hatch Act of 1939 and its 1940 amendment put a ban of an inclusive character upon political activity of the federal employees. The purpose of the prohibition was not limited to the improvement of administration as in the United Kingdom or India. "The aim has been" says Prof. Epstein "not only to remove from the government worker the taint of political partiality in the performance of his duties, a principal aim has been to clean up politics by taking the civil service, along with civil servants, entirely out of the arena of political partisanship."²⁸ Dr. Finer has also maintained that various laws, and regulations which regulate the conduct of civil servants in the U.S.A. are "rather of the nature of an undue reaction from the blatant evils of Spoils system than a rational activity."²⁹ It is quite understandable that "if the people are sovereign in a democracy and the civil servant is only a servant of the people, he should be deprived of any special ability, deriving from his position, to influence the political judgment of the people."³⁰ The argument was particularly important in a country like the United States where the evil of using government employees for political purposes had assumed serious proportions.³¹

In the United Kingdom, on the other hand, "Spoils system was never included in the credo of democratic politicians"³² and "manipulation of government workers for partisan purposes was outside the accepted code of political morality."³³ The problem of permissible political activities for civil servants was first extensively considered by a Royal Commission better known as the Mac Donnell Commission in 1914. It would be disastrous, the Commission reported, "if the feeling should arise that the effectiveness of legislative policy were in any degree dependent upon the political bias of those administering it," not only would the public lose confidence in the impartiality of the service, but ministers might cease to be confident of the support of their subordinates. The Commission recommended a strict ban on political activity by administrative personnel but suggested that certain subordinate employees might be enjoined only from using their official positions to influence elections.

In 1925, the Blanesburgh Committee examined particularly, whether parliamentary candidatures of civil servants should be permitted. The Committee realised that allowing employees to become candidates would require that all other political activity also be permitted. It concluded that for all grades of the service directly connected with departmental administration restrictions on political activity were essential. According to the Committee, this was a question of administrative efficiency. But the Committee decided that certain industrial employees should be permitted to become candidates, as well as to engage in political activities while retaining their status as government servants. The Masterman Committee of 1949 based its conclusions on the same grounds. It was concerned with allowing as much freedom as was consistent with the "maintenance of political impartiality in the civil service and of confidence in that impartiality as an essential part of the structure of Government" in Britain.

But by 1949, it was not only the industrial workers who were permitted to engage in politics. A very substantial portion of the non-industrial service, at least at the lower grades, was allowed a good measure of freedom. Staff associations

centre of the stage (civil service reform)". *Public Personnel Administration*, p. 470.

32. Epstein, *op. cit.*, p. 284.

33. *Ibid.*

27. *Ibid.*, p. 531.

28. Epstein, L. D., p. 282.

29. Finer, Herman, *op. cit.*, p. 878.

30. *The Federal Government Service*, pp. 114-115.

31. Mosher and Kingsley have observed, "Purity rather than performance was at the

pressed their demands before the Committee that this freedom should be greatly extended. The staff side of the National Whitley Council went so far as to demand that even the ban on parliamentary candidatures be removed. The Committee was not prepared to go so far and it stuck to the opinion that the administration's reputation for impartiality still need to be protected and, therefore, it recommended that officials should be debarred from standing for Parliament or from taking part otherwise in political work only, if they were members of certain grades who came into contact with the public and exercised or might be supposed to exercise authority. Of the total staff of the industrial and non-industrial civil service, it felt that more than two-thirds should be completely free and should be allowed to stand for Parliament. The Committee recommended that all industrial employees should be treated alike. Most important recommendation of the Committee was its willingness to extend political privileges to certain non-industrial groups. The Committee thought that a line could be drawn between the administrative, professional, scientific technical, executive, clerical and typing grades, on the one hand, and the minor and manipulative grades, mostly in the Post Office, on the other. These minor and manipulative employees, the Committee believed, were far enough removed from administration so that a reputation for impartiality was not of the essence of the problem. But those "above the line," even if they were typists, were still so intimately connected with the process of administration that the Committee did not think it wise to extend political freedom to them.

Today in the United Kingdom only about 16 per cent of civil servants are subject to extensive restrictions, but even to these employees permission is given to take part in local government and political activities in the local field, subject only to the condition that they would act with moderation and discretion, and that they would take care not to involve themselves in matters of political controversy of national significance. The rest of the civil servants are divided into groups—'completely free and the intermediate' categories. The latter enjoy considerable freedom in political matters but are subject to certain understanding about reserve in public utterances of political matters. Those who are completely free consist of industrial

civil servants, manipulative grades, such as messengers, cleaners, etc. The Jagannadhadas Commission has explained and justified this enjoyment of political freedoms by some grades of civil servants on the ground of peculiar 'social conditions', 'strength of democratic institutions' and 'long established political traditions' in the United Kingdom.

VI

CONCLUSION

The answer to the question of political activities of civil servants must, as Finer has observed, "differ in each society, for not all are on exactly the same level of public spirit, political maturity, social equanimity".³⁴ At the suggestion for the extension of the existing freedom of political activities on the line of the United Kingdom the Jagannadhadas Commission said that conditions in India are such as not to warrant similar freedom. "What may be sound and feasible in a homogeneous community like that in the United Kingdom", the Commission observed "with a long established tradition of democratic government, may not necessarily be sound and feasible in India".³⁵ According to the Commission the essential conditions for permitting civil servants to engage in political activity are "an assurance that they would be able to keep their personal political affiliations and activities, and their public duties wholly apart, and that the public would accept that such a separation could be and was in fact, being made".³⁶ These conditions, in the opinion of the Commission, are not existent in India.

But a counter-suggestion may be ventured that there is enough evidence to justify and warrant the introduction of the British practice of progressive and phased removal of restrictions on political activities of civil servants in India. It will be quite in keeping with the trend of the time, if steps are taken by the Union and State Governments, stretching over a period, to free some grades of employees from the various prohibitive regulations. It is only proper that some upper limit will be maintained. And those government employees who are in lower grades, such as industrial staffs, junior assistants, class IV employees and manipulative workers working in railways, posts and telegraphs and banks and

34. Finer, H., *op. cit.*, p. 885.

35. *op. cit.*, p. 533.

36. *Ibid.*

teachers of various categories can be permitted to engage in politics. They are not in a position to affect governmental policy because there is negligible direct effect of their political partisanship on administrative efficiency. Even the Jagannadhadas Commission has been of the view that industrial staffs may be granted political rights because they have no administrative or executive discretion and the nature of their work is such that their political affiliation may not affect it.³⁷ But even in their case the Commission apprehends a serious danger to the merit system and the service interests of those staffs who become partisans in political controversies. This apprehension of the Commission, however, may be shown to be unfounded if there are independent Boards or Commissions for making recruit-

37. *Ibid.*

ment and promotion and for drawing disciplinary proceedings against these grades of employees. In short, guarantees against political interference should be institutionalised by law and the conduct connecting their political activity with political patronage should be sealed. Once these conditions are satisfied, it will be only a matter of time and not of kind before we deal with political activities of civil servants, to quote Dr. Morris Jones, in terms of adjusting individual rights to the needs of administrative neutrality.³⁸ We shall not, then, confuse political impartiality and neutrality with personal neutrality for the latter is tantamount to civic immaturity.³⁹

38. Jones, Morris, W. H., *Political Rights of Civil Servants*, Political Quarterly, (October-December, 1949), p. 366.

39. Mosher and Kingsley, *op. cit.*, p. 470.

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AGRICULTURAL POTENTIAL OF INDIA¹

By P. C. BANSIL

Recently agriculture has come in for a good deal of criticism. Since agricultural production is subjected to natural hazards, our success or failure in a single year does not in any way reflect the success or failure of agriculture. It is, therefore, necessary that we formulate a long-term view of agriculture. This will not only help us to direct our future agriculture plans in the right direction, but will also enable us to fulfil other goals in keeping with the growth of the national economy. Such goals include a reasonable standard of nutritious food and clothing, and raw materials for the rapidly growing industry.

With these objectives in view, Table I would present a long-term view of agriculture, say, by the end of Sixth Plan (1980-81). While drawing up these targets, care has been taken to give due consideration to technological possibilities of agriculture so that we remain within feasible limits.

It has been assumed that all the irrigation projects started during the first three Plans will be successfully completed and utilised, and full benefit will be derived from minor irrigation projects that are

feasible. Necessary arrangements will be made for the supply of requisite quantity of manures and fertilisers. Practically the whole of the country will be covered with improved seed and pest control measures. Draft Third Plan has already broken new grounds with regard to so far neglected but all important aspects of soil conservation, drainage and improved implements. These matters will no doubt be pursued with vigour in the subsequent plans.

Floods and droughts have also been responsible to wipe off a sizable portion of our food crops. They may be due to either excessive rainfall, or deforestation and consequent silt denudation which causes the gradual rise of river beds. Table 2 shows areas affected by floods during the past few years. On an average, nearly 12 million acres of cropped area suffer from floods. Practically the whole of this is under foodgrains. Assuming that about 50 per cent of the crop is lost as a result of these floods, annual loss on this account may be put at about 2 million tons.

1. This represents the personal views of the author.

TABLE 1: Agricultural potential of India—assures water supply and dry areas separately.

Sl. No.	Crop	Gross area (m. acres)		Production (m. tons)		Field per acre (lbs.)					
						Irrigated		Unirrigated			
		Irrigated	Unirrigated	Total	Irrigated	Unirrigated	Total	Present	Future	Present	Future
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1.	Rice	57	13	70	51	3	54	1034	2000	500	672
2.	Wheat	18	13	31	14	4	18	945	1742	514	677
3.	Maize	5	5	10	4	2	6	1056	1792	657	800
4.	Barley	4	8	12	3	3	6	910	1500	609	791
5.	Jowar	4	40	44	3	9	12	952	1500	391	500
6.	Other coarse grains	5	65	70	3	11	14	800	1300	300	376
7.	Total cereal	193	144	237	78	32	110	..	..	..	..
8.	Pulses	17	44	61	11.5	8.5	20	800	1500	300	..
9.	Total food grains	110	188	298	89.5	40.5	130	..	11200	..	..
10.	Potato	2	..	2	10	..	10	6000	..	..	..
11.	Sugarcane (gur)	7	..	7	17	..	17	3000	5440	..	..
12.	Cotton	10	21	31	8**	5.5**	13.5**	200	314	75	100
13.	Jute	4	..	4	14**	..	14**	965	1400	..	..
14.	Groundnut	8	15	23	7	7	14	1000	2000	700	1050
15.	Other oil-seeds	..	22	22	..	8	8	..	..	550	825
16.	Vegetables	7	..	7	40	..	40	..	6†	..	..
17.	Fruits	3	2	5	30	8	38	..	7†	..	4†
18.	Miscellaneous	19	17	26	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

* Includes assured rain fall areas.

** Million bales.

†Tons.

TABLE 2: Area of crops affected by floods in various States of India during 1950-56.

No. Name of State	(Thousand acres)						Total area affected	Average area affected annually
	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955		
1. Uttar Pradesh	2600	252	N.A.	2251	3335	10100	6183	3531
2. Bihar	335	7	99	7300	6195	4378	2645	2994
3. Bengal	64	0.3	54	6	1050	851	6541	1223.7
4. Assam	300	835	600	207	7776	3462	1480	2094
5. Orissa	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	1639	806	349.3
6. Andhra	110	141	116	433	324	497	3434	722.0
7. Punjab	N.A.	10	N.A.	N.A.	3	6350	333	1042.2
8. Jammu & Kashmir	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	112	N.A.	112	16.0
9. Total	3409	1845.3	869	10197	18795	27277	21422	11972.2

According to the Interim report of the High Level Committee on Floods, but for periodical damage from floods, national income would be higher by Rs. 100 crores a year. Losses of cattle and human lives and breakdowns in transport and industry are besides this.

With this importance for the work, every effort will have to be made to adopt various flood control measures. The techniques may be improved, and more research conducted if need be. This will automatically add something like a million tons of foodgrains annually, even if 50 per cent is saved from the damage.

A saving of one million ton from this source may look to be quite insignificant in a production programme of 130 million tons of foodgrains. But the importance of the programme lies in its humanitarian aspect and the stability that such measures will impart to the agricultural economy of the region concerned.

Extension Services

Our cultivator by virtue of experience which has been passed on to him from generations, is fully conversant with many of the improved practices. But there is nothing static in any science, least so in agriculture. All countries like Japan, China and the U.S.A. with advanced agriculture have opened a net-work of research centres throughout their countries in order to find out a scientific solution of the day to day problems facing the cultivators.²

Research for the sake of gathering information is a luxury that India cannot afford. It has to be conducted to find answers to existing problems and difficulties holding down agricultural production. The results have then to be vigorously and effectively demonstrated wherever applicable. Research and technology are otherwise well-nigh useless in themselves unless they reach the people and until farmers adapt the new knowledge to their needs. Two things are

2. Cf: Report of the Agricultural Personnel Committee, Planning Commission and Manpower Studies No. 4 Planning Commission, for details in different countries.

needed to carry the results of research to the farmers. One is the agency through which information is carried and the other is provision of assistance at the community level in order that he can adapt the information to his immediate situation.

The connecting link is the village level worker who is in a strategic position to study the problems and serve the needs and interests of farm families. His duties are legion and he or she has to be constantly alert to the economic, social and cultural changes vitally affecting the lives of farm people. His concern is the people as against the narrow precincts of a paddy or a wheat field.

Agriculture in India as elsewhere is a complex problem.³ As there is a strange mix up between the home and the business, the matter has got to be tackled from a humane point of view. Those charged with the task of increasing agricultural production have to realise that farm home is an independent social unit and the farmer a master of his own decisions. Nothing is to be imposed on him. No effort is at the same time to be spared to build in him ability towards right decision-making. Key to the nations' success on the agriculture front is an efficient extension service.⁴ India will also have to keep pace with other advanced countries in this respect. A mere covering of the whole country with the existing community development programme would not be sufficient. Our extension services will have to be further strengthened and enthused with life. Future plans may, thus, have to emphasise more on quality than increasing the number.

Other Exogenous Factors

Agricultural production is not only a function of physical inputs and improved practices, known as technological possibilities. Just like any other industry, economic factors mainly exogenous ones—also play an important role. The institutional frame-

work of rural economy can be analysed broadly in relation to land policy, manpower resources, credit, marketing, distribution and accompanying price relationships. It is not proposed to discuss these and many other allied problems⁵ here. But we are fully conscious of their importance in any plan of agricultural development.

The Government in India at present is up against these problems. Institutional changes now being sponsored are intended to create, say, by 1980-81, essential conditions for a tremendous development of agriculture. Our achievements in the short period may not be significant. But because of heavy demands of the country on the future agriculture, lethargy of the past will have to give place to action. It would not be too much to assume under the circumstances that during the coming 20 years, necessary institutional changes will be brought about in keeping with the needs of a developing economy.⁶

Administrative Lacuna

Last but certainly not the least is the efficiency of the administrative machinery responsible for carrying out these programmes. The existing organisational machinery charged with the task of agricultural development is not geared to the needs of a developing economy. Foodgrains Policy Committee pointed out long before that 'grow more food' efforts have suffered in the past from the red-tapism and delays inherent in departmental work. Position has not improved even after 10 years.

Findings of recent reports of the Ford Foundation Team and Agricultural Administration Committee would be of interest in this connection.

5. For a detailed discussion of these factors, refer to author's *India's Food Resources*, op. cit., pp. 69-74. *Dynamism of Indian Agriculture*, *Modern Review*, August and September, 1958; and *Consolidation of Holdings*, *Agricultural Situation*, November, 59.

6. Cf. Tarlok Singh, *India's Rural Economy and its Institutional Framework*, *Studies in Indian Agricultural Economics*, Edited by J. P. Bhattacharjee, pp. 300-315.

3. Dr. B. N. Ganguli, *Complexities of Agricultural Production*, 'Kurukshetra', January, 1960.

4. Cf: Ford Foundation Team Report, pp. 107-139.

The Ford Foundation Team, for example, pointed out that action is required at the highest level to meet the crisis.⁷ Urgency of the problem and the need for clear-cut organisational adjustments to meet it have to be understood at state level. The organisational problem does not stop at the state level. Appropriate changes, redirecting efforts at district, block and village level must also occur. Similarly the Administration Committee was strongly of the opinion that streamlined agricultural administration is an urgent necessity. The position according to them is bleak enough to justify that drastic measures be taken, not merely to retrieve the situation but even more, to make up for the time already lost.⁸

This view is also shared by Dr. Ensminger when he says, that the administration and staff of agricultural departments needs to be thoroughly reorientated, on a vigorous and broad scale. India has the know-how for food production. The crux of the problem now is one of gearing up its administration.⁹ A critical survey of Food Production Programme in Madras State points out in the same tone that the problem of increasing agricultural production in India is more an administrative problem than a technical one.¹⁰

From all that has been stated above, it would be obvious that these miscellaneous factors are of fundamental importance for any programme of agricultural development. Since the Government is already fully sieged with the problem, it can be confidently assumed, for the purpose of this study, that all the existing obstacles¹¹ of this nature will be removed during the stipulated period of two decades.

All this having been done, short notes on the major commodities as given below will also be necessary.

7. *India's Food Crisis and steps to meet it.*

8. *Report of the Agricultural Administration Committee*, p. 4. Also on pp. 12, 13, 21, 49 and 50.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

10. Report by P.P.I. Vaidyanathan, p. 11.

11. Cf. P. C. Bansil, *Obstacles in the agricultural production programme.*

Foodgrains

Rice and wheat production has been placed at a little more than double the 1955-56 level, while envisaged increases in the case of other crops are not so high; mainly because, there is bound to be a socialisation of demand for foodgrains like rice and wheat.

Since water is a limiting factor in agricultural production, it becomes extremely necessary under the circumstances to allocate a major portion of the irrigated area to only those crops which are more responsive to it. Among the foodgrains, a major portion of wheat and rice as well as maize and barley have to be put under irrigation.

While the gross area under foodgrains remains more or less constant, a sufficient reduction in the net area allocated to foodgrains may be possible. It may also be easy to have a good deal of the area under pulses as a second crop. Average yields on the basis of existing estimates may appear to be quite high when compared with the present level, yet they are quite low as compared to the achievements of 'Krishi Pandits.'

Table 3: Comparison of average and crop competition

Crop	All-India ¹² average yield	lbs. per acre Under ¹³ competition
Paddy	764	11164
Wheat	644	5870
Jowar	412	6935
Bajra	280	2401
Gram	526	3777
Potato	5994	60319

The secret of the success of 'Krishi Pandits' in crop competitions lies only in the adoption by them of improved techniques of farming. True, every cultivator in the country, may not be able to put the amount of interest and labour involved for the purpose, yet they should serve as a sufficient incentive to all farmers.

Viewed in the light of these high achievements, the projected programme for

12. Average of 1953-54 to 1957-58.

13. 1951-52.

foodgrains as visualised in this study would seem to be quite a modest one. As for other important crops besides what has been discussed already some further explanations would perhaps be necessary for a proper understanding of the 'how and why' of table 1.

Sugarcane

Sugarcane occupies the field for nearly twelve months. In the Southern States of India it may extend from 12 to 18 months. This is one of the most consuming crops and higher yields are possible only under irrigated conditions and intensive cultivation.

Area under sugarcane has varied from about 4 to 4.8 million acres during the past few years and average yield (in terms of gur) per acre has remained round about 3000 lbs. But there are wide variations in yields in different parts of the country. Uttar Pradesh which accounts for more than half of the area under the crop, has yields less than half of those attained in Bombay, Madras and Andhra.

In the high yielding Southern States, sugarcane is grown mostly under irrigated conditions and by the factory-owners more or less on a plantation scale. The yield is consequently high. It is very interesting to observe that where there are corporations operating their own sugar land, performance when viewed on an acre yield basis invariably is at least twice that of the small planter. Ecologically also, Madras, Andhra and Bombay have the most favourable conditions for the growth of sugarcane in India. A suggestion is often made that sugarcane production should be restricted to the Southern region. But before any major policy decision can be taken even from a long-term view, it would be necessary to examine all the pros and cons of the matter. Area under sugarcane cultivation in Madras, Andhra and Bihar can be increased either by reclaiming virgin soils or by shifting the areas from under some other crop. Possibilities in both these respects are rather limited.

Almost all the cane required by sugar factories in Bombay and Madras is delivered at the factory gate; corresponding percentage

for Bihar and U.P., being only about 60. Factories have thus to be within quite a reasonable distance from the cane fields. But it may not be a feasible proposition to shift the existing factories from the North to the South due to economic and political reasons.

Assuming that it is decided to start all the new sugar factories in the South, there is also the need to study the physical possibility of shifting areas under sugarcane cultivation in U.P., to some other crops. Despite its low yields, sugarcane is the most profitable crop even in U.P.¹⁴ It would thus be rather an impossible task to persuade the U.P. cultivators to change their existing cropping pattern.

Since U. P. occupies more than half of the existing area under the crop, solution of the problem would lie in raising the yields in that region alone to near about the South Indian level. An agro-economic survey of sugarcane cultivation was conducted by Dr. G. D. Agrawal, in the various tracts of U.P., with the help of his post-graduate students. His conclusion is that per acre yields can easily be doubled there.¹⁵ The study showed that factors responsible for depressed yields are as follows:

1. Extension of cultivation of unsuitable lands.
2. Inadequate tillage and manuring.
3. Inadequate irrigation facilities.
4. Improper drainage.
5. Lack of finance.
6. Pressure of population.
7. Complete neglect of ratoon crops.
8. Pests and diseases.

If sugarcane yields are to be raised in U.P. obvious course would be to remove all the defects mentioned above. Weedy fields in North India or even the practice of interplanting other early maturing crops lead to higher fiber content and hence inferior juicy quality.

Some of the progressive cultivators in U.P. and Bihar have produced more than double the average for Bombay and Madras.

14. Dr. Vidyasagar, *Unpublished thesis*, op. cit.

15. *Rural India*, May 1953.

A study of yields on state farms in U.P. (1929-50) revealed that highest yield per acre on all the farms was more than 1100 maunds or about 40 tons which is much above the average yield per acre,¹⁶ about 26 tons, for the period 1929-50.

Under the Sugarcane Development Scheme, where area under the Scheme is progressively increasing year after year, yields are going up (Table 4) in Northern States as well.

Table 4

Per acre yield of sugarcane, state average, crop competitions and development scheme.

	State average	Crop Competitions	Development Scheme
North India			
1958-59	1953-54	1954-55	1957-58 1958-59
U. P.	11.2	60.0	64.80 15.92 n.a.
Bihar	14.9	106.8	n.a. n.a.
Punjab	14.1	57.0	59.40 18.3 n.a.
W. Bengal	17.8	n.a.	36.60 21.7 22.8
South India			
Mysore	24.7	66.5	90.0 31.8 25.26
Bombay	25.5	127.4	n.a. 41.4 n.a.
Madras	24.3	94.0	129.03 40.4 41.44
Andhra	37.5	—	31.4 n.a.

This would mean that even natural conditions in North India are quite favourable for the growth of sugarcane. In Bihar and U.P. areas which are not subject to frost, cool, bright and dry weather prevailing from December to April, create practically ideal conditions for ripening.¹⁷ Nothing should then stand in our way to raise sugarcane yields in North India.

Unsuitable lands in U.P. will, all the same, have to be withdrawn from sugarcane wherever possible. New extension of the area should be encouraged only in Southern States where the existing trend is

also in the same direction. All the areas under sugarcane is supposed to be under irrigation and average yield per acre about 2.5 tons of gur or 25 tons of cane per acre. This is in fact the existing average for Southern States of Madras and Mysore. With concerted efforts with various improved techniques, this would not be difficult to achieve.

Cotton

This is an important cash crop and occupies an area of nearly 20 million acres. Production at the close of the First Plan was nearly 4 million bales. Against the Second Plan estimated production of 6.3 million bales, our target for 1980-81 is 13.5 million bales. Existing average yield per acre in India is of the order of 90 lbs. As against this, Egypt and the U.S.A. are producing over 400 lbs. (Table 5) and China 234 lbs.¹⁸

Table 5

Yield of Cotton in certain selected countries
lbs. per acre.

	Average five seasons ending		
	1938-39	1951-52	1955-56
Commonwealth			
Pakistan	88	157	187
India	—	95	99
Uganda	89	88	89
Foreign			
Peru	439	446	435
United States	212	280	326
Mexico	216	278	352
Egypt	478	470	448
Sudan	275	323	295
Syria	159	333	283
Nicaragua	286	315	383
Turkey	187	222	196
Argentina	171	213	197
Brazil	165	158	171

For an achievement of our target, a two-way attack will have to be made. Total as well as irrigated area under the crop will have to be increased. This would be pos-

16. Dr. Vidyasagar: *Cost and return in farming, 1930-43* (unpublished Ph. D. thesis).

17. Henry E. Clements, *Report on Sugarcane Production in India*, T.C.M., p. 21.

18. *Report of the Chinese Delegation*, p. 101.

sible in Tungabhadra, Hirakund, Kakrapara, Chambal project areas and also by areas served by a number of minor irrigation projects.¹⁹ Successful efforts have also been already made in the Cauvery Delta to grow cotton as a profitable off-season crop and also improve the yields of paddy even when two crops of paddy are grown on the same field from July to January. This was possible by the introduction of cotton varieties like 216-F (Punjab American) which could be grown in January-February and harvested in July when the field has got to be ready for the first crop of paddy. This is only one example of additional area being provided for cotton from the existing current fallows without affecting any other crop. Careful research may bear many more similar fruitful results. Since irrigated yields are already much higher and long staple cotton thrives well only under irrigated conditions, as much as 10 million acres are supposed to be getting an assured supply of water by 1980-81. Nearly 60 per cent of the targeted production can thus be achieved from these irrigated areas.

Separate yield data for irrigated and unirrigated areas are not available at present. Since total area under cotton in the Punjab is irrigated, a yield of 200 lbs., per acre in that region has²⁰ been taken as representing irrigated areas.

Another 20 million acres of the area under the crop is taken to contribute the balance of 40 per cent. This would involve in the increase of about 10 million acres in the area under cotton. A portion of this may be possible by the substitution of Jowar, Bajra or Maize in Bombay, Madhya Pradesh and the Punjab.

Inter-cropping cotton with groundnut in the rain-fed areas would also serve as an insurance against the risk of crop failure to the farmer, and also help to augment the production of cotton as well as oilseeds both of which are a bit of a tough problem.

19. Dr. M. S. Randhawa, *Presidential speech, 81st Session of the Indian Central Cotton Committee*, February, 1960.

20. Same is the figure given by W. Burns. *Technological possibilities*, p. 89 for irrigated areas.

A pilot scheme for the cultivation of hybrid cotton in the four districts of North Gujarat is being tried in 1960-61. With our success in the case of maize, cotton offers tremendous potentialities of the utilisation of hybrid vigour.

India is at present importing large quantities of extra long-staple cotton. Research on the breeding of such varieties is being intensified. Evolution of suitable varieties is likely to make it possible to grow ultimately this type of cotton over a million acres of land in the canal irrigated areas of the Punjab and Rajasthan which may add about 5000 bales of cotton annually.²¹ Areas under Sea-Island cotton are already being extended in Kerala, Mysore and Araku Valley in Andhra Pradesh.

Jute

Existing position with regard to the production of jute and mesta during the First and Second Plan periods is given in Table 6.

TABLE 6: Production of jute and mesta, 1951-61.

(Million bales of 400 lbs.)

Year	Jute	Mesta	Total
1951-52	4.7	N.A.	4.7
1955-56	4.2	1.1	5.3
1956-57	4.3	1.5	5.8
1957-58	4.1	1.3	5.4
1958-59	5.2	1.6	6.8
1960-61	5.5	2.0	7.5

If self-sufficiency is the objective, a mere production of the target will not be sufficient. The country is at present, importing cuttings of white and tossa and long jute of **white jat** variety. After a thorough investigation of the problem, the Jute Enquiry Committee, concluded that but for the long variety, maximum requirements of which are about one lakh bales, all other types are already being produced in the country. There is no difficulty according to the Committee to produce even

21. Dr. M. S. Randhawa, *op. cit.*

this variety which resemble those grown in Tripura and Haldibari areas.²²

Present yield of mesta is hardly 800 lbs. per acre. As envisaged by the Jute Enquiry Committee, there are potential regions in Bihar, U.P., Orissa, West Bengal and Andhra where new areas can be brought under mesta without affecting the position of rice or jute. Area under the crop has already increased from 484 thousand acres in 1952-53 to 851 thousand acres in 1958-59.

Some increase in area under jute may be possible by cultivating jute earlier in lands producing 'aman' crop, without hampering the cultivation of rice. Doubling the area and increasing the yields per acre by 45 per cent, by 1980-81 may not, therefore, be difficult. Comparative acre-yields of Jute in India, Pakistan and China are 932, 1600 and 2,000 lbs., respectively.

The envisaged yield of 1400 lbs. per acre would actually be below the existing Pakistan level. West Bengal which alone accounts for nearly 50 per cent of the total home production, has shown average yields of above 2,000 lbs. an acre in good years. With the various improved techniques of jute production as recommended by the Expert Committee on the quality of jute and the Jute Enquiry Commission it should be quite within our means to achieve the target of 14 million bales of jute and mesta by 1980-81.

Oil Seeds

The achievement of targets in this respect would necessitate undertaking the following measures:

(1) Change in the present cropping pattern—

- (a) by increasing the cropped area under oilseeds;
- (b) by introducing short-duration groundnut in potential areas like the Punjab, U.P., Rajasthan, etc.,—mainly to serve as a "brief-period catch crop" and also to recuperate the soil fertility level;
- (c) replacement of low yielding oilseed crops either with the high yielding

ones or by substituting high yielding varieties of the same crop—as far as possible, not reducing the all-India present production totals of such replaced crops.

(2). Intensive cultivation measures:

- (a) irrigation,
- (b) improved seeds,
- (c) fertilizers and manures,
- (d) plant protection,
- (e) improved technique of cultivation,

(3) Exploiting the possibilities of oil extraction from the oil-bearing shrubs and trees.

1. Change in the present cropping policy—

(a) At present about 31 million acres are occupied by oilseed crops. This is expected to go to 45 million acres by 1980-81. Groundnut out of this is to account for 23 million acres.

(b) Exploratory breeding and experimental trials conducted in the Punjab, U.P., and Rajasthan have shown a great progress. In these areas, sufficient acreage is left fallow for wheat. With timely irrigation, it is possible to grow short duration groundnut crop from April-May to July-August. Groundnut crop would give extra income to the farmers and help in recuperating soil fertility.

In West Bengal, in the areas commanded by the D.V.C. and Mayurakshi Canal systems, it is possible to raise a groundnut crop after paddy which is harvested by the end of September or early in October. Similar is the case of Telengana region of Andhra Pradesh. An agro-economic and land-crop utility survey of these potential areas would be necessary. In the projected survey, areas of iso-agro-climatic zones can be mapped out for immediate introduction or replacement of certain crops of one region with the other. Land-crop utility survey should also help in basing our future policies of evolving suitable cropping patterns with a view to make full utilisation of soil-climate-variety complex for each crop.

Oil-bearing plants, like castor, could even be grown along the field and canal bunds, tanks, railway lines and roads, etc. The only danger is that castor plants often

22. *Jute Enquiry Committee Report*, p. 46.

serve as a secondary host for the survival of larvae of some insect pests attacking the main crop. Castor plants will, therefore, have to be either sprayed occasionally with tobacco decoction or be burnt down after the harvest.

(c) Possibilities of mixed cropping of certain oilseeds, particularly, mustard, can be tried with advantage.

Most of the breeding work on oilseeds has been conducted mainly on groundnut and linseed. There is yet a vast scope for evolving high yielding strains of sesamum and castor. Introduction of these newly evolved strains for simple acclimatization from one area to another may possibly result in better yields.

2. Intensive cultivation measures.

At present, practically all the oilseeds are grown under rain-fed conditions. Groundnut, out of them, is very responsive to irrigation. From the newly-acquired irrigation facilities, groundnut has accordingly been allocated an area of 8 million acres and is expected to contribute something like 7 million tons.

Indian Central Oilseeds Committee has been carrying out certain schemes of production and distribution of good quality seeds. Results of some of the schemes have been promising. Production of Spanish varieties of groundnut was 1081 lbs. per acre in the Punjab against the existing production of 400 lbs. per acre from old varieties. Comparative figures for linseed and castor are given below :

	(lbs. per acre)		
	Production		
	old varieties	new varieties	per cent increase
Linseed	400	740	85
Castor seed	290	790	147

Improved varieties of oilseeds besides giving higher yields also raise the oil content. Coupled with better manuring and pest control measures, possibilities of increasing the yields per acre are bright in India.

3. Exploring the possibilities of oil extraction from the oil-bearing shrubs and trees.

Such oil-bearing plants can be cultivated along the bunds of cultivated fields, village common lands, borders of tanks, roads, railway lines, canal banks and alike. Seeds of some of these, like mohwa, neem, tobacco, cotton, kardi, karanja, tung are used for this purpose. But still other plants and trees, which are unexplored in the forests and groves, can be made use of.

Some of these trees are :

Pisa (Actiondaphne rookeri)
Kokum (Garcinia India)
Kamala (Mallotus philippinensis)
Undi-Punna (Calophyllum inophyllum)
Marotti (Hydnocarpus wightiana)
Dhupa—Vateria indica.

Root Crops

Main root crops which deserve any consideration in a study of the type are, potato, sweet potato and tapioca. Total target of 15 million tons can be conveniently split up as follows :

(Million tons)

	Production during	
	1955-56	1980-81
Potato	1.8	10
Sweet potato	1.2	2
Tapioca	1.8	3
Total	4.8	15

Tapioca and sweet potato occupy at present about one million acres and potato another 0.7 million acres. All these three root crops are very heavy yielders. The future economy of the country may not have much use for tapioca and sweet potato. If some commercial uses can be found for them, their demand may go up. Tapioca in this connection has good potentialities of being used for the manufacture of starch and synthetic rice. It is also quite possible that those persons who are using it in specific areas may continue to use it for some time but a portion of it may be diverted to feed the cattle. Whatever the case, these two crops are not going to be of much significance in future.

As against this, potato is bound to occupy a place of prominence in the Indian dietaries. All the advanced countries of the West, are consuming large quantities of the commodity. Against India's per capita consumption of one ounce, Netherland, U.K., and Germany consume 10, 10 and 15 ounces respectively.

Present yields of potato in India are round about 6,000 lbs. per acre. When compared with 2,300 to 2,500 lbs. per acre in Belgium, 1,600 lbs. in U.K. and 1,400 lbs. in Egypt, there should be no difficulty to increase Indian yields to near about 11,000 lbs. per acre which will not be lower than that of many other countries. This will work out to roughly 87 per cent increase. No doubt, in most of the places, potato is already grown with sufficient care, but we would simply be covering the ground already lost in so far as all-India yields are concerned. Even then the area under the crop will have to be increased appreciably to achieve our targets.

Fruits and Vegetables

Estimated area under fruits and vegetables at present is about 8 million acres. But no data are available about per acre yields. A gross area of 12 million acres out of which 10 million acres will be irrigated, has been ear-marked for fruits and vegetables. Envisaged yields per acre in 1980-81 are those which can reasonably be considered as within our reach.

Urbanisation in India is going on at a rapid pace. Urban population is likely to rise to 35 per cent by 1980-81 from 17 per cent in 1955-56. This would mean that new cities and townships would grow. India would have to follow the pattern of other advanced countries with a green belt around

the townships for dairying and then fruit and vegetable fields to meet the high demand of urban population for these commodities. A sufficient portion of the increased area under fruits and vegetables will thus have to be around the existing as well as new cities and townships.

Conclusion

Present crop yields in India, being very low, there should be no difficulty in achieving the desired targets. Agriculture, like modern physics, is said to have the fourth, fifth, sixth or even seventh dimension. U.S.A. could show an annual increase of 2 per cent in agricultural production during the decade 1917-21 and 1927-31, with a stationary crop acreage and a stationary or slightly declining acre yields. This was possible by:²³

1. Reducing the number of horses and mules.
2. Shifts from less productive to more productive crops.
3. Shifts from less productive to more productive classes of farm animals, per unit of feed consumed.
4. Increased production of meat and milk per unit of feed consumed within each class of farm animals.

This four-fold attack as conducted in the U.S.A. is just an example to show the extent to which well-directed research in agriculture can go. It may neither be desirable nor possible to copy exactly what was done in the U.S.A., but with a proper planning of agriculture, there should be no difficulty for us in achieving the modest targets discussed in this study.

23. *Soils and Men*. U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1938.





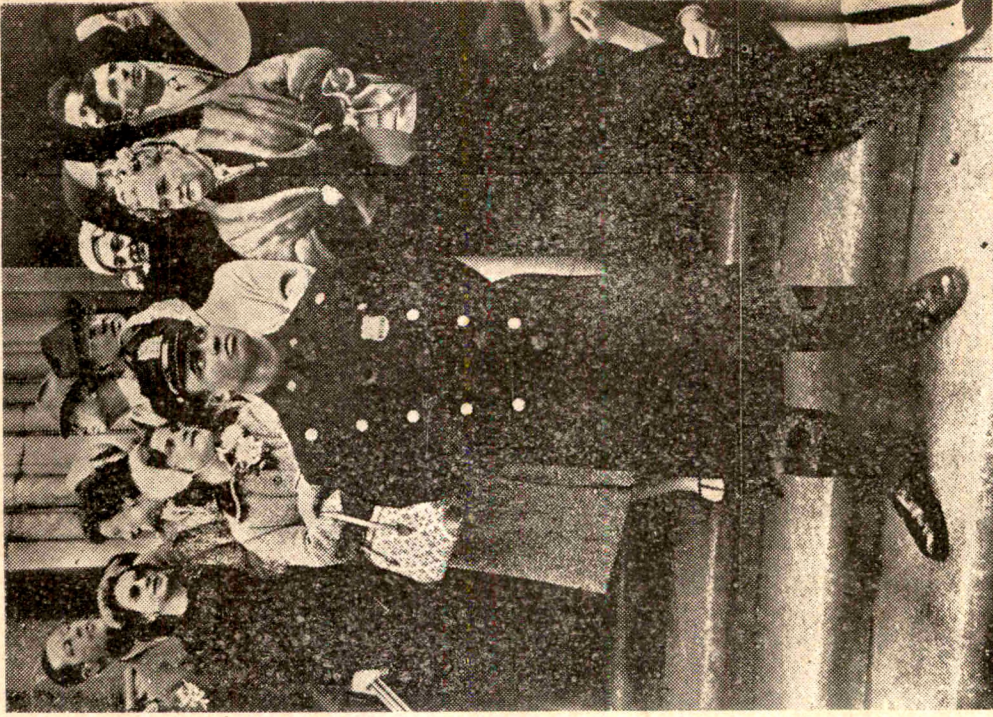
President John F. Kennedy with his two White House Press aides, Andrew F. Hatcher (left) and Pierre Salinger (right)



Rev. James Robinson, Pastor of a Presbyterian Church in New York city greeting visiting parishioners.



Negro debutantes presented to adult society with festive balls at the traditional winter party given at the Hillard Hotel in Washington.



A New York City policeman on duty on Fifth Avenue.

PARLIAMENTARY PRIVILEGES IN INDIA

A Critical Note.

By S. K. NAG, M.A.

EVEN a casual reader of the Constitution of India cannot fail to observe the striking closeness which its provisions regarding the privileges of the House, its members and its committees bear with those of the British Parliament. In regard to these provisions many a speaker in the Constituent Assembly had raised objection to mentioning the name of the House of Commons in the fundamental laws of this land. Most of these objections however proceeded from a sentimental bias against the British, and none of these members had taken pains to put forth any substantial reason for omission of the reference or pointed out the exact nature of future difficulties likely to arise therefrom. "I venture to state" said Shri H. V. Kamath, "this is the first instance of its kind where a reference is made in the Constitution of a free country to certain provisions obtaining in the Constitution of another State. Is it necessary or desirable when we are drafting our own Constitution that we should lay down explicitly in an article that the provisions as regards this matter will be like those of the House of Commons in England."¹ Another member, Shri K. T. Shah, while supporting Shri Kamath expressed alarm at the supposed implications which these provisions will carry with them. "A sovereign legislature is the sole judge of the privileges of its members as well as of the body collectively," he asserted. "Hence any breach thereof should be dealt with by the House."²

Obviously the contention of Prof. Shah was not tenable. By mentioning the name of the House of Commons in the provisions with regard to the privileges of the House the Constitution makers were not necessarily surrendering the right of the House to be the sole judge of the privileges of its members as well as of the body collectively or any of its right to deal with such

breach, unless of course such a right vested the House with almost dictatorial power of deciding without restriction as to what constituted these privileges and to what extent such privileges should prevail. Evidently such an interpretation regarding the privileges would be quite inconsistent with the spirit of the Constitution which seeks to strike a balance not only between all the organs of the government but also between all the organs of the government taken together on one side and the people at large on the other.

Replying to the criticisms stated above Shri Alladi Krishnaswamy Aiyar held, "I may share the sentiment but it is also necessary to appreciate it from a practical point of view If you have the time and leisure to formulate all the privileges in a compendious form, it will be well and good. The committee appointed by the Speaker has found it extremely difficult. Under these circumstances, I submit, there is absolutely no *infra dig.*" He went on further "The other point is, there is nothing to prevent Parliament from setting up the proper machinery for formulating privileges. The Article leaves wide scope for it. . . . It does not in any way fetter your discretion. You may enlarge the privileges, you may curtail the privileges, you may have different kinds of privileges. . . . This is only a temporary measure it (the Article) is framed in a spirit of self-assertion that our Parliament are as great as the Parliament of Great Britain."³

The real difficulty, he has admitted, was one of practical nature. It was found impossible by the committee appointed by the Speaker, as also will be the experience of any other committee if appointed in future, to enumerate and formulate in a compendious form all the privileges of the House. There is also another point to be considered. Once the privileges are formulated and incorporated in the Constitution the House will not be in a position to claim a privilege not provided for in that list. Such an assertion of

1. *Constituent Assembly Debates*, Vol. VIII, p. 144.

2. *Constituent Assembly Debates*, Vol. VIII, p. 145.

3. *Constituent Assembly Debates*, Vol. VIII, p. 148-49.

the privilege will be quite unconstitutional and consequentially be denied by the court. The framers of the Constitution visualized this position and obviously have chosen a safer path to retain the maximum privileges, setting of course, those of the House of Commons in the U.K. as the goal. How genuine was the apprehension of the Constitution-makers will be proved from the fact that so far neither the Indian Parliament nor any of the State legislatures has made an attempt to define and formulate its privileges.

The other part of Shri Alladi's speech requires closer examination: while pleading for acceptance of the provision making the privileges of the Indian Parliament the same as those of the House of Commons in England he stated that such a provision would not in any way fetter the discretion of the future legislators in this respect. They may, if they would feel so in future, enlarge the privileges available to them now in accordance with the terms of the Constitution. Exactly in the same way they could abridge them without any restriction. This indeed embodies the seeds of a dangerous possibility.

It was admitted on all hands—including Sir Alladi, that the question relating to the privileges of the House was one of the fundamental issues dealt with in the Constitution. But to leave its ultimate shape and character, to the whims of the future legislators without even imposing, for such an alteration, the condition of special majority required for a change in any of the constitutional provisions, signifies an act of highest optimism which proceeds from immense faith in the goodwill and political maturity of the future legislators.

It will be worthwhile to examine here the question so far as it relates to the English Parliament. The history of the privileges of the House of Commons in England, it has been said, is but the story of fierce struggle by the House to assert and uphold its freedom and rights mainly against an interfering monarch. Originally of course the claim of privilege was made in order to prevent anybody interfering with the King's Counsellors to attend the Parliament. From the moment Speaker Lenthall refused to oblige the royal intruder by uttering those memorable words: "May it please your Majesty, I have neither eyes to see nor tongue to speak in this place save as this House is pleased to direct me," till Sir John Elliot and his associates

denied the jurisdiction of the King's Bench to punish them for allegedly seditious words spoken by them in the House the story of the privileges unfolds annals of desperate struggle between these two. But after the end of the Civil War it became quite apparent that the Crown was no longer able to influence the debates in the Commons nor was it ever likely to do so in the future. Ironically enough the expediency of the parliamentary privilege, which was evolved by the Crown as a means to protect the members of the Parliament from being interfered with or hindered from performing their Parliamentary duty, i.e., a duty to the Crown, became their strongest weapon of protection from similar interference by the Crown.

The picture, however, has again completely changed from the 18th Century onwards. Parliamentary privilege which was claimed as a measure of protection against interference by the Crown was used to afford much protection against the Court and the private citizens. In India, where the executive is but a creation of the legislature, the necessity of like protection against an all-powerful executive is completely ruled out. Though the privileges of the Indian legislatures have been equated to those of the House of Commons in the U.K., so far as the precedents in that country arising from the conflict between the House and the Crown are concerned, they are for these legislatures but dead letters of law and will hardly become alive in an Indian setting. But the conflict between the court and the House or the private citizen and the House over matters affecting the privileges of the latter is likely to remain a problem in every country which adopts a Parliamentary form of government. It is in this respect that the precedents of the House of Commons will determine similar issues arising in the Indian legislatures and, according to the Constitutional provisions adopted in this behalf and the accepted norms of judicial practice, are to prove binding in parallel Indian cases.

An analysis of cases involving Parliamentary privileges which have arisen in this country will lead to interesting conclusions and justify the fear that importing of the privileges of the House of Commons to this country is not likely to provide a smooth solution of the problem and, on the contrary, at times may create new problems in the different political tradition and atmosphere of this country.

The undefined and sometimes conflicting limits of jurisdiction of the Legislature and the Court obtaining in England over matters connected with the privileges claimed by the latter constitute a potential source of trouble in this country also. The position in England has been aptly summed up by Keir and Lawson in their 'Cases in Constitutional Law' in the following words :

"The Courts deny to the Houses the right to determine the limits of their privileges while allowing them within those limits exclusive jurisdiction. But the Houses have never expressly renounced their view that their claim to be judged of their own privileges is a claim to judge both of breaches of their undoubted privileges, and of the very existence and limits of those privileges. Moreover, although the Courts do not and cannot recognize this claim directly, they are bound to give way whenever either of the Houses chooses to enforce it indirectly by committing the refractory litigant for contempt."⁴

This definitely indicates a dangerous possibility which is prevented from taking shape only by the political maturity and genius of the English people as exemplified in the restrained behaviour of the House of Commons in such matters. But this sense of maturity and the tradition linked therewith are things which are highly sensitive and do not permit an easy transplantation. So in a country like India, which lacks a liberal political tradition and is far from being politically mature, the position is not free from danger. At any moment the legislature may take recourse to the arbitrary means mentioned in the last sentence quoted above and the Constitution of India fails to provide a recipe for combating it effectively.

How uncertain even the legislators in our country felt over some matters connected with the privileges of the houses of legislature is seen, in one case, from their anxiety to pass legislation protecting publication of Parliamentary proceedings.

In a case⁵ brought up before the Calcutta High Court Chief Justice Harris decided that "reports of proceedings of a legislature in an Indian Newspaper unless such are expressly

authorised by the House are not subject matter of-privilege and may found a complaint for defamation under Section 500 of the Code (I.P.C.)."

By passing the Parliamentary Proceedings (Protection of Publication) Act, 1956, the Indian Parliament succeeded in conferring but a partial privilege on publications, etc., of newspapers for publishing therein a substantially true report of the proceedings of either House. The privilege was not absolute inasmuch as it could not be claimed against an action by either House of the Parliament though it would protect such a publication against action by a person injured by the publication.

This falls short of the expectation of the framers of this legislation in the Objects and Reasons⁶ of which we find the following sentence:

"... although the publication of a substantially true and faithful report of the proceedings of a legislature will not constitute contempt of the legislature, etc. . . ." This optimistic inference of our legislators has been belied by a judgment⁷ recently delivered by the Supreme Court of India. After analysing the position as it obtains in England the majority judgment recorded "... the House of Commons had at the commencement of our Constitution the power or privilege of prohibiting the publication of even a true and faithful report of the debate or proceedings that take place within the House Our Constitution clearly provides that until Parliament or State Legislature, as the case may be, makes a law defining the powers, privileges and immunities of the House its members and committees, they should have all the powers, privileges and immunities of the House of Commons as at the date of commencement of our Constitution and yet to deny them those powers, privileges and immunities, after finding that the House of Commons had them at the relevant time, will be not to interpret the Constitution but to re-make it." The position stated above was not definitely envisaged by the sponsors of the Parliamentary Proceedings (Protection of Publication) Act, 1956.

Another advantage which the British House of Commons enjoys over its Indian counterpart

4. *Cases in Constitutional law*—Keir and Lawson, page 125.

5. *Suresh Banerjee v. Punit Gowla*, A.I.R. 1951, Calcutta, p. 176.

6. Pandit M.S.M. Sharma v. Sri Krishna Sinha and two others A.I.R. 1959 S.C. 395.

7. The Parliamentary Proceedings (Protection of Publication) Bill, 1956.

in matters of privilege lies in the fact that the former is not bound to accept any of its earlier decisions connected with the privileges of the House. In the Strauss case (1957) the House in fact rejected the finding of its Committee of Privileges that Mr. Strauss's letter written to the Minister (Pay Master General) carrying an imputation against the London Electricity Board was a "proceeding" in Parliament and as such was privileged. The Committee's decision was based on a definition (of the term 'proceeding') given by the Select Committee of the House on Official Secret Act to which the House had agreed (1938-1939). The House by rejecting the recommendations of the Committee of Privileges has, in fact, overturned its earlier decision. But it is doubtful if a legislature in India can so easily disown a decision of the House of Commons in matters touching the privileges of the House, its members, etc., which was taken by it before the commencement of the Indian Constitution unless such a decision had already been reversed and declared void by the British Court before that date. No Indian legislature is perhaps competent to do it without at first breaking its link with the House of Commons in matters of privileges. A case closely akin to Strauss's had, in fact, come up before the Calcutta High Court: Dr. Jatish Chandra Ghosh, a member of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly gave notice of his intention to ask certain questions in the House. The questions, however, were disallowed by the Speaker under the rules of procedure of the Assembly. Dr. Ghosh subsequently published these questions in a periodical in Calcutta with a note that the publication was for the enlightenment of his constituency.

Shri Harisadhan Mukerjee, Sub-Divisional Magistrate, Ghatal, sued Dr. Ghosh, the Publisher, the Editor and the Printer of the periodical in the Court for defamation under Section 500 of the I.P.C. in respect of two questions which were published therein along with others.

Justice Debabrata Mookerjee of the Calcutta High Court, while refuting the arguments advanced on the side of the defendants that asking of questions formed part of the proceedings of the House, observed *inter alia*:

"... the questions in the present case were not automatically assimilated to the proceeding of the House by being merely intended to be

asked. If immunity from liability to proceedings in Court attached to any questions by being merely hurled at the Assembly Secretariat, scandals and libels of the worst sort would acquire such immunity. The questions far from representing what took place in the Legislature represented that they had no place in it by being disallowed."

Whatever may be the intrinsic value of the observation quoted above it is doubtful if it will be in tune with the definition of the term "proceeding" as was arrived at by the Select Committee of the House referred to above and accepted by that House (before 1950) till the latter rejected the Report of the Committee of Privileges (Strauss case) in 1957.

It will be interesting here to note that the Supreme Court of India which had heard the case in appeal made no attempt to state explicitly whether the notice of questions referred to above formed a part of the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly though it held that the publication of extracts from the proceedings of a House unless authorised by the House is actionable under the penal law of the country and do not enjoy absolute privilege.

The position regarding enforcement of doctrine of privilege for misrepresentation of the debates of the House of Commons is, according to Erskine May, somewhat "anomalous." "Orders prohibiting publication of its debates are still retained upon the journals and the offence is treated as a contempt of the House consisting primarily in disobedience to the prohibition." In India the position is all the more confusing as no such order is retained upon the published debates of the House but the claim upon this privilege to punish is based on the fact of its existence in U.K. on the date of commencement of the Constitution.

In a country of many Parliaments like ours the conferring of absolute privilege on each legislature over the proceedings of the House may sometimes give rise to embarrassing situations. The Legislative Assembly of the State of West Bengal, in one of their sittings held recently, appears to have criticised in adverse terms certain taxation proposals of the Union Government. Though the sphere of legislative activity of State Assembly has been restricted by the Schedules given in the Constitution for that purpose, proceedings of an Assembly relating to

matters not strictly under their jurisdiction, though unconstitutional, will, under the existing law, enjoy the immunity of Parliamentary privilege. This indeed is not a very happy position. Such things do not help to create a healthy parliamentary tradition in the country which is so essential at the formative stage of its democratic growth. It may even create serious constitutional troubles when the same party do not rule at the Centre and the State.

Hence in our final analysis of the position with regard to Parliamentary privileges as it obtains in this country we find that Parliamentary traditions, unlike Parliamentary patterns, are extremely delicate things and may fail to strike root even in a climate and surroundings which are apparently not different from the country of its origin.

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THE RESTRAINT OF POWER

By INDIRA ROTHERMUND, M.A., Ph.D.

THE essence of Mahatma Gandhi's life was action. Indeed, in most of his social and political campaigns there was first the action, then the name for the action, and then the expounding of the name of the action. But his action was always symbolic action which was in accord with the Indian tradition and which was so plain and open that it could not fail to impress the masses as well as the British Government. His kind of symbolic action was not an esoteric cipher, which gave signals to the initiated only; it was always public, simple and direct. The simplicity and openness of these actions themselves were trivial and easily arrived at. Mahatma Gandhi spent decades in perfecting his method of symbolic action; he made, as he himself has said, "Himalayan blunders" in this process, and sometimes he had to spend weeks "thinking furiously day and night" as he did before his famous salt march. Simplicity and openness were marks of achievement, not of easy success.

Kenneth Burke remarks in his book "The Philosophy of Literary Form": "Critical and imaginative works are answers to questions posed by the situation in which they arise. They are not merely answers, they are *strategic* answers,

In England, though the history of Parliamentary privilege is older than the story of the struggle between the King and the Parliament, "at the core, the problem of Parliamentary privilege is still unresolved." But the solution lies in "the capacity of a mature nation to mitigate in practice the evils that in theory might occur" and the strongest safeguard against the tyranny of the Parliament, to quote Viscount Kilmuir, lies in the fact that "the personal qualities of those who seek a public career in Parliament are still high. What is more, there is the curious, indefinable, but very strong atmosphere of Parliament." Of these two it will be too early for India to claim the first and too ambitious to seize and assimilate within so short a period the delicacy of the other.

stylized answers." Although this is said of literary works, it might be applied as well to Gandhi's imaginative actions. And, as Nehru writes in his 'Discovery of India': "Bernard Shaw has said that though Gandhi may commit any number of tactical errors, his essential strategy continues to be right."

STYLE AND STRATEGY

Taking the above remarks as a point of departure, we may analyze Mahatma Gandhi's symbolic actions as attempts to give the right "strategic and stylized answers" to the questions which arose in the Indian situation. Predominant in his thought and terminology were the emphasis on self-control, the identification of national and individual determination, the reliance on vows, and insistence on truthfulness—which meant openness and concentration on the essential points of every issue. We may call these elements the basis of Gandhi's strategy. The strategy found expression in a certain style. The elements of this style can be seen in his terminology: the progression from a general idea (e.g. fight against poverty) to a two-level identification (e.g. Daridra-narayana meaning that God dwells

in the poor) and from there to the exposition of a new general idea (e.g., it is a service to God to help the poor). The same procedure characterizes Gandhi's symbolic actions.

However, in the field of action problems arise which are absent from the field of terminology and thought. These are the problems of participation in action, and of the scope of action. Gandhi had to face these problems when he was still the leader of the Indian minority in South Africa. When Gandhi became a national leader in India, these problems assumed enormous dimensions. There were millions of people who were potentially ready to participate in actions which would lead to their national independence, the participants and the scope of actions were great enough. Considering the relatively small number of British forces in India, a snow-ball system of inciting all-out violence would have been a strategy and style of action much easier to implement than Gandhi's strategy and style of symbolic action, which demanded self-control of the participants and well-defined aims and issues for the scope of action. It was, therefore, in these two fields—the discipline of participants and the definition of the scope of action—that Gandhi had to work most for the perfection of his strategy during his career as a national leader.

PATTERN OF ACTION

These two fields present the following possible types of participation and action:

Participation : (a) National campaign, (b) Selected group or area, (c) Individual action (referred to as individual satyagraha, i.e., fast, etc.)

Scope of Action : (a) General issue, (e.g., independence), (b) Specific issue, (e.g., no tax), (c) Definite point, (e.g., no separate electorates for Harijans).

It is obvious that an action can be better controlled the fewer participants there are, and that a scope of action is the clearest when it is directed towards a definite point. From this point of view, we obtain a scale of efficiency with regard to the clarity and control of actions which would range from the national campaign for a general issue as the haziest point to an individual satyagraha for a very definite issue as its sharpest point. And Gandhi's strategy and style of symbolic action indeed tended to

develop along these lines from the hazy national campaign for "Swaraj in one year" of 1920, to the famous fast against the communal award of 1932. However, the types of action and participation which we might list on such a scale depend upon each other for their effect. Individual satyagraha in the form of a fast for a definite point is a good symbolic action only if the man who offers the satyagraha commands nationwide respect, and only if the definite point stands for a far greater issue. If Gandhi had not been known because of his leadership in national campaigns, his individual satyagraha would have had no effect. If the definite point for which he fasted had not been directly related to his whole programme, he would not have been understood by the nation, and his action would have had no symbolical value. National campaigns and individual satyagraha, general issues and definite points bear, therefore, interdependent poles of symbolic action. In order to perfect his strategy Gandhi had to bring these poles closer together. Symbol and action had to be forged together into an instrument which could not escape control and yet which would have a sharp and universal impact. The result was the national one-man campaign like the Salt March, the Harijan Fast, etc., in which Gandhi succeeded in concentrating the attention of the whole nation on his action by identifying himself with the nation and then vicariously performing the action.

These were ultimate positions of a restraint of power: millions would refrain from action so that one man could act under complete control of the action. But because of this action of this one man became of million-fold importance, the action was symbolic because millions watched and listened, and these millions watched and listened because they knew that the action would be a symbol. Gandhi arrived at this method because he had recognized that it was impossible to train larger numbers of participants for disciplined satyagraha. He perfected the strategy and style of action with regard to the precision of issues as well. He was able to get much experience not only during his political campaigns but also during his campaigns for social improvement. Since this strategy and style of action were his particular contributions to politics he never really "withdrew from politics" at those times when he abandoned politics for social agitation.

CAMPAIGNS

If we examine Gandhi's political campaigns from the point of view which we have just outlined, the following pattern emerges: From 1919 to 1920 he experimented with nationwide campaigns on general issues. He thus became the centre of nationwide attention. After serving his term in prison he started his first national individual satyagraha in the form of a limited purification fast for a general issue: Hindu-Muslim unity. The result was not very satisfactory and he shifted his field of action to social issues like Harijan uplift and hand-spinning. He tried to symbolize his emphasis on national economic reconstruction by propagating the spinning wheel. In this first round of his campaigns he changed the Congress from a conference of diverse groups into a national mass-movement. He also introduced the first features of party-discipline and served as a kind of chief whip.

The second cycle of his campaigns began in 1929-30 and it culminated in the famous Dandi Salt March, an individual action of a very specific issue, leading to a demonstrative law-breaking on a nationwide scale. This was later on followed by another striking example of individual satyagraha in the Harijan Fast on a sharply focussed specific issue. But like any truly symbolic action the fast caused to a certain extent a wider change of heart. The caste Hindus tried to show sympathy towards the Harijans in many ways. They admitted them to temples and some even accepted water from their hands.

From 1934 onwards Gandhi "withdrew from politics" and only in 1937, he came forward to advise the Congress ministries under the scheme of Provincial Autonomy. In 1939, he resorted again to a fast on a very specific issue against the Ruler of Rajkot. After the outbreak of the war when a new non-cooperation campaign became inevitable Gandhi invented a new variety of symbolic action: representative satyagraha. This was a programme which combined the advantages of individual and mass satyagraha. He first sent out Vinoba Bhave representing the conscientious objector and then Jawaharlal Nehru representing those who were against this particular war because it was fought without the consent of the Indian people. Many leaders followed these first two representatives.

The Quit India campaign of 1942 found Gandhi in prison and, therefore, he was unable to

plan the strategy of this campaign. After his release from prison towards the end of the war Gandhi had only few opportunities to refashion the strategy and style of his actions. His last great endeavour was the fast for the protection of the life and the property of the Muslims in Delhi in 1948, shortly before his assassination.

IMPACT ON CONGRESS

Gandhi's strategy had a great impact on the development of the Congress Party. His position in the Congress was unique. He seldom held any Congress office, but whenever a crisis came he was invited to assume dictatorial powers. This relationship was due to his strategy and style of non-violent action which required a strong central control. In the course of this development more and more power accrued to the Working Committee of the All India Congress.

When independence was achieved the Congress machine to which Gandhi had given so much weight, discipline and national prestige continued to work as a political party, even though he himself would have wished that it should be disbanded or converted into a social service organisation. But in order to give strength and meaning to the struggle for national independence Gandhi had put this struggle into an ever-widening social and international context thereby adding more and more planks to the Congress platform. As rays gather in a lens and then radiate again, independence became a focal point, a stage of transition rather than an end in itself.

NATIONALISM AND INTERNATIONALISM

Gandhi's strategy and its impact on India is paralleled by his concept of international relations. Independence for him started with the individual, it was not the legal attribute of an entity called nation, but rather a moral quality of every member of that nation. Gandhi refused to look at the nation as a conglomeration of people who could be controlled once an "Independent" government would restore "law and order." Because of this attitude Gandhi has been called an anarchist, sometimes with the benevolent attribute "philosophical." But he was not a philosophical anarchist, he was rather a democratic fundamentalist. The rule of the self was to him the prerequisite of self-government.

We usually consider the nation to be a

definite entity to which certain attributes like independence and sovereignty can be ascribed, and, therefore, we are at a loss, when we attempt, to chart the area "between" those nations which is the field of international relations. The attributes which we ascribe to the nation make national and international relations different in essence. To Gandhi, individual, national and international relations were different only in degree but not in essence. Therefore, he could conceive of individual actions as of direct national and international importance and vice versa. And, therefore, he would not compromise the struggle for India's freedom by alliances which were undesirable in the field of international relations.

In comments on international affairs Gandhi insisted that the general strategy of non-violent action would be pertinent in other countries as well as in India, although the specific style of its implementation might have to be different. His basic assumption was that human beings are alike in their fundamental responses to factors like love, freedom, war, peace, violence, sacrifice, truth and courage, and that only the expressions to these responses might vary.

A typical formulation of these concepts is his statement that: "Complete independence through truth and non-violence means the independence of every unit, be it the humblest of the nation, without distinction of race, colour, or creed. This independence is never exclusive. It is, therefore, wholly compatible, with interdependence within or without." Gandhi's insistence on these fundamentals and the simplicity and purity of his argument were facilitated by the situation in India and by the nature of the Indian struggle for independence. In Gandhi's India, nationalism could take the form of a struggle against oppression pure and simple; the issue was so general that it was of international significance from the very beginning. No complications limited the picture at the start, there were no claims to "irredenta" territories, no struggle to overcome national division along territorial lines. These complications arose only with independence (the partition and the ensuing Kashmir conflict presented India with a challenge to national unity, integrity and sovereignty, and Goa has become a classical "irredenta" case).

Under these circumstances Indian nationalism was very open and international in its attitudes, since it is only the struggle for national unity, integrity and sovereignty that tends to make

nationalism exclusive, for, in such a struggle nationalists have to stress the peculiarities which make their nation a nation.

CONCENTRIC CIRCLES

The openness of Gandhi's nationalism is indicated by such a statement as this: "Swadeshi is that spirit in us which restricts us to the service of our immediate surroundings to the exclusion of the more remote. (My patriotism) is exclusive in the sense that in all humility I confine my attention to the land of my birth," statements like this show that to Gandhi patriotism is only a form of service to the nearest, which he prefers to the hypocritical service to the farthest or the presumptuous service to all. It is a system of concentric circles of service which have to be filled one after the other, step by step. Although these circles are different in dimensions, there can be no change in the strategy of progression from the one to the other. Every step has to be in accord with the step before and the step beyond. Thus nationalism can be built only on sound relations within the nation and must take into consideration the achievement of sound relations with other nations. National unity and independence without social peace and stable relations within the nation can only lead to national and international violence; national unity and independence without good international relations—or possibly even achieved at the expense of good international relations—are headed in the same direction.

This philosophy of the concentric circles of human, national, and international relations, based on the philosophy of identity of all life, is best described by Gandhi in the following words: "My mission is not merely brotherhood of Indian humanity. My mission is not merely freedom of India, though today it undoubtedly engrosses practically the whole of my life and the whole of my time. But through realisation of freedom in India I hope to realise and carry on the mission of the brotherhood of man. My patriotism is not an exclusive thing. It is all-embracing and I should reject that patriotism which sought to mount upon the distress of the exploitation of other nationalities. . . . I want to realise brotherhood or identity with all life . . . because we claim descent from the same God, and that being so, all life in whatever form it appears must be essentially one." This concept of inter-

national relations, combined with the concept of non-violent non-co-operation against any aggression, addresses itself to the totality of international relations and to the totality of aggression. However, most of the conflict in international relations begins in the field of disputes over territorial sovereignty, and any concern about the totality of international relations tends to get lost when concrete conflicts involving sovereign rights confront a nation. The concentric circles disappear and the one circle of national integrity and sovereignty attracts all attention.

The philosophy of identity is likely to be abandoned in favour of a philosophy of integrity. Mahatma Gandhi had not neglected integrity, but he had always thought in terms of the integrity of men, not of territories. And this was only natural, since he was the leader of an independence movement and not a sovereign. The government of an independent India, however, had to face the problem of territorial sovereignty while still preserving its Gandhian concern about international relations as a totality.

DAMAMANDALA VS. RAJAMANDALA

We may, therefore, summarise the pattern of Mahatma Gandhi's thought and action in one word "Damamandala," i.e., the strategic pattern of restraint. This is a series of concentric circles

in which the service to the nearest is the first step towards good relations with others beyond him. This service, however, can only be based on self control and a sense of purpose. It excludes apprehensions and hostility. In this way Gandhi's "mandala" is the exact opposite of Kautilya's "mandala" which refers to the friend in the back of the neighbour, since the neighbour is always the potential enemy. This is the theory of "Raja-mandala" to which Mr. Nehru referred to in the Lok Sabha debate on August 20, 1958: "I think Machiavelli said it, may be Chanakya (Kautilya) also said it—of the theory that a country is inimical to its neighbour and is friendly to the country on the other side of the neighbour. That is the old doctrine of statecraft. You are inevitably supposed to be hostile to the neighbour country, but with the farther country you have to be friends, because it might help you against your neighbour country. That, if it applied at all in its bad way, applied at a time when the world moved slowly. Now every country is the neighbour of the other country. There is no distance left in the world."

The "Gandhian mandala" is derived from a reflection on the growing interdependence of all mankind. It is based on the ancient wisdom that a chain is only as strong as its weakest link and freedom and independence are the responsibility of every individual and of every single nation.

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ACHARYA ABANINDRANATH TAGORE : A BIRTH-DAY TRIBUTE

BY PROF. O. C. GANGOLY

It is our great privilege today, to celebrate the Birth anniversary of Acharya Abanindranath Tagore. Born in this city on the 7th August, 1871, about ninety years ago, the great artist lived and worked in this city up to the time of his death on the 5th December, 1951. He has been justly acclaimed as the greatest artist of Asia in the nineteenth century. He was one of a crowded gallery of Great Men who built his niche of honour and respect, as an original exponent of Indian National Art, which he recovered from the darkness of neglect and dishonour. But quite apart from his role of recovering the self-respect of Indian Art—his positive contribution to the growth and development of Modern Indian Painting is very rich and invaluable.

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The string of master-pieces that he has left us, is a string of brilliant jewels that are shining on the brow of our national art, and which will continue to shine for all times to come.

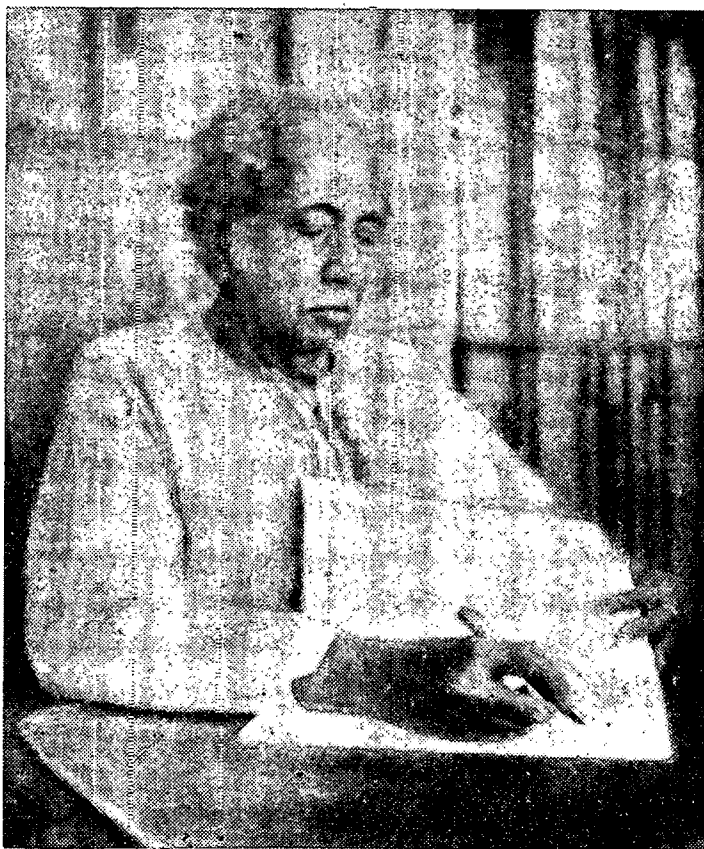
About Abanindranath, Rabindranath had said: "At the fag-end of my life, when I think of it, to whom our great tribute should be paid on behalf of the Indian Nation, then the first name that occurs to me is that of Abanindranath. He has recovered his country from the calamity of self-condemnation. By retrieving the fate of our national art from self-deception, he has placed it on a pedestal of honour. He has given our art a position of equal respect in the consciousness of the world's art. Today, a new age has dawned, on the whole of India in the stirring self-con-

sciousness in the field of Painting. Whole India has today learnt valuable lessons from the rich gifts of his master-pieces. This pride of place, Bengal has won, through his services—and has stepped on the throne of the highest respect—in our country. If the Goddess of Luck of our nation refuse to adore him, if we still continue to be apathetic to his high merits, and if we accept the fames of foreign celebrities as our own humiliation then Bengalees will fail in their greatest duties and responsibilities. I am, therefore, calling upon this great artist for the first seat of honour on the throne of Indian culture.”

This exhortation which our great Poet had made, twenty years ago, is still crying for fulfilment. No adequate attention has been paid to survey the great sweep of his multifarious master-pieces, no complete bibliography and catalogue of his works have yet been made by a competent scholar, no adequate reproductions of his outstanding works have been presented to facilitate a critical study of their high merits. Several years ago, the Indian Society of Oriental Art, now almost defunct, reproduced several of his master-pieces by the Japanese process of *Chromo-ylograph*, and by the English *Chromo-ColloTYPE* process. It is unfortunate that it is not possible to translate in current coarse-grained tri-colour process,—the flavour and fragrance of his paintings and the delicate refinement and the evanescent wizardry of his magical colour-schemes. They can only be reproduced by the most perfect and the most expensive of the modern processes of reproduction, not yet developed in India.

Fortunately, a body of enthusiasts led by some of the senior disciples of the great Master, has formed a Society called the *Abanindra Parisad*—with the laudable aims and objects of presenting the artist's master-pieces—in a series of colour reproductions, one after another. If they are adequately and worthily reproduced they will help us to pay our proper tribute to our great national

artist,—a tribute which is long over-due. In this birth-day tribute, we can only touch upon the outstanding features of this contribution. At the beginning of the movement that he started, his paintings were designed as organised protests against foreign influences and as a passionate plea for the use of the old vernacular art of India as the medium of a truly National Art. He came as a rebel against the domination of the western standards of Art, and as an able demonstrator and interpreter of the finest elements of indigenous Indian Painting. From this point of view, his attitude towards Indian culture was more in-



Abanindranath Tagore

tensely national than that of any exponents of Indian national literature.

Many people wrongly believe that he was a Revivalist, repeating the formulas of the ancient schools of painting. His genius consisted of a wonderful power of assimilating methods and manners from all countries and schools. He had freely adapted secrets of Pictorial Art from East

Asiatic as well as from European masters, in a liberal spirit of eclecticism and in his experimental creations he has used and utilised both eastern and western points of view in a happy fusion of a well-assimilated harmony. The extremely wide range of his vision, his topics and techniques, makes it very difficult to group his works under any leading characteristics or dominating tendencies, and, it is almost impossible to put any "label" on the general character of his works, or to characterise the leading phases of his creative brush. It is almost impossible to ascribe to the same artist, his "Illustrations to the Megha-dutam," and "Illustrations of Omar Khayyum," his "Bond-Slave" (Das-khat), and "Aurangzib," his "Ganesha-Janani," and his "Last Journey"; so divergent are they in vision, technique, in local colour and atmosphere. It is a matter of utter despair to offer any analogies or parallels to Abanindranth's paintings. At the

risk of being misunderstood, one is inclined to characterise his works as a curious amalgam of *Burne-Jones*, *Bihzad* and *Ogata Korin*, yet he was nothing but himself a wizard of form and a magician of colour.

We all recall with pride, today, the great Exhibition of his Paintings which was opened by President Poincare of the French Republic at the Pavoin Marson in Paris, in August, 1914,—when the foremost critics of Europe assembled and after a critical appraisalment of his works, lavished a chorus of praise and admiration. It was not only a day of personal triumph for Abanindranath, but a triumph for the whole of India, and for the richly developed Language of Indian Painting having a history of Five Thousand years.*

*By the Courtesy of All India Radio.

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URBAN PLANNING IN CALCUTTA REGION

Its Need and Scope

By Prof. TARUN BIKAS LAHIRI

An eminent sociologist has forecasted that unless steps are taken in time for population dispersal, the ultimate fate of an overcrowded city is death. The death of such a city may be compared with the death of a child from diphtheria.

Calcutta—Bombay—Delhi

Has the time come to think of our city's fate in such grave terms? Is Calcutta really overcrowded? The following table provides an answer to this question:

City	Population (1951 Census)	Area (sq. miles)	Density (sq. mile)
Calcutta	2,548,677	32.32	88,953
Bombay (Greater)	2,839,270	210.90	13,463
Delhi	1,191,104	39.52	30,139

The density of 88,953 persons per sq. mile

is, perhaps, the highest in the world. The density has further increased during the last ten years between 1951 and 1961 and has deteriorated the living conditions prevailing in the city.

Lewis Mumford has said that the best way to judge whether a city is overcrowded or not is to study the curve of natural growth of population. If the curve is downward, the future of the city is gloomy, and indicates that decay has started. The downward trend is remarkably visible in respect of Calcutta:

Percentage variation of city's population

1931-41	+ 84.9
1941-51	+ 20.9
1951-61	+ 8.5

The figures show a steady increase in population although the rate has fallen. But this overall increase is not due to natural

growth. Calcutta owes heavily to the streams of immigrants for maintaining its status.

Excluding the displaced persons, the natural growth of the original residents was only 0.3 p.c. during 1941-51. The Census of 1921 classified the city's population as 706,122 original residents and 371,575 as immigrants. In 1951, the number of the original residents and of the immigrants had increased to 1,204,190 and 1,389,023 respectively. It showed that growth through immigration was about 94.4 p.c. and through the natural increase among original residents was only 46.2 p.c. This very low rate of growth is the result of the deplorable living conditions prevailing in the city. There is no adequate breathing space for the bulk of the population, people are gasping in the hovels and slums of the city.

Housing Conditions

A good shelter is an essential need of a man. Without a dwelling place which provides basic amenities and space for privacies, the perversion of values is nothing unnatural. Such a moral degeneration is very fatal to life.

In Calcutta, the housing conditions as given by Sri Shyamal Chakrabarty are very distressing. The All-Calcutta average shows, that 17 p.c. of the families have no living rooms for themselves, 34 p.c. of the families live in one room with co-sharers who are not members of the same family. Only 33 p.c. have one complete room for themselves and 16 p.c. are fortunate enough in having more than one room per family. Such housing conditions cannot permit normal social life for all the citizens. It is a matter of great concern, that only 11 p.c. of the city's population live a married life. Acute housing conditions have denied the private needs of the majority of the population. Lives without any tender attachments have everywhere been a source of anti-social activities. And Calcutta is no exception.

To show the alarming degree of overloading per municipal premises, the 1951-Census figures are quoted below :

Year	Population	Total Municipal premises	Population per Municipal premises in Calcutta
1931	1,140,862	67,890	16.8
1941	2,108,891	76,555	27.5
1951	2,548,677	82,313	31.0

In Calcutta, the number of sky-scrapers and palaces are few. Bulk of the population is living in small houses, slums and hovels. The load of 31 persons per such premises has no parallel in any modern city. International Labour Office has defined overcrowding as occupancy of more than two persons per room. In the light of the above figures, what term will be suitable for Calcutta ?

Of City Amenities

Where housing conditions are so worse, it is no wonder that a large section of the city's population cannot get the benefit of municipal services. It is reported that of all families living in Calcutta—

30 per cent have no water-taps attached to their residences,

12 per cent have no latrine,

78 per cent have no separate kitchen,

45 per cent have no electric connection!

Citizen's plight does not end here. The greater portion of one's energy is consumed in reaching the place of work. The daily struggle for boarding a bus or tram during the office hours is so intense !

Transport Problems

Recent socio-economic survey of Calcutta has revealed the degree of overloading of the buses and trams during office hours :

Average Degrees of Overcrowding

	Morning Evening	
Bus—		
1. Shambazar-Dalhousie	36%	46%
2. Ballygunge-Dalhousie	29%	28%
Tram—		
1. Shambazar-Dalhousie	58%	50%
2. Ballygunge-Dalhousie	54%	42%

The above table shows that on average a bus carries nearly as many standing passengers as sitting and a tram car carries more passengers standing than sitting. Though far below the standard of Bombay and Madras, the condition is slightly better in respect of the Ballygunge-Dalhousie route.

Population Dispersal : the Remedy

The scrutiny of the facts and figures stated above show that two problems of the city are most important :

- (1) To secure a good accommodation for everybody,
- (2) To provide better and safer transport facilities for the journey to and from one's place of work.

It is almost impossible to satisfy these needs of the citizens within the present municipal limits. In a densely populated city like Calcutta, where the struggle for space is so intense, a decent accommodation for each citizen can hardly be secured. As for transport, to remove overcrowding two measures are to be implemented :

- (a) to increase the frequency of the transport services,
- (b) to increase the number of buses and trams.

But these are not very practicable measures as road-capacity stands in the way. The plan of the streets of Calcutta is roughly rectangular. In rectangular pattern there are points at intervals where traffic converge and subsequently moves through a common road, e.g., Subodh Mullick Square junction. There are several other very important bottlenecks like the Howrah Bridge approach, the Sealdah

approach, the Shambazar crossing, the Esplanade crossing, Lalbazar crossing, etc. These points are the scenes of frequent traffic-jams and possibly cannot accommodate a larger number of vehicles. More frequent services through the narrow crowded streets like Chitpur, Burrabazar and Cornwallis Street, may lead to greater incidence of street-accidents. So, it may be suggested that the sole way of solution is :

- (a) to incorporate new areas with the city,
- (b) to redistribute a portion of the city's population in those newly-formed appendages of Calcutta.

London has followed this path. So, it will not be irrelevant to study very briefly the case of London for guidance and inspiration.

Example of London

London bears many similarities with Calcutta. Like Calcutta and Howrah it has grown on both the sides of a river, the Thames. Physical setting was identical, many marshy and swampy areas had to be built up and like Calcutta it had also grown around a central core or nucleus. The core of London or the city proper had a small area and was very congested till the latter part of the 19th century. Subsequently, the dispersal of population took place, people began to migrate to the suburbs and outlying areas. Later, these suburban areas became integral parts of the city and started to function as a great metropolitan unit under the name Greater London. The problem of overcrowding has been solved completely.

Population of London

	City	Remainder of county	Outer Ring	Total Greater London
1801	128,129	831,181	155,334	1,114,644
1841	123,563	1,825,714	286,067	2,235,344
1881	50,569	3,779,728	936,364	4,766,661
1921	13,709	4,484,523	2,995,678	7,480,201
1931	10,996	4,385,825	3,805,997	8,202,818
1951	5,628	3,343,068	4,997,801	8,346,137

Core of Calcutta

To regain Calcutta's past prestige and glory as the first city of India, the example of London is to be followed. When preparing the scheme for the dispersal of population from Calcutta proper, two vital factors are to be considered :

- (a) The distance of the new appendages from the core or nucleus of the city,
- (b) Regional importance of the respective areas proposed for urban development.

Calcutta's nerve-centre as well as its heart are located in the central commercial zone. Around Dalhousie Square and Netaji Subhas Road all the financial activities of the city's life rotates. From the very inception, the Dalhousie Square area is dominating not only the whole economic life of the state but has also extended its grip far beyond the borders of West Bengal.

Calcutta is the entrepot of its vast hinterland and it plays this role of national importance mainly from the Netaji Subhas Road. Forming an adjunct to the central commercial zone is the wholesale area of Burrabazar situated slightly to the north of Dalhousie Square area. Burrabazar is at the receiving end of the Howrah Bridge, where the stream of traffic comes from the bridge. These two zones combined together form the economic hub of the city. Any plan for the population dispersal should be made relative to this nerve-centre. Because, bulk of the city's population earn their bread from the Central Commercial Zone.

Location of Industries

The locations of industries are also to be considered. More than 80% of the important industries like Jute Press, Flour Mills, Rice Mills, Jute Mills, Silk Mills, Knitting Mills, Sand Mills, Metal Manufacturers, Machine Tools and General Engineering Factories are either located in North, Central and East Calcutta or in their adjacent areas. Industrial development in the South in comparison to these areas is insignificant. Eastern canals have

exercised considerable areas in the location of industries at Calcutta. Obviously, the lesser will be the distance of the new appendages of the city from the Central Commercial Zone and the factories greater will be the savings in time and money. Shorter journey to and from places of work also improves the efficiency of the workers.

Defective Shape

It is also to be decided, whether urban planning in Calcutta Region will submit to the physical environs or a bold programme is to be taken to halt its present trend of growth and rectify the defects of its shape. The physical barriers like the Ganga on the West and the Salt-Lake marshes on the East have led Calcutta to grow North-South. This ribbon development has taxed utmost in water works and the drainage systems. Modern Town Planners have always disfavoured the linear growth of a city. Of course, the blame for such lengthwise development of Calcutta lay in the past as Kipling wrote on the history of Calcutta's growth :

'...From the mid-day halt of Charnock
Grew a city
As the fungus sprouts
Chaotic from its bed.
So it spread,
Chance-directed, chance-erected, laid
And built
On the silt
Palace, byne, hovel, poverty and pride
Side by side.'

No care had been taken by the founders of the city for its planned development. No attempt had been made to overcome the weak physical barriers of the city. As a result, it had followed the path of least resistance and attained the elongated narrow ribbon-shape.

The advantages of a circular city are many. However, it is difficult to give Calcutta a completely round shape as it is wise to leave the Ganga undisturbed. More bridges across the river may interfere with the navigation. But Calcutta can

easily be made semi-circular by including the North-East and Eastern suburban areas with the city. In doing so, all the objectives of urban planning, viz., better housing, efficient transport, better municipal services, will be achieved simultaneously.

Satellites Vs. 'Dormitory Suburbs'

For sometime past, an idea of creating a satellite township in the South is deve-

loping. Before arriving at any final decision, the respective merits of suburban development and the township, plan should be thoroughly compared and weighed :

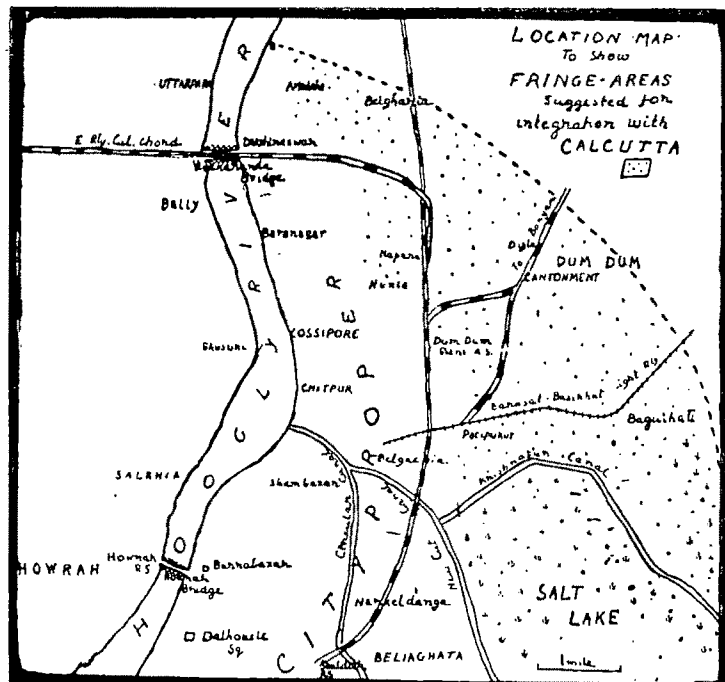
(1) Satellite township plan will require a very huge investment. Technically speaking, satellite town means a more or less independent urban unit equipped with its own water works, power supply, drainage and sewage facilities. Furthermore, the question arises, whether such a costly project will be able to draw popular response (cf. Kalyani). The township as planned, will be located in the extreme south at a considerable distance from the core of the city. The people of the crowded areas may feel reluctant to settle in the new satellite town on several considerations :

- (a) they will have to reside at a much longer distance from their places of work,
- (b) the longer journey will increase the cost of living,
- (c) wide separation from the familiar social associations, educational institutions may also stand in the way.

(2) But if a scheme for fringe-area development is adopted the plan will surely receive very good popular support. Fringe-areas have several advantages over satellite towns.

The benefits of selecting a particular fringe-area, suggested by the winter, are listed below. The area proposed for integra-

tion with the city is a block of land adjacent to the North-East and Eastern borders of Calcutta comprising the whole of the Baranagar and Dum Dum thanas and a portion of the Khardah, Bhangar and Rajarhat thanas. These areas with 4 square miles of the Northern Salt Lake (to be reclaimed) will provide an integrated block of considerable size for urban settlement. That there is enough vacant place in this block is revealed from the table below :



Thanas Area in Sq. miles P.C. of land culturable but not cultivated

Khardah	21.1	27%
Baranagar	7.7	20%
Dum Dum	16.2	26%
Rajarhat	39.6	15%
Bhangar	124.9	13%

+4 Sq. miles of Northern Salt Lake.

The culturable but not yet cultivated lands are to be nationalised immediately and Government should construct there low-cost houses for accommodating the surplus population of Calcutta. London has

grown similarly, adjacent areas have been amalgamated with the city and converted into the city's 'dormitory suburbs.' Of course, the reclamation of the Salt Lake will pose certain problems but they are not insurmountable. At present the height of the Salt Lake above sea level ranges between + 3 ft and + 6 ft. To make it suitable for habitation, the surface level will have to be raised by another 4 ft. to 6 ft. So that it can attain the level of +10 ft. If 4 sq. miles are to be raised by 4 ft., it will require about 44.64 crores cubic feet of soil. It is not at all difficult to get this amount of soil. The dredged silt from the bed of the Hooghly river may be brought here by hydraulic force and serve the purpose.

In this connection, it may be pointed out that the area near Behala which is being considered for the satellite township also requires an earth-filling by 5 feet. There the surface is of undulating nature and earth-dressing is essential. So the reclamation of the Salt Lake demands no greater investment than the proposed township. Rather, the Baranagar-Dum Dum Salt Lake Block offers many facilities for urban development which can hardly be overlooked :

(a) If isochrones (lines joining the places taking the same time to reach the Central Commercial Zone) are projected, the utility of selecting these areas will at once be evident. In a circle drawn with the radius of 6.5 miles with the Centre at Dalhousie Square it appears that both the North and the South extremes of the city have touched the circle whereas there is a wide gap between the circle and the North-East and Eastern borders of the city. This means, less time is required to travel from the North-East and Eastern Zones to the Central Commercial core than the time taken to come from the North and South points of the city. So, if the municipal boundary in the North-East and Eastern sectors is pushed to the periphery of the circle all the parts of the city including the proposed fringe-area will be more or less equidistant from the economic hub of Calcutta. Its present defective shape will also be corrected.

(2) The proposed region is nearer to the developed parts of the city wherefrom short distance extensions of the municipal services will bring water, electricity, etc within the reach of the new settlers.

(3) In the Lower Hooghly Region there are two bridges across the Ganga, the Vivekananda Bridge near Dakshineswar and the Howrah Bridge. The source of power in the Hooghly Plains is the coal of Raniganj and Asansol. Because of lesser distance and bridges the suggested block has easier access to the coal-fields than the Behala suburbs at far south.

(4) The site for satellite township in Behala is an area where rural economy is firmly established. There is a large rural population (about 2 lakhs) which will facilitate displacement in case the site is chosen. The density of population is also higher in the south suburban areas than in the fringe-areas suggested for integration with the city. Moreover, the southern suburban areas are much more productive and it is wise not to interfere with the flourishing agricultural activities of this well-drained region by creating a township.

(5) The proposed North-East block covers an wide area and is nearer to the overcrowded parts of the city. So migration will be easier as it will be of almost of a local nature.

It is admitted, that any scheme for urban planning should combine with a programme for improving the transport facilities. Otherwise, the plan cannot be successful. In this respect too, the fringe-areas in North and East afford brighter prospects. This region is already well-connected by a network of roadways, railways and canals.

All the national highways of the lower Hooghly Region pass through this proposed block :

(1) Calcutta-Delhi National Highways —This route goes from Calcutta to the Vivekananda Bridge and thereafter via Barrackpur Trunk Road.

(2) Calcutta-Bombay and Calcutta-Madras National Highways :—This route is common with the Calcutta-Delhi National Highways upto the Vivekananda Bridge.

(3) Calcutta-Siliguri National High

ways :—This route starts from Calcutta and takes the alignment of the Jessore Road upto Barasat.

(4) Calcutta-Bongaon National Highways :—It follows the Jessore Road from Calcutta to the Indo-Pak boundary.

Again, in the recent years, the greatest amount of road development has taken place in the area founded by the Barasat-Ranaghat Road and the Barasat-Basirhat Road. In the Second Five-Year Plan too the maximum emphasis was laid on the road development in the area lying to the North-East of Calcutta and around Barasat where several miles of district and village roads were planned and constructed.

Similar locational advantages are enjoyed by the Baranagar-Dum Dum Salt Lake Block in respect of inland water transport. Of the canals in and around Calcutta, the longest are the circular and eastern canals. It is a system of natural channels connected by the few artificial canals wherever necessary and traverses, besides 24 Parganas, the districts of Khulna, Faridpur

and Bakarganj. The Western terminus of the system is Dhapa, 2 miles east of Calcutta and is connected with the city by the Beliaghata Canal and with the northern suburb of Chitpur by the New Cut and Circular Canals. These canals support a host of industries. The proposed new appendage of the city will be able to draw supplies for its future industrial development very easily from these commercial arteries at close range.

The idea of circular railways may also be given shape by joining E. Railway Chord line, the Bongaon line and the reconstructed Barasat-Basirhat line. This circular railway will serve very well the regional demand for passenger transport facilities.

From all these considerations it appears that the Khardah-Baranagar-Dum Dum-Salt Lake Block affords the best scope for the immediate urban development and integration with the city proper. The venture will be economical and the investment will be rewarded by ready returns.

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THE MOSCOW KREMLIN

THE Moscow Kremlin is a majestic historical and artistic monument of Russian national culture. The history of its foundation and development reflects the 800-year-long history of Moscow and the history of the entire Russian state. Kremlin's tall towers and thick walls have witnessed many historical events over the centuries. It was the scene of the final battles for the victory of the October Revolution in Moscow in 1917. V. I. Lenin lived and worked here for more than five years.

HISTORY OF THE MOSCOW KREMLIN

The wooden fortress built on the steep bank of the Moskva River in 1147 during the reign of Prince Yuri Dolgoruky, was the beginning of Moscow and the Moscow Kremlin. In 1367 Prince Dmitri Donskoi began to build the white-stone walls of the Kremlin that gave Moscow the name of a white-stone city. The construction of the fortress played an important role in strengthening the Moscow principality.

As the Russian state was becoming more

powerful many new structures were added to the Kremlin.

It was rebuilt to answer the requirements of defence. During the 10 years between 1485 and 1495 thick crenellated walls and towers made of brick were built around the Kremlin and stone palaces and cathedrals with gilded cupolas were built on its territory and bridges were thrown across the moat. The height of the Kremlin walls varies from 5 to 19 metres depending upon the locality. They are from 3.5 to 6.5 m. wide. The entire length of the Kremlin walls is two and a quarter kilometres and form irregular triangle. The area inside the walls equals 70 acres. Construction of the Kremlin towers began in 1485. Altogether there are 20 towers in the Kremlin, most beautiful of them being the Spasskaya Tower built in 1491. This tower has 10 storeys and is 71 metres high. As early as in the 16th century the Kremlin chimes were installed in this tower. The present chimes were installed in 1851-52.

The Kremlin walls and towers are out-

standing structures answering the demands of the defence of that time.

Alongside with the construction of the defence structures at the Kremlin many churches were built on its territory under Ivan III. On one of the Kremlin's oldest squares, the Sobronaya Square, the Uspensky, Blagoveshchensky and Arkhangelsky cathedrals, masterpieces of Russian's national architecture, were built.



Uspensky Cathedral in the Moscow Kremlin

All the Kremlin cathedrals are decorated with wall painting and have beautiful icons. Many articles of decorative and applied arts: embroideries, artistic iron work, wood-carving, etc., are to be found here.

In 1505-1508 the famous Ivan Veliky (Ivan the Great) belfry was built in the centre of the

Kremlin. In 1600 an upper tier was added to the belfry and its cupola and cross were gilded with red gold.

In 1586 the Russian founder Anderi Chokhov cast the Tsar Cannon. The weight of this huge cannon is about 40 tons, the guntube is 5 m. long and its calibre is 890 mm. Another masterpiece of Russian foundry art is the Tsar Bell, the largest bell in the world, cast in 1733-35 by Ivan

Matorin and his son Mikhail. It weighs about 200 tons. The Tsar Cannon and Tsar Bell stand in the Kremlin as outstanding examples of Russian's foundry art of the 16th-18th centuries.

In 1838-49, the Grand Kremlin Palace was built on the most picturesque spot of the Kremlin hill, facing South where the Moskva River flows. Its huge Georgievsky Hall is one of the most beautiful halls of the Palace and is of great architectural value.

On the tall Borovitsky hill towers a monumental building of the State Armoury. The first mention of it dates back to June, 1547. At present more than 4,000 exhibits are on display here. This collection was accumulated for centuries and is of a great scientific and educational importance.

THE KREMLIN SINCE THE GREAT OCTOBER REVOLUTION

At the beginning of March, 1918, it was decided to transfer the Soviet Government from Petrograd (now Leningrad) to Moscow. On March 12, 1918, Lenin moved into the Kremlin. Since that time Moscow has been the capital of the first state of workers and peasants in the

world and the Moscow Kremlin the residence of the Soviet Government.

At the present time the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the USSR function in the Kremlin. Sessions of the USSR and the Russian Federation Supreme Soviets, congresses and plenary meet-

ings of the CPSU Central Committee and all other such conferences take place here. Diplomatic receptions, the presentation of credentials by foreign ambassadors, the presentation of government awards and international prizes also take place in the Kremlin.

In 1937 five-pointed ruby stars were mounted on the Kremlin towers.

The Soviet Government takes great care of artistic and historical monuments. Extensive restoration work has been carried out lately in the cathedrals and palaces of the Kremlin.

Millions of people including a large number of foreign tourists from all over the world visit the Kremlin every year.

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PROFESSOR BASANTA KUMAR DAS

1895—1957

By A. K. DAS, M.Sc., F.Z.S., (London)

PROFESSOR Basanta Kumar Das was a silent but an eminent figure in the history of Indian Biology. His quality as an experimenter in the air-breathing fishes of India has seldom been surpassed. The rapid maturity of his power as a great teacher in Zoology, his intellectual independence and clarity of thoughts and theoretical insight into the whole gamut of Zoology beyond the mere frontier of fishes earned him the respect of his students and colleagues.

Born in a small village, Gangoor, in the district of Burdwan on November 21, 1895 of extremely poor and illiterate parentage, Professor Das, the second eldest son, in the family inherited all the noble qualities of his pious and God-fearing parents, late Sri Nobin Chandra Das and Srimati Sukharani Devi. When Professor Das was hardly one year old, his parents moved to Allahabad and settled down there. His father joined the Pioneer Press, the well-known European English daily press in those days on a salary of Rs. 5 per month in the Job Department. Although cost of living in India was much cheaper about half a century ago, yet these poor parents found it difficult to meet the both ends together on such a meagre income. Therefore, when the boy Basanta Kumar was just about five, Nobin Babu had to approach for generous help many people of Allahabad for the education of their child. Luckily, Late Sir Justice Promoda Charan Banerjee of the Allahabad High Court and Late Pandit Ram Charan Shukla, a well-known Raihs (landlord) of Allahabad responded to his appeal and gave all possible help towards the early education of Sri Basanta Kumar, whom they thought a bright boy full of future promises.

He was educated at the Government High

School at Allahabad, and then at the Muir Central College, Allahabad, from where he passed his M.Sc. in Zoology in 1918 standing first in the list and winning two Uttar Pradesh State Government Research Scholarships running simultaneously in recognition of his exceptional merit and ability for research. This distinction he achieved in spite of his having to struggle hard, and keep the body and soul together by doing two tuitions a day and working as a clerk during summer vacations. It is these two coveted awards that brought Dr. Das directly in contact with Dr. W. N. F. Woodland, the distinguished Professor of Zoology, at the Allahabad University who inspired, guided and moulded his career as a research investigator.

In 1920, he became lecturer in Zoology at Allahabad University and in 1923, he won the Uttar Pradesh State Scholarship for study abroad and joined the Imperial College of Science & Technology, London University, under the late Professor E. W. MacBride, M.A., D.Sc., LL.D., F.R.S., the eminent British Zoologist towards the end of 1923. There he showed his unusual brilliance and deep insight into his subject-matter for researches in the evolutionary biology of the Indian-air-breathing fishes of the highest interest—so much so, that in recognition of his merit, he was exempted from Ph.D. Examination of London University and allowed to go straight on for the highest degree, i.e., D.Sc., of London University which he completed in 2 years and 6 months—a unique distinction.

When he was preparing his thesis for the doctorate degree, his family in India was faced with a sudden financial difficulty owing to the stoppage of his pay. This made Dr. Das very

nervous and worried, and he almost decided to return to India without completing the thesis. But as God would have it, late Professor Surendra Nath Deb, the well-known philanthropist Principal of the Kayastha Pathshala College and late Mr. Ahindra Nath Kar, the General Manager of the Allahabad Trading Bank, came to the financial rescue of the family till Dr. Das's return to India thus allowing him to go ahead with the great memorable work that was nearing its journey's end. In 1926, he returned to India and was appointed to the Chair in Zoology of the Calcutta University at the age of 31 being the youngest to hold such a distinguished post in the University. Here he reorganised the whole department and built up a School of Zoology to his credit. After working there for 5 years, he joined the Osmania University in 1932, where his achievements were numerous. Here he built up a department worthy of a great teacher like him, produced a galaxy of brilliant students and set up an excellent Zoological Museum, all that will ever remain as a living monument of his energy and scientific genius.

Dr. Das published a series of original papers nearing 60 in number in the first rate Scientific Journals of U.K., Europe, America and India. These cover not only the mere order of fishes, but a much wider range of animal life.

But his work on the Anatomy and Bionomics of the Indian-air-breathing fishes which was published in the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society, London, was so outstanding and monumental that it had been characterised by late Professor MacBride as a veritable Zoological Classic, and earned for him an international fame. It is this work that brought him the coveted award of Huxley Memorial Prizes in 1931—a honour given in the domain of research for the most distinguished work, by the Imperial College of Science and Technology.

This is the highest honour ever bestowed upon an Indian Zoologist. In addition, many other honours came to him from far and wide. In 1935, he represented India at the International Zoological Congress held in Lisbon and was elected as one of their Vice-presidents. In 1940, he was elected President of the Zoological

Section of the Indian Science Congress held in Madras.

His masterly preparations and dissections of air-breathing fishes were considered of such scientific value and importance that they have been taken for permanent exhibition in the galleries of the British Museum. His research work has been incorporated in some of the standard text-books on comparative anatomy and physiology written by eminent English authors. In high recognition of his services to the cause of science, he was a fellow of all the big scientific bodies in India. His contribution to the Hyderabad State (now Telengana part of Andhra Pradesh) was the creation of the Fisheries Department about 16 years ago which he served at much personal discomfort and sacrifice for about 11 years as honorary Adviser, and in 1953, he joined that Department as full time Research Director only to complete the work he began years ago.

Today we find not only in Hyderabad but all over the country men, who were once his pupils now holding high position in the scientific life of India as directly due to Dr. Das's inspiration and guidance.

In 1957, Dr. Das became ill and died suddenly at Secunderabad of heart attack on April 6, 1957 leaving behind a widow, two young daughters and two brothers.

He was indeed, one of the greatest Zoologists of India, and easily the greatest authority on Indian-air-breathing fishes. With all this vast erudition and outstanding merit, Dr. Das was an exceptionally modest and kind-hearted man. His humility was in fact his true greatness. In a word, his proverbial simplicity, unassuming and scholarly life, his selfless determination and undaunted courage to support the cause of his pupils will always be remembered by them, and will remain a source of inspiration to them in the future.

He lived a full life, with its many vicissitudes, sorrows and satisfactions, and his death marks the end of a glorious and eventful career. Dr. Das's death leaves a void which is difficult to fill in the lives of those who know him, not only because he was a unique personality, but also because of the deep affection he inspired.

AIRBORNE TELEVISION TO DO VAST TEACHING JOB IN U.S.

By FLORA HAMILTON

A dramatic new use of television in education was successfully demonstrated in the United States recently when the Midwest Program on Airborne Television Instruction (MPATI) conducted the first phase of its year-long experiment. From a high-flying airplane equipped as a television station, 13 specially prepared courses were transmitted to some 500,000 students in schools and colleges in a six-state area of the Midwest.

By mounting a television transmitter in a high-flying plane, the effect of the earth's curvature is overcome. Television transmission travel only in straight lines and can be picked up by receivers only as far as the horizon. The higher the transmitter, the farther away the horizon. This is much the same as a person being able to see much farther when he is standing on a mountain than he is on low-lying ground. Thus, since a ground-based station can cover only a 75-mile (120-kilometer) radius, it would take 14 such stations to cover the 200-mile (320-kilometer) radius within the range of the "flying classroom." There is a potential "audience" of 5,000,000 students in the area of the MPATI project.

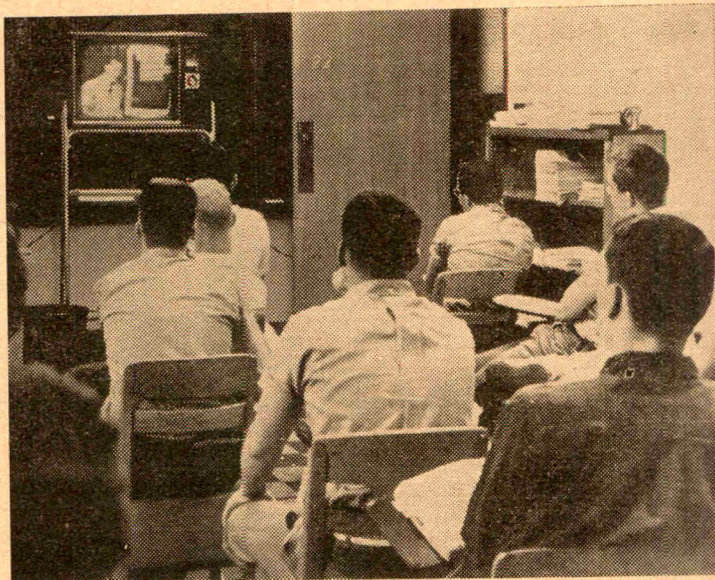
MPATI is a council of leading middle-western educators financed by the Ford Foundation and certain philanthropic-minded industrial firms. The experiment in airborne television, according to MPATI President, John E. Ivey, Jr., is "an attempt to provide a higher quality of instruction for a large number of students at a lower per capita cost than would otherwise be possible." It can provide small rural schools with courses they could not otherwise offer, as well as enriching the curriculum of larger city schools.

Commencing in September, 1961, a full academic year of courses will be telecast. Indications now are that several hundred elementary and secondary schools and colleges will participate in the project.

"Possibly as many as 2,000,000 students will be viewing the telecasts by the end of the pro-

gram's experimental period in June, 1962," Dr. Ivey says. If this subsidized period proves the worth of the venture, the project is expected to become permanent, with participating institutions sharing the cost.

Purdue University at Lafayette, Indiana, one of the 20 colleges acting as liaison with local school systems, is the nerve centre of the program. Its airport serves as the hangar for the "flying classroom," a four-engine plane equipped as a



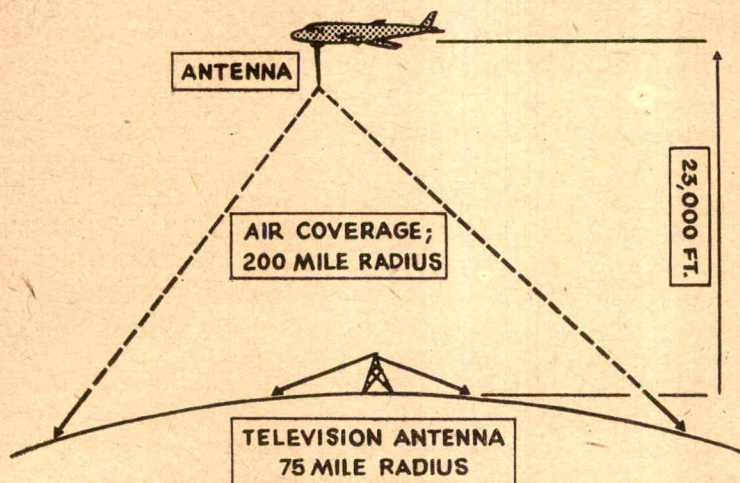
Students in an Urbana Illinois Secondary School are watching a lesson of specially prepared courses beamed to classrooms from a high-flying airplane.

television station and stacked with previously recorded video tape lessons. Circling a 10-mile (16-kilometer) radius at 23,000 feet (7,000 meters), its signals cover an area of 150 to 200 miles (230 to 320 kilometers).

With a similar stand-plane ready to take off in case of technical difficulties, project engineers say the system will operate effectively more than 95 per cent of the time.

During the three-week demonstration period the plane transmitted on two channels simultaneously three hours a day, four days a week. When the regular schedule starts in September, the aircraft is expected to telecast six hours a day, four days a week, and it is hoped that the number of simultaneous transmissions can eventually be increased to six.

The curriculum was mapped by an MPATI committee after consultation with educational colleges to familiarize themselves with the role of television in education and how to get the optimum good from it.



Sketch showing how the earth's curvature limits the television signal and how the high-flying plane used in the Midwest program for Airborne Television Instruction.

To help make the maximum use of telecast courses, MPATI has prepared a log of courses offered, supplemental texts, outline and other written aids. These may be purchased at nominal cost by participating schools.

During the trial period airborne television brought to elementary schools courses in arithmetic, music, French, Spanish and science. At the secondary school level there were courses in American government and civics, American history, world history and geography, and biology. Algebra and chemistry were taught to college classes.

experts in the telecast area to assure that the courses would be tailored to the particular needs of the schools in the Midwest.

Since the prime object of the experiment is to provide high quality instruction as a supplement to classroom teaching, the council conducted a nation-wide search for talented TV teachers. From some 300 candidates, 22 men and women were chosen. All of them had both television and classroom teaching experience and were selected not only for professional competence but also for their dynamic personalities and ability to project subject matter.

The TV teachers spent two months in the summer of 1960 at Purdue University where they drew up course outlines, prepared bibliographies and consulted with librarians, artists, audio-visual experts and television technicians.

They spent nearly a full academic year at six production centres making the video tapes of their courses that would be carried aloft and telecast. In preparing their presentations the teachers used a wide variety of visual aids and demonstrations—maps, models, chalk boards, drawings and slides—to make their lessons more interesting and easily understood. Science and language instructors had at their disposal facilities that few individual schools could afford.

Some 2,000 teachers and school adminis-

In September the program will be expanded to 17 courses and in January, 1962, it will be increased to 22. Other languages will be added, together with humanities, social studies, international relations, language courses for teachers and a wider variety of courses in the sciences and arts. About 40 per cent will be for elementary schools, 40 per cent for secondary schools and the rest for colleges.

This airborne television experiment, like the many ground-based educational television programs conducted by U.S. schools and colleges, is designed to supplement rather than replace the classroom teacher. "The courses were produced with the classroom teacher in mind," Dr. Ivey says. "The classroom teacher is the principal figure, the TV teacher the assistant to provide materials otherwise unavailable."

Televised lessons vary from 20 to 30 minutes after which the regular teacher takes over for a like period of discussion, projects and special assignments. Freed from much of the time-consuming preparation and presentation of lectures, the local instructor can devote more time to individual students.

If this "cloud to classroom" experiment lives up to expectations, MPATI spokesmen believe it may serve as a pilot project for similar undertakings in the United States and possibly abroad.

AKRIYAVADA OR THE DOCTRINE OF NON-ACTION MENTIONED IN JAINA AND BUDDHIST LITERATURE

By NAREN BHATTACHARYYA

AKRIYAVADA or the doctrine of non-action is one of the four principal philosophical schools mentioned in the Jaina literature. "The Jaina account elaborates this Akriyavada into eighty-four varieties, according as there is a denial of the existence of Jiva, Ajiva, Asrava, Bandha, Samvara, Nirjara and Moksha (the Jaina-categories), each severally, and according as they deny the casual activity of Kala, Isvara, Atman, Niyati, Svabhava or Yadrichchha, in succession, conceiving these First Principles of these schools, further, as each acting of its own free impulse, or depending upon something else for its activity.¹ The Buddhist texts also mention some philosophical schools, similar to those of the Akriyavadins, which enunciate the denial of the freedom of will and moral responsibility and that of the existence of the soul as a substance and its consequent transmigration.

In the wider sense of the term Akriyavada denotes that salvation cannot be achieved by any action. Jacobi, perhaps in this wider sense, has placed Vedanta, Samkhya, Yoga and Buddhism in the Akriyavada level.² The Samkara-interpretation of Vedanta might have led Jacobi to suggest so. Samkhya can be taken into the range of Akriyavada but it is commonly held that Yoga is Samkhya translated into action. Hence Yoga can be excluded from the scope of Akriyavada and a new line of research can be opened on the point whether Samkhya preaches action. The Buddhists, because of their Kshanikavada and the denial of a permanent entity, are probably supposed to belong in the Akriyavadin group though their religious practices seem to speak otherwise.

In the Samannaphala Sutta King Ajatasatru deliberately attributes the term Akriyavadin to Purana Kassapa,³ who is said to have been "the

head of an order, the leader of the people, the teacher of a philosophical school, wise, enlightened, as a sophist revered by the people, a man of experience who has long been a recluse, old and well-stricken in years."⁴ According to Kassapa "if a man were to go along the south bank of the Ganges striking and slaying, mutilating and having men mutilated, oppressing and having men oppressed, there would be no guilt thence resulting, no increase of guilt would ensue. Were he to go along the north bank of the Ganges giving alms and ordering alms to be given offering sacrifices or causing them to be offered, there would be no merit thence resulting, no increase of merit. In generosity, in self-mastery, in control of the senses, in speaking truth, there is neither merit nor increase of merit."⁵ The Jaina texts also term his doctrine as Akriyavada and affirm that his theory was of the passivity of soul.⁶ When a man acts or causes another to act, it is not his soul which acts or causes to act. The Jaina commentator Silanka identifies his doctrine with the Samkhya philosophy. This is perhaps one of the causes which led Jacobi include Samkhya within the range of Akriyavada. Dr. B. C. Law is of opinion that Kassapa's theory is an important step towards the development of the Samkhya system from the rough outline given by Pippalada.⁷ Law holds that Kassapa's view regarding the presence of the soul as a passive spectator is essential to stir up energy in Prakriti. But Dr. Nalinaksha Dutta is of different opinion. According to him "Kassapa's doctrine is that soul remains inactive as in Samkhya and it is the body which acts; hence soul remains unaffected by the results of good and bad deeds of the body. Purana's doctrine is grouped in the Pali texts as Akriyavada, i.e., non-existence of Karmaic effects.

1. Belvalkar and Ranade, *History of Indian Philosophy II*, p. 446.

2. *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. 45 (introduction).

3. *Digha Nikaya*, I, 2. 17.

4. *Ibid*, I, 2. 2.

5. *Dialogues of the Buddha*, II (Rhys Davids)—69f.

6. *Sutrakrit.* I, 1, 1, 13.

7. *Buddhist Studies*, p. 80.

Neither Samkhya nor Vedanta teaches non-existence of Karmaic effects. It is the body or Prakriti that functions and reaps the fruits of its deeds in this life or in future existences. Neither of those two schools of thought denies the transmigration of soul, hence they could not have supported Purana Kassapa's views.⁸ Dr. Law comments on Purana Kassapa's doctrine that the influence of his speculation upon Jainism and Buddhism was rather of a negative character and the latter in a body admits the absurdity of Kassapa's theory about the soul.⁹

In the third Arga text Mahavira has described eight types of Akriyavada.¹⁰ They are Ekkavada, Anikkavada, Mitavada, Nimmitavada, Sayavada, Samuchchedavada, Niyavada and Nasanti-Paralokavada.

In all probability Ekkavadins are those who believe that the individual soul and the universal soul are identical. This doctrine resembles the earlier Upanishadic monism where Brahman (the cosmic principle) and Atman (the physical principle) are one and the same. It is possible that according to the Jaina outlook the conception of the sameness of Prahman and Atman denies the Jaina conception of Jiva which though eternal is subject to changes in state while according to the earlier Upanishadic speculations the individual soul remains changeless in all states and at all times.

Now let us come to Anikkavada or pluralism. The philosophical doctrine of Pakudha Kaccayana has been termed in Jaina literature as Anikkavada.¹¹ The Buddhist texts describe him as a Sessatavadin or an eternalist. In the Tibetan version of the Samannaphala Sutta his doctrine has been mixed up with that of Gosala and Ajita.¹² However what the Samannaphala Sutta relates of his doctrine is that "there are seven elements which constitute everything of the world; those seven elements are earth, water, fire, air, pleasure, pain and soul; they are neither made nor led to be made by any command; they are barren, and static as if fastened in a pedestal; they are devoid of motion and they do not vary; they do not interact on one another as regards pleasure and pain; thus there is

neither slayer nor agent of slaying, neither hearer nor speaker, neither knower nor explainer; when a man with a sharp instrument beheads another man, he thereby deprives no one of life; he only transforms one element into another."¹³ According to his ethics "nothing comes out of nothing" (Noya Uppajjae asam).¹⁴ According to Dr. Law "the Buddhist fragments do not mention of this important logical principle (Satkaryavada) accepted in almost all the systems of Indian philosophy, notably the system of the Bhagavadgita, the Samkhya and the Vedanta. These led the Jaina commentators Silanka and others to identify the doctrine of Pakudha with the system of Bhagavadgita, the Samkhya and some of the Saiva-systems."¹⁵ Dr. B. M. Barua compares the philosophy of Pakudha with that of the Greek philosopher Empedocles on the following grounds. According to Pakudha the elements of being are so qualitatively distinct from one another that there is no transition from the one to the other. Empedocles upheld the same view in agreement with Anaxagoras. According to both, the four roots of all things are the four unchangeable elements—earth, water, fire and air. According to Empedocles love and hatred are subject to change whereas according to Pakudha those elements are pleasure and pain. Finally they resemble each other in admitting that there are pores in organic body and both of them also deny the void.¹⁶

The third and fourth types of Akriyavada have been designated as Mitavada and Nimmitavada, i.e., the Limitists and the Unlimitists. They accord well with the Antanantikas mentioned in the Brahmajala Sutra.¹⁷ Some of the Antanantikas think that the world is limited both in extent and in degree; the others hold quite an opposite view. Nagarjuna in his Madhyamakarikā has refuted the views of the Antanantikas on the ground that these doctrines go against the Buddhist conception of the next world.¹⁸

The fifth type of the Akriyavada mentioned in the Sthanaga list is Niyavada which resembles the Sassatavada of the Brahmajala Sutra.¹⁹

8. *Early Monastic Buddhism*, pp. 28-29.

9. *op cit*, p. 80.

10. *Sthananga*, IV, 4.

11. *Ibid.*, of *Sutrakrit*, I, 1, 1, 15-16.

12. Rockhill, *Life of Buddha*, pp. 102-4.

13. *Digha Nikaya*, I, 2, 25-26.

14. *Cf. Sutrakrit*, II, 2. 'Sato Nathi Vinasa, Asato Nathi Sambhavo'.

15. *Buddhist Studies*, pp. 82-83.

16. *Pre-Buddhist Indian Philosophy*, p. 284.

17. *Digha Nikaya*, I, 2, 16-22.

18. See Dutt, *Early Monastic Buddhism*.

19. *Digha Nikaya*, I, 1, 1, 28-37.

According to this doctrine the world and the soul are "eternal, changeless, fundamental and fixed." This doctrine goes against the Buddhist view of Kshanikavada and the Jaina conception of Jiva which though eternal is subject to changes in state.

The sixth, seventh, and eighth types of Akriyavada are Sayavada, Samuchchedavada and Na-Santi-Paralokavada. In general all of them connote materialistic outlooks. Sayavada is sensualism according to which the satisfaction of organic pleasure should be the only object of human life. It has a similarity with the Adichcha-Samuppannika mentioned in the Brahmajala Sutra.²⁰ Dr. N. Dutt identifies this doctrine with the Lokayatika or the Barhaspatya doctrine according to which the happiness and sorrow of the human beings are caused by the law of nature. Due to the accidental admixture of the elements a being comes into existence. The ideas of heaven or hell, merits or demerits, etc., are the result of idle speculations.²¹ The Samuchchedavada of the Jaina text is the same with the Uchchedavada of the Brahmajala Sutra²² and the Na-Santi Paralokavada closely resembles the Drishta-dharma-nirvana-vada of the same text.²³

The philosophical doctrines of Ajita Kesakambalin²⁴ and Payasi²⁵ are the truest examples of Akriyavada. According to Ajita "there is no such thing as alms or sacrifice or offering. There is neither fruit nor result of good or evil deeds. There is no such thing as this world or the next. There is neither father nor mother, nor beings springing into life without them. There are in the world no Recluses or Brahmins who have reached the highest point, who walk perfectly and who, having understood and realised by themselves alone, both this world and the next, make their wisdom know to others. A human being is built up of the four elements. When he dies, the earthy in him returns and relapses to the earth, the fluid to the water, the heat to the fire, the windy to the air, and his indriyas or faculties pass into space. The four bearers, he on the bier as a fifth, take his dead

body away. Till they reach the burning ground men utter forth eulogies; but there his bones are bleached, and his offerings end in ashes! It is a doctrine of fools, this talk of gifts. It is an empty lie, mere idle talk, when men say there is profit therein. Fools and wise alike, on the dissolution of the body, are cut off, are annihilated; and after death they are not."²⁶ Ajita was probably the first who adopted pure materialism as his subject of preaching. He had been served with contempt even by his contemporary philosophers. His opponents characterised his doctrine—like a hair—garment—as amongst the most disagreeable of things: cold in the cold weather, hot in the hot, and always unpleasant to touch.²⁷ According to Dr. Law "What Ajita really contemplated was not to identify body with soul or matter with spirit but to point out that a particular object of experience must be somehow viewed as an indivisible whole."²⁸ Dr. Barua thinks that "Ajita in the negative aspect of his doctrine shows a resemblance to Epicurus, while on the positive side of his speculation, he seems to be a more stoic than an Epicurian, his fundamental point being that nothing is real but that which is corporeal."²⁹ The views of Payasi were similar to those of Ajita.³⁰ Payasi is also mentioned in Raja Prasenakiya, the second Jaina Upanga.

The Jaina commentator Silanka has mentioned six types of Akriyavada each considered from two standpoints—subjective (Svatah) and objective (Paratah). They are Kalavada, Isvaravada, Atmavada, Niyativada, Svabhavavada and Yadrichchavada.

In all probability Kalavada is the ancestor of Samkhya, Vedanta, Veseshika and similar other doctrines. The pure consciousness that remains in the transcendental state of mind is beyond the measurement of time and space. This pure-consciousness is devoid of any action. The conception of Isvara goes directly against the Jaina view of life and so Isvaravada falls within the range of Akriyavada. Atmavada is almost the same with the Upanishadic monism.

Now comes the question of Niyativada or Fatalism. An extract from the Buddhist text

20. *Ibid.*, I, 1, 2, 30-34.

21. *op. cit.*, pp. 53-54.

22. *Digha Nikaya*, I, 1, 3, 9-18.

23. *Ibid.*, I, 1, 3, 19-26.

24. *Ibid.*, I, 2, 21-24.

25. *Ibid.*, II, 23, 1-34.

26. Belvalkar and Ranade, *op. cit.*, p. 452.

27. Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 70.

28. *Buddhist Studies*, p. 81.

29. *Pre-Buddhist Indian Philosophy*, p. 291.

30. See foot note 25.

Digha Nikaya translated by Dr. Belvalkar and Prof. Ranade³¹ may be furnished here to show that the doctrine of Gosala Mankhaliputta, the great teacher of the Ajivika sect falls within the wider scope of Akriyavada. According to Gosala "there is no cause either ultimate or remote for the depravity of beings; they become depraved without reason and without cause. There is no cause either proximate or remote for the rectitude of beings; they become pure without reason and without cause. The attainment of any given condition, of any character, does not depend either on one's own acts, or on acts of another, or on human efforts. There is no such thing as power or energy or human strength or human vigour. All animals, all creatures, all beings, all souls, are without force and power and energy of their own. They are bent this way and that by their fate, by the necessary conditions of the class to which they belong by their individual nature: and it is according to their position in the one or the other of the six classes that they experience ease or pain. And it is only at the

appointed period—after one has passed through the eighty-four hundred thousand periods of wandering in transmigration—that there shall be an end of pain." Gosala, his views, and his followers are also mentioned in the Jaina texts like Bhagavati Sutra,³² in the Buddhist texts like Anguttara Nikaya, Majjhim Nikaya, etc., and in the inscriptions of Asoka.³³

Svabhavavada and Yadrachavada are pure hedonism. They have a good deal of similarity with the materialistic Epicurianism of Ajita and others. They have left their traces even in the orthodox texts like the Arthashastra, the Kamasutra, the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, the Vishnu-purana, the Padmapurana, the Sadadarsana-Samuchchaya, the Tattvasamgraha, the Probodha Chandradaya, the Naishadhacharita, the Sarva-darshana-Samgraha, etc., and in the occasional comments of Aryadeva, Samkaracharya, Gunaratna, Jayant, Kamalasila, Santa-rakshita Vachaspati Misra, Bhaskaracharya, Bharadvaja, Nilakantha and others.

31. *op. cit.*, p. 457.

32. Translated by Dr. Hoernle.

33. Sircar, *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 62.



“BHARATA-BHASKARAM”

“(The Sun of India)”

By DR. JATINDRA BIMAL CHAUDHURI

[English Translation by Principal Dr. Roma Chaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D. (Oxford)]

Scene XVII

Time—1901 A.D. 7th Paus (December) Morning.

Place—Santiniketan, Bolepur, Bengal.

Satyendranath (Aged 59), Rabindranath (Age 40), Brahmabandhab Upadhyaya, students and others).

The Section on “The Establishment of the Brahma-Vidyalyaya.”

(Enter Rabindranath and Satyendranath)

Rabindranath—(in a reflective mood)—Oh ! What an auspicious day it is ! Today, the dream of my life, *viz.*, the establishment of a “Brahma-Vidyalyaya,” after the pattern of our ancient “Asrama-Vidyalyayas” or “Forest-Schools” will be realised. Oh ! I am blessed !

Satyendranath—My dear ! May God bless you ! It has always been the dream of our revered Father, no less. He has always thought you to be the fittest person to fulfil his heart's desires.

Rabindranth—I am, indeed, blessed ! Elder brother ! Don't you see the auspicious, benign hand of God in everything ? Just think, when I was not even two years old, our revered Father bought these wide, vast lands from the Zemindars of Raipur. But why ? Simply because, he as a Maharsi, as a Great Sage, felt the presence of God here. So, this is, indeed, a Place of God, a Place of Holy Pilgrimage.

Satyendranath—True, very true, my brother. I also constantly feel just the same.

Rabindranath—Many a time, in my childhood dreams, as well as later on, I have tried to reconstruct, imagine, envisage the scene—about which, surely, ballads will be composed, bards will sing.

Satyendranath—What scene, my dear ?

Rabindranath—That grand and glorious scene—when Maharsi first felt the Call of God here and stopped under that “Chatim”-tree (Saptaparnatree) yonder. Oh ! just for once imagine the

scene : Maharsi is passing through the vast, empty, barren fields on his way to Raipur from the Bolepur Station.

Nothing is there, not a speck of green,

Only a flanking row of palm.

Suddenly he sees two “Chatim”-trees,

Standing together erect and calm.

Satyendranath—Yes, a picture that nothing can vie with in glory and grandeur.

Rabindranath—(Meditatively)—And, then the Maharsi stops under those trees and feels the magic touch of the All-pervasive, All-beautiful God there. Hence he raises a platform there and inscribes his heart's eternal sentiments here—“He is the Solace of my heart, the Joy of my mind, the Peace of my soul.”

And, after nearly forty years, fortunate, as I am, I am, through the infinite grace of God and your help, going to establish a School to proclaim His Name !

Satyendranath—Really, a wonderful event. Now, let's go and see what is happening.

(Exit both)

(Sound of Music and Mantra-Recitals)

(Enter Satyendranath, Rabindranath, Brahmabandhab Upadhyaya, students and others.)

Satyendranath—O ! Honourable guests, and students ! On the auspicious occasion of the Eleventh Anniversary of the establishment of the Santiniketan-Mandir, on this auspicious day of 7th Paus, my youngest brother Sri Rabindranath is going to establish a “Brahma-Vidyalyaya” here.

His aim is to impart Education, in the truest sense of the term, in natural surroundings, according to our ancient ideals. We think that the pattern of our ancient ‘Forest-School’ systems is still the best. So, today, Sri Rabindranath will initiate the boys to ‘*Brahmacharya*,’ to the vow of a God-dedicated life. So, do kindly express your approval by saying “*Svasti*.”

All—Svasti ! Svasti ! Svasti !
(Utterance of Benedictory Mantras)

Vedic Song. (Sung in Rabindranath's tune)

"The Greatest amongst the Lords,
The Highest amongst the Gods,
Of all the Masters, Master,
Than the Greatest, Greater.

I know such a God
Adorable, Universe, Lord."

Rabindranath—(Addressing the students)—O my dear boys ! Many years ago, our country, India, was truly a great one in all respects—then, our countrymen were heroes; they were our ancestors.

What made them great ? They took Truth to be above all—they never bowed down to Falsehood.

They were fearless—they never feared anything except Dharma.

They thought of the welfare of all—they arranged for the same.

You have come to me—keeping always in mind the true utterances and luminous character of the ancient sages; I shall try to lead you to the Path of those great souls. May God help me !

Do not be afraid; do not be perturbed by sorrows, do not be depressed by losses, do not be puffed up with pride of wealth, do not be afraid of death.

Try to know the Truth, drive away falsehood from speech and action, refrain from all bad deeds, knowing that God is everywhere, in and out.

From today let Truth be your vow.

From today, let Fearlessness be your vow.

From today, let Auspiciousness be your vow.

From today, let God be your vow.

Think of Him, at least once, daily. In our Vedas, we find Mantras to do so. Our sages, our Brahmins stood before God by uttering these Mantras. O my dears ! You, too, utter that Mantra, with me, once—

(Recites the Gayatri Mantra).

Om. Bhu Bhuvah Svah !

I invoke the adorable lustre of that Luminous God. May he inspire our intelligence !
Brahmabandhab Upadhyaya—From today, you become the "Gurudeva," the "Teacher" of all.

For your sake, we are here as teachers; for your sake, these "Brahma-Vratins" have assembled here. Through your blessings, may Satya-Yuga dawn again; may all follow the Paths of Truth and Virtue; may all blossom forth like flowers on the Tree of Religion and the creeper of Truth.

Rabindranath (Affectionately)—O revered Brahmabandhab Upadhyaya ! We crave your blessings. You have, indeed, been a very great help to me in this matter. May God bless you ! May God make all happy.

(Utterances of Peace-Mantras)

Peace be on the earth !

Peace be on the sky !

Peace be on herbs !

Peace be on trees !

Peace be on Peace.

Peace, Peace, Peace !

(All Exit)

Rabindranath—Can I do anything more pleasing to you, revered Sirs ?

All—What else can be more pleasing to us all ?
However—

(Bharata-Vakyam)

Let the "Rising Sun" luminous
Dispel worldly gloom.

Let its thousand rays glorious
Make thousand blossoms bloom

Let the Cuckoo's call joyous
Proclaim the dawn of Morn

Let the bees hum chorus
To revive the bowers worn.

Let the ripples dance welcome
Let the flowers glow,

Let the meadows shine handsome
Let the gay winds blow.

Let the Divine Blessings fine
Sprinkle nectar sweet

Let the world worship Thine
Lovely Lotus-Foot.

(All Exit).

GANDHIAN HUMOUR

By SAHIB SINGH AHUJA

UNIQUE is the word applicable to Gandhiji. As in life, so in death, he was unique. You can pick up any of his famous contemporaries and find a parallel for him. But there has been no parallel for Gandhiji. There has not been a single figure in history who had so many millions as his followers during his life-time. Likewise, so many people in so many lands were never so deeply moved by the passing away of an individual.

He was not only one of the greatest spiritual and political leaders of all time, but also was a thinker and writer of extraordinary power. It is doubtful if any other leader had addressed such large gatherings, made so many speeches or wrote so incessantly for a period of 40 years on all topics concerning the well-being of society and the development of human character. The quality of his teachings and writings was unrivalled. His speeches and writings were often enlivened with sparkling humour. His letters to Sardar Patel and Jawaharlal Nehru, though dealing with serious topics, were interspersed with genuine humour. His asceticism sat lightly on him; it did not make of him a killjoy. He had the gaiety of a child and everyone of his visitors could expect to be entertained by a joke or two. A tongue-tied villager could see him and Gandhiji would put him at ease with a joke. His laughter was infectious.

Mahatma Gandhi was full of gaiety and laughter and had a very keen sense of humour. Acharya Kripalani, one of his staunch followers, once remarked that the Congress represented the statesmanship of Gandhi, the Ashram his austerity and Gujarat Vidyapith his laughter. He knew humanity's sorrow, and also knew that sensitive souls should somehow manage to survive. "If I had no sense of humour," he once said, "I should long ago have committed suicide." Being with Gandhiji was like being at a party, and Gandhiji was the life of the party.

Being a spiritual gaiety, Gandhiji's humour, once in a long while turned to buoyant repartee. There is a story of an English lady who was fascinated by the variety of fruits which had been sent to the Mahatma by his admirers. She

exclaimed that she was prepared to be a saint if she could enjoy such a delicious fare. Gandhiji helpfully suggested, "You need not go so far as to change your diet!"

Charlie Chaplin went to see the Mahatma. When the much agitated secretary brought the card bearing the famous name, Gandhiji innocently inquired who the distinguished visitor was; Gandhiji was not a movie-fan. And when they met each other, it was the Mahatma who kept the famous comedian laughing.

"Do you suffer from nerves?" he was asked by a woman visitor. "Ask Mrs. Gandhi" straight came the reply. "She will tell you that I am on my best behaviour with the world but not with her."

"Well," exclaimed Mrs. Mills, "My husband is on his best behaviour with me."

"Then," retorted Gandhiji, "I am sure that Mr. Mills has bribed you heavily."

Asked why he was uncharitable to those who drink, Gandhiji answered, "Because I am charitable to those who suffered from the effects of the curse."

"How many children have you," he asked a sailor; "Eight, Sir, four sons and four daughters." "I have four sons," said the Mahatma, "so I can race with you halfway."

He could extract mirth out of the most uncompromising situations. In September, 1932, when the Hindu leaders met in Yervada Prison under the shadow of his Poona fast, he sat at the centre of the table and chuckled, "I preside."

He boarded the steamship *Rajputana* from Bombay on 29th August, 1931, for the Round Table Conference along with Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya and others. He spent a very busy time on board the ship, saying his prayers, making friends with children, sharing his food with them and playing with them, cutting jokes and so on. To the captain of the ship he said, "I am your prisoner for 15 days." When the steamer anchored on 11. 9. 31 at Marseilles, he declared to the Customs Officer, "I am a poor mendicant—my earthly possessions consist of 6 spinning wheels, prison dishes, a can of goat's

milk, six handspun loin-cloths and towels, and my reputation which cannot be worth much."

On one occasion a number of passengers came to him and asked him whether they could hold a dance on the deck where he used to sleep. "Can we dance near you?" they said. He said, "By all means; you can dance, not only near me but all round me so long as you do not dance on me."

On another occasion a few fellow passengers came to him. They had formed a club known as the 'Billy Goats' and run a hand-written sheet called the Scandal Times. The contents of the sheet were what its name connoted. One of the representatives came to Gandhiji and said, "Mr. Gandhi, here is our sheet, the Scandal Times. I would very much like you to run your eye through it and tell me what you think of it and please do it quickly because I am in a hurry to go down and have a second glass of beer." Gandhiji took the sheet in his hand, extracted a brass fastener and told him; "Well, I have taken the most precious thing out of it," and returned the sheet to him.

On September 12, 1931, he arrived in London in connection with the 2nd Round Table Conference, and remained in England until December, 5th. He stayed in an East End Settlement House called Kingsley Hall as guest of Muriel Lester, who had visited him in 1926. Kingsley Hall is 5 miles from the centre of the city and from St. James's Palace where the Round Table Conference sat. On the very first evening of his arrival at Kingsley Hall, there was a social gathering called 'Joy night.' One of the participants in dance asked, "Mr. Gandhi, will you also take part in the dance?" He replied: "Yes, I shall certainly dance" and then pointing to a stick in his hand he said: "This shall be my partner."

He had his morning walks in the slum streets of East End; he made friends with the children. "Here I am," he would say "doing the real round table work, getting to know the people of England." Children ran up and held his hand. "Uncle Gandhi" they called him. One mischievous youngster yelled, "Hey, Gandhi, where's your trousers?" The Mahatma laughed

heartily. Questioned by a reporter about his dress, Gandhiji said, "You people wear plus-fours, mine are minus fours!"

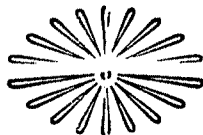
At the beginning of June, 1942, Mr. Louis Fischer, an American Journalist, interviewed Gandhiji at Sewagram for a week. One afternoon two American journalists came, Mr. Chaplin of the *International News Service* and Mr. Beldon of *Life and Time*. Both had heard rumours in New Delhi that Gandhiji might soon be arrested; so they came poste-haste, without waiting for reply giving them an appointment.

He had just ended his talk with Mr. Fischer when they arrived and so he said greeting them, "One American has been vivisectioning me, I am now at your disposal."

Louis Fischer in his book on the life of Mahatma Gandhi says, "During my stay with Gandhi in 1946, I entered his room while he was spinning. He explained his devotion to it; if three hundred million people did the same thing once a day not because a Hitler ordered it but because they were inspired by the same ideal, we would have enough unity of purpose to achieve independence." I suggested facetiously that when he stopped spinning to talk to me for an hour he had delayed independence. "Yes," he laughed, "You have postponed swaraj six years."

Louis Fischer again writes in the above book in the Chapter "My week with Gandhi": "Gandhi encouraged banter and fun. Usually my interview started with his finding me in the coolest place on the floor. Then with a smile, he would say, 'Now, I invite your blows.' Once, after a Moslem woman had brought him a mud pack for his abdomen, he stretched out and said, 'I will take your blows lying down'."

Invited to Buckingham Palace along with other delegates to the Round Table Conference, the Mahatma appeared in his loin-cloth and chatted with King George V and Queen Mary. Royalty was put at ease by Gandhiji's naturalness, while Kipling turned in his grave. Some one asked him if he was sufficiently dressed for his talk with the King Emperor, "The King," he answered, "had enough on for both of us."



"GUILTY MEN OF INDIA'S PARTITION"

By JOGES C. BOSE

The above book by Dr. Rammanohar Lohia is suggested by a perusal of Moulana Abul Kalam Azad's **India Wins Freedom**. Dr. Lohia has no qualm of conscience to say, straightaway, that both Mr. Jinnah and Moulana Azad 'strove outwardly, very outspokenly and also, perhaps, with inward passion to realise Muslim interests as distinct from the interests of the Indian people as a whole.' Nobody need fret to hear that there is no dearth of people to fell in line with this view-point. There must, however, be a sense of genuine regret to note that Dr. Lohia says in respect of Mr. Azad's aforesaid book that it 'contains at least one lie on each page' in the absence of sufficient and conclusive data. I have gone through page after page which does not sustain the charge, and, page after page which does not yield scope for a lie. All the same, nobody will possibly quarrel with Dr. Lohia when he says that 'Moulana Azad has talked rather meanly of Abdul Gaffar Khan, the only true and great man among Gandhiji's apostles, and has released the full steam of spite on Sardar Patel.' With regard to Mr. Nehru, Moulana Azad is nowhere harsh but very diplomatic and has made, in between the lines, some very unsavoury, nay, damaging observations. According to Dr. Lohia, Moulana Azad is responsible for the impression that Mr. Nehru was prepared to collaborate with the occupying power; that he was rather anxious to go into the Viceroy's Executive Council, even if no real power was conceded and there was no promise of freedom after the achievement of peace. This hunger for power, Dr. Lohia says, was 'either for the enjoyment of administrative authority or the defeat of fascism.' He scans the position and has not a word to say which adds to the stature of Mr. Nehru; rather the reverse.

"It has been recently suggested to me," continues Dr. Lohia, "that the mad reactions of Mr. Nehru during some months of 1942, when he publicly declared his intention and capacity to raise millions of

guerillas in order to fight Japan, were at least partly motivated by his jealousy of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose. * * * During these early and terrible months of 1942, Mr. Nehru must often have dreaded the prospect of being overrun not only by Japan but also by his old rival. * * * Mr. Azad has said in his book that he did not wish to accept the British proposal unless declarations of the India Government acting as though it were a cabinet and ultimate independence were made. Mr. Nehru was for straightout acceptance of the British proposal. Mr. Nehru had, indeed, fallen very low during those months." When I read such presentation of Mr. Nehru regarding the acceptance of office, when Gandhiji was preparing the country for the crucial 'Quit India,' I scanned Mr. Nehru hard and thought low of Mr. Azad for this Brutus' stab. Such a reading of Mr. Nehru by Dr. Lohia, who was still then Mr. Nehru's 'disciple' though 'heretical,' and who was, late as 1946, offered by Mr. Nehru the general secretaryship of the Congress carries weight. Dr. Lohia pleads for himself, 'I have never in all my life known how to promote my personal interests. Nor do I wish ever to know. I may sometimes have acted out of spontaneous impulses of anger, joy or disgust and also out of contempt or mischief or the pure delight of being able to assert myself and put the other fellow in his place. There is no greater delight than to put a crafty prime minister in his place. I may also have been motivated by the impish desire to get square with these bloated ministers and leaders.' Having spoken in the above strain and sought to establish his bonafides, Dr. Lohia reaches a devastating conclusion in respect of Mr. Nehru. 'He can,' says Dr. Lohia, 'appear so charming and generous. He also knows better than anyone else in this country how to promote his personal interests and those of his relations and friends as well as to pursue a foe to his ruin. He can command a finesse to

obscure his greed and his vendetta that the others do not possess.' In this context it is interesting how the author reads Subhas Bose, who 'did not possess Mr. Nehru's cunning and refinement'; and speaks of his 'great peerless adventure for freedom'; and, in the sum-total, contrasts their 'opportunistic desire for office' with Subhas Bose's 'Haldighat spirit' all through.

With regard to Partition, Dr. Lohia is as ruthlessly pointblank. He says, 'Mr. Nehru and Sardar Patel had obviously between themselves decided that it would be best not to scare Gandhiji away before the deed was definitely resolved upon'; they were 'offensively aggressive to Gandhiji' at the meeting of the Congress Working Committee. 'The scheme of partition,' says he, 'hurt India as few other things have done. It was the last and the most shameful act of British imperialism on Indian soil. As time passes the tinsel glory of voluntary grant of independence will fade before the unrelieved infamy of partition. Historians will wonder and explore how the leadership of a freedom movement had become so vile as to turn into accomplices of such an imperialist infamy.' Several pages down he says, 'Repentance almost undoes an evil deed. The men, whose soul should have been seared by the evil deed of partition are grovelling pleasurably in the dirt of their infamy.' As Dr. Lohia feels so strongly about partition, which everyone is bound to feel at the very casual sight of the refugees,

unless he is totally dead to the elementary sense of responsiveness, why does he spare Gandhiji? Dr. Lohia goes so far as to suggest that 'Mr. Nehru was all along acting as the British agent' in the matter of partition, and had even given him a hint of partition at Noakhali around the end of 1946. How is it that Gandhiji, who was a shrewd judge of men and things, failed altogether to scent it? Why did not Dr. Lohia himself broach the subject to Gandhiji? As late as 31st March, 1947, Gandhiji assured the people of India—I personally know how the East Bengal Hindus believed him—that 'even if the Moslems demanded Pakistan at the point of sword, and even if India burnt he would not concede it.' What are the worthwhile endeavours Gandhiji made to thwart the partition? If Dr. Lohia is one-tenth outspoken as he is vitriolic towards Mr. Nehru, he would have characterised this surrender of Gandhiji as a black betrayal—black as anything black can be. There may, after all, be such a thing as getting wise after the event; and their acceptance of the division of India may not be altogether due to a craving for office and power and the rest of what they connote, or as the author delights to call in his characteristic forthrightness 'rotten greeds of old age.' But greed or foolishness, it is the doing of a few at the top which has spelt the ruin of millions of people. No language can describe their misery.



BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

Reviews and notices of books in Gujarati :

Authors and publishers of Gujarati books, desirous of having them noticed or reviewed in *The Modern Review*, should send them direct to, Shri Rangildas Kapadia :

Gandevi, Dist. Surat,
instead of sending them to the Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

INDIA AND CEYLON : A STUDY : By P. R. Ramachandra Rao. *India and Her Neighbours Series. Orient Longmans Private Ltd. Pp. 111. Price Rs. 2.75. nP.*

The object of this series which has been planned by the Research Board of the Indian Council of World Affairs is to present a concise, account of the political, economic and cultural relations between India and her neighbours in recent times. The present monograph is the outcome of several visits by the author to the island between 1947 and 1952, the last being sponsored by the Council of World Affairs. It is based chiefly upon official reports (e.g., the successive reports on constitutional reforms in Ceylon and the reports issued by the Indian High Commissioner's Office in Colombo), enactments of the Ceylonese Legislative Assembly, official correspondence between the Prime Ministers of India and Ceylon, the successive memoranda of the Ceylon Indian Congress and so forth. The monograph consists of five chapters dealing successively with the new strategic significance of the Indian Ocean, especially in relation to India and Ceylon, the geography of the island and the classes of its inhabitants, Indo-Ceylonese relations with special reference to the question of Indian immigration, Ceylon's economic products; and external trade. In the first chapter the author has convincingly shown the outstanding importance of India and Ceylon in the defence of the Indian Ocean in the context of the new conditions created by the indepen-

dence of India and her neighbours. The second and third chapters give us a fair summary of Ceylon's physical geography and the main branches of its population. The fourth chapter contains a somewhat rambling account (not always in the chronological order) of the recent developments of the Ceylonese Government's policy towards the Tamil minority of its citizens as well as the Indian immigrants, and the Government of India's attitude in connection therewith. The fifth and the last chapter has a good summary (illustrated with official statistics) of Ceylon's principal economic products and trade with foreign countries (specially with India). It will appear from the above brief review that while the author's description of the economic relations with India in recent times is fairly complete, he leaves us completely in the dark about their mutual cultural relations some account of which would be required by the scope of the series.

U. N. GHOSHAL

ETHICS AND THE STATE : By Dr. Zakir Hussain. Published by Harold Laski Institute of Political Science, Ahmedabad. Pages 26. Price Rs. 1.50 nP.

This is the Mavalankar Memorial Lecture, 1960, delivered by one of the foremost educationists Dr. Zakir Hussain. The concept of state has been dealt from various angles by the learned lecturer and ultimately its relation to ethics and morality has been discussed at length. Any student of Political Science will find these lines instructive and thought provoking.

DEVELOPMENT OF MATERNAL AND CHILD-HEALTH SERVICES IN SAURASHTRA: By Dr. (Mrs.) O. Makeyeva and Dr. M. J. Bhatt. Pages 63. Price 20 nP.

This is a report of the work which the two doctors, one Russian and the other an Indian, with the assistance of World Health Organization carried out in the State of Saurashtra. The report shows the good results of Indo-Soviet co-operation in furtherance of health in an Indian State.

TO LIVE IN PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP: Pages 241. Price 0.75 nP.

Mr. N. S. Khrushchev's speeches during his visit to U.S.A., Sept. 15-27, 1959, properly illustrated and nicely printed.

SOVIET-ARMENIA: By A. Kochinyan. Pages 43. Price 20 nP.

A short history of the people and its progress under Soviet economy.

SOVIET GEORGIA: By G. Javakhishvili. Pages 36. Price 20 nP.

A short history of the people, its culture and its advancement.

SOVIET TURKMENIA: By B. Ovezov. Pages 36. Price 20 nP.

A sunny region, a sovereign republic, its oil industry and cotton cultivation etc., are described and illustrated.

SOVIET UZBEKISTAN: By A. Alimov. Pages 44. Price 20 nP.

Tremendous changes have taken place in all spheres of life in Uzbekistan. In the lifetime of the single generation, the country has advanced from feudalism to the threshold of communism.

WE KNOW OUR TOMORROW: P. Kovalyova. Pages 44. Price 20 nP.

This is the story of a Soviet collective farm—the total number of such farms in USSR is 70,000.

SOVIET UNION—STANDARD BEARER OF PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP AMONG THE NATIONS: Pages 32. Price 20 nP.

This small book contains speeches of Mr. N. S. Khrushchev at Moscow, on March 5, 1960, on his return after visiting India, Burma, Indonesia and Afghanistan. He carried a message of peace and friendship to the nations of Asia and Far-East.

A. B. DUTTA

MELODY OF NIGHT: By Brahma Deva Shastri. Kalindi Publications, P.O. Seva Sangha, Birla Lines, Subzimandi, Delhi-6. Price Rs. 2/-.

It is a fascinating small book of verses, occasionally illustrated with beautiful line-drawings. In the foreword, Shri Humayun Kabir says: "His poems are meant to express the spirit of his paintings and the paintings to give a visual shape to the aural appeal of the poems." Mystical in nature, the poems adopt fine imagery of the hills and woods and rivers. Perhaps, the poet is influenced by his Gurudeva Rabindranath Tagore, whose portrait in the impressionistic style, suggesting a waterfall, appears here as the frontispiece.

D. N. Mookerjee

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

"BHASKARODAYAM," a new Sanskrit drama on Rabindranath by Dr. Jatindra Bimal Chaudhuri. Published by Vangiya Sanskrita Siksha Parishat and "The Rising Sun"—English version of the same by Dr. Roma Chaudhuri, Principal, Lady Bra-bourne College, Calcutta. Published by Prachya Bani, 3, Federation Street, Calcutta-9. Price Rs. 5/- each.

We have here a magnificent series of Rabindranath's dramas which may be taken as one of the best tributes to the evergreen memory of the Poet on the occasion of his auspicious Birth Centenary. The present two volumes are also unique in the sense that they show what wonderful results can be achieved if a learned couple join hands.

Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri, in charge of the largest and oldest centre of traditional Sanskrit learning in India and his talented wife Dr. Roma Chaudhuri, the efficient and popular Principal of the best Women's College of West Bengal, really need no introduction from me or anyone else. For merely a quarter of a century, they have devoted themselves to the cause of Sanskrit learning and have published a large number of research and original works in English, Bengali and Sanskrit. The present two volumes on Rabindranath are sure to bring them new laurels.

The "Bhaskarodayam" is the first of a series called "Bhaskara-Bhasam" ("The Light of the Sun"), the other two volumes

being On The Early, Middle and Later Part. Each of these is a Maha-Nataka. There is only one known Maha-Nataka in the entire range of Sanskrit literature, viz., "Hanuman" of unknown authorship with fourteen acts. The present work consists of fifteen acts, and Dr. Jatindra Bimal, pioneer in many fields, has himself proved to be so in this field, no less.

It is, indeed, a very difficult task to write a drama on a person so well-known as Rabindranath. For, on the one hand, a drama, to be a real drama, should not be a mere biography or a statement of dry facts and dates; again, on the other hand, it cannot soar on the wings of imagination only. Here Dr. Jatindra Bimal has steered the middle courses very beautifully, and produced something that is a drama in the real sense of the term, yet, factual.

Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri has already earned wide fame, not only as a research scholar by composing more than a hundred research works, but also, or rather, more so, as an original poet and dramatist with a dozen excellent Sanskrit dramas and many Sanskrit poems and songs composed to his credit. But the present drama is a unique one from many standpoints. As usual with him his language is very simple, yet sweet and dignified. But it has specially shown as to how modern conversation and sentiments could be expressed and carried on in intelligible Sanskrit. The large number of original verses and songs, composed in a variety of metres, are sublime in sentiment and sweet in cadence. The Sanskrit versions of some stanzas of some Rabindra poems and songs are, too, very good, retaining, to a large extent the rhythm of the original.

The English version is a fitting companion of the original Sanskrit work. Equally simple, sweet, and dignified in language, it too, makes a very pleasant reading. When some acts from this were published in *The Modern Review*, those were highly appreciated by all. She has given very beautiful and versified versions of all the original *slokas* and Rabindra poems and songs. Her ability in this direction is, indeed, very great. Her original odes to the Sun and Mother are excellent. There is no good biography of the Poet in English. The present work will remove that want to a large extent. It being so very interesting, like a novel, one feels like finishing it off at one sitting.

According to our Indian tradition, dramas are one of the best ways of bringing before all, the lives of great persons, in living forms. So, during this Rabindra Year, it would bring us both great benefit and joy, if these two dramas be staged in different parts of India, also outside.

We eagerly await the publication of the other two volumes.

Satkari Mukherjee

SANSKRIT

SHRI VISHNUCARITAMRITAM, SRI HARIDVADASAKSARISTOTRAM: Both by Swami Lakshman Shastri, Sanskrit Vidyalaya, Nagpur (Marwar), Rajasthan. Price, Rs. 2/- and Re. 1/-.

We have here two interesting modern Sanskrit works of the *Chitrakavya* type which consists of ingenious devices with letters and words. In the first, we have in 37 cantos accounts of 24 incarnations of Vishnu as enumerated in the *Bhagavata Purana* (II, 7). An outstanding feature of the poem is that the text of the *Vishnu-Sahasranamastotra* (*Mahabharata*, XIII, 149, 14—120) is interwoven with it, the fourth syllable of each foot of the 856 verses of the former being formed *seriatim* by the syllable components of the latter. The second work is a hymn to Hari in 34 verses, each of which demonstrates the use of twelve vowel forms, independently in the case of the first verse and in conjunction with the consonants in the rest. The learned author has to his credit a number of other *chitrakavyas* in the composition of which he seems to take special delight, though these were never held in esteem in literary circles.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

HINDI

VICHAR-DARSHAN—Part II: By Kedar-nath. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad-14. 1960. pp. 147. Price Re. 1.50.

SAHITYA-AUR-SAMAJ: Edited by Vijay-dhan Dehra, 1960. pp. 191, Rs. 4/-.

SAHITYA-SANGIT-AUR KALA, : Edited by Komal Kothari. 1960. pp. 188. Rs. 4/-.

All the books are published by Rajasthani-Shodh-Sansthan, Jodhpur, Rajasthan.

Shri Kedarnath is a pragmatist *par excellence*. His pragmatism is comprehensive and critical, hence, the effect of his view-point on the reader or hearer is chastening, as it is illuminating and inspiring. His *Vichar-Darshan* is a collection, mostly, of his essays, and it deals with such themes as Purposeful Living, Perfection of Victims, Religion of Friendliness, Mental Health, Life and Religion. To listen to him is, indeed, a tonic intellectual exercise, just as it is a treat.

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the arts and society. These are however, reprints and reproductions from the contributions made by the respective authors to certain periodicals in the past. Folk songs of Rajasthan Folk-art, Songs of Mira, New Light on History, Language of Art, Problem of Knowledge of Beauty, etc., are dwelt upon critically and in a spirit of comparative study. The printing and get-up are excellent.

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Indian Periodicals

Pakistan's Sabre-Rattling

The Indian Libertarian in their Editorial of the 15th August, 1961, makes a summary of Indo-Pak politics which we reproduce below :

After the return of President Ayub Khan from his triumphant American tour, we find increased evidence of Pakistan's determination to harass India on the Kashmir question.

Minor explosions of bombs are occurring on and near the Kashmir border. Pakistani soldiers in uniform and in civil dress have begun to fire systematically on Indian police outposts and patrols. The international observers' teams have been informed but they have not yet located any such firing unit from Pakistan's side yet.

In Pakistan, among the general public, the old type of *jehad* campaign in the press and platform and mosque has been renewed. All this cannot happen without the knowledge, if not the instigation of Pak authorities as they act under a dictatorship.

Field Marshal Ayub Khan is itching to use his new American weapons and bombing planes. When an Indian plane was shot down last year on the border areas of Pakistan, (within its boundary no doubt) Pakistan's officials said that the object in staging incident namely the test whether their fighter planes could shoot down enemy planes at that height was fulfilled ! So it was deliberately done ! Later it transpired that information about the timings and route of Indian reconnaissance plane was supplied to Pakistan by some officers in the Indian Defence office ! Two of them were quietly (without naming them in public) dismissed. The proper punishment for such acts of treachery should have been death or long imprisonment with hard labour. But India with her Buddhist forgiving philosophy is tender to traitors not recognising that thereby she is cruel to innocent nationals and the country !

Now it is learnt that Ayub Khan has secured a few supersonic jet bombers capable of flying

1,500 miles per hour ! There are no planes to match them in all Asia !

Ayub Khan might have been unseemly and vulgar in his open jealousy of India and expression of desire to diminish American Aid to India in his American Tour. But all the same his frank expression of firm loyalty to America has secured him significant advantages to the detriment of India.

He has said openly that so long as Kashmir is not secured by Pakistan (which is the conclusion meant by the *solution* of the Kashmir problem), Pakistan *cannot live peaceably with India* ! This is his reply to Sri Nehru's exhortation to him to forget Kashmir and devote himself to the economic development of Pakistan.

Sri Nehru has advanced a step further to his public recognition of the true nature of Pakistan and her leaders, whether civil or military. He said in Srinagar that Pakistan was born in hatred and the Muslim League of pre-independence set the pace for her people and that her people and leaders have never overcome that initial *antipathy*. They are crying hoarse neurotically for Kashmir ever since. Ayub Khan began a policy of peace and friendliness and even flattery of Nehru but he has now reverted to type and has begun to whip up the passions of his people like the League leaders of old.

Indian statesmanship demands that these characteristics of Pakistan should be evaluated at their true worth. Nehru confessed that he had hoped that they would subside and that more normal and friendly feelings would emerge but that he was disagreeably disappointed at the permanent nature of the Pakistani mentality of jealousy and hatred of India displayed by Pakistan. He referred to the deep enmity of Pakistani *people* and leaders towards India. But he did not go a step further and enquire into the possible *explanation* of such a mentality. If he did so, he would recognise the wisdom and insight of those of his opponents whom he despises as reactionaries and obscurantists.

Such hatred is not an inherited *biological* feature of the Pakistani people like a biological instinct. It is a matter of social inheritance coming down the river of history in crystallised form summing up the rival ambitions and aspirations of the Muslim people ever since they lost their hegemony in India to the Mahrattas and Sikhs and the British.

It is natural for them to desire strongly to revive the glories of their past rulership over the Hindus in India just as it is natural to Hindus to seek to regain their dominance in the new era of contemporary independence.

If the Islamic people are to revive their tradition of rule, they must put the Hindus down and reduce them to a subject status.

Hence the jealousy for India—India which appears large, strong, prosperous and progressive and the favourite of the advanced nations of the world.

So Ayub Khan wants Americans reduce their aid to India. He instigates the small neighbours with fear and suspicion of the intentions of India. He joins Portugal against India!

American statesmen, (particularly Prof. Galbraith) have been assuring India that America does not encourage Pakistan to use American arms to attack India. But India wants *America to station military officials to watch and prevent Pakistan* from preparing to attack India with or without American arms. It is not merely a question of using American arms but of breaking the peace of Asia and making war on India directly or indirectly through soldiers in civil dress under the name of volunteers and razakars.

The only answer to all this warlike intimidation is full preparation so that a devastating answer could be made to Pakistani aggressive tactics, an answer too costly for Pakistan. Is India prepared? The Indian people want an urgent and serious answer from Nehru and V. K. Krishna Menon free from verbal heroics and hypocritical rhetoric to this fateful question.

Disadvantages of Planned Progress

Prof. B. R. Shenoy, writing in the *Times of India* expressed certain opinions which were broadcast by the Forum of Free Enterprise in a booklet form for the information of its members and the general public. We are quoting certain passages from that booklet:

"Much of this expansion, particularly in the sphere of heavy engineering and heavy chemicals,

is generally forced or induced, in defiance of the doctrine of comparative costs, by official policy, including rigorous import restrictions, exchange controls and drastic cuts in imports. Private imports were slashed by 38 per cent in two years, from Rs. 812 crores in 1956-57 to Rs. 505 crores in 1958-59, at about which level they have remained since. Import licences are generally not issued where comparable domestic output is available in adequate quantities, the prices of the substitutes fabricated at home being regarded a minor matter in the face of the paramount need to "save" foreign exchange. This has placed domestic manufacturers in a number of lines in positions of monopoly or semimonopoly, enabling extortion of near-ransom prices from consumers for what are generally, striking exceptions here and there apart, shoddy substitutes for superior quality imported goods.

"Evidence of near-ransom prices paid by consumers may be seen in the vast gaps between landed costs and market prices of virtually the whole range of imported goods. These gaps, which are reflected in the prices commanded by import licences, vary from 30 per cent to 500 per cent or more of the landed costs, depending upon the commodities.

"The unsaleability abroad of our sugar surpluses because of the heavy price differential—the price of Indian sugar per ton is about Rs. 700 as against the world price of Rs. 400 per ton—is a sample of industrialisation in a closed market at unconscionably heavy costs. Fertilisers, penicillin and refrigerators are other samples. The landed cost of fertilisers is below the *ex factory* price at Sindri. The cost of imported penicillin is 10 nP. per million units, as against the estimated cost of production at the Pimpri factory of Rs. 1.25. The import of refrigerators is severely restricted. The cost of a refrigerator in India is about Rs. 2,250; the cost of a comparable unit in the U.K. may be about Rs. 1,000. Noteworthy exceptions excluded, what appertains to the foregoing stray instances may apply to virtually the whole range of industrial production in India.

"If so, the phenomenal pace of progress of industrialisation of the country is not a matter very much to be enthused over. The consumer does not stand to benefit from it. What good can ensue to him to get mulcted of Rs. 2,250 and receive but a refrigerator in exchange when, if imports were free—as in the good old pre-Plan days—for the same outlay, he could get not only a much better refrigerator, with

fewer breakdowns and a longer life-span, but still have about Rs. 1,250 for other needs?

"Forced industrialisation has also been detrimental to the national product and, therefore, to our effort to overcome poverty. Under tremendous policy pressures, resources get diverted from sectors where they produce higher output into sectors where real costs are higher and output lower. Such diversion has taken place from agriculture to industry, in particular heavy industry.

"During the First Plan and the first three years of the Second Plan, it has been estimated that the increase in output from agriculture was of the order of 57 to 69 per cent of the additional capital invested. On the other hand, in 1946-1953, in five industries—cement, paper, iron and steel and cotton textiles—the additions to output varied from a low of 14 per cent in paper (iron and steel came close to paper with a percentage of 19) to a high of 36 per cent in (Ahmedabad) textiles. According to another estimate, in 1956, the average addition to output in 29 industries was 33 per cent of the additional capital invested.

"These figures provide a rough measure of the extravagance and wastages involved in the policy of forced industrialisation. The net result is that, with the intensification of planning in 1955-56, the expansion of Indian national income slowed down to 2.9 per cent per year. The national product might have gone up at a much higher rate—probably 8 to 10 per cent per year—if adequate attention had been paid to investment in agriculture and lighter industries."

India and the ECM

The Eastern Economist of New Delhi of July 7, 1961, said about Britain's proposed collaboration with the European Common Market:

"The visit of Mr. Peter Thorneycroft, a senior representative of the United Kingdom, in connection with the European Common Market, brings to us effectively the hour of decision on the European Common Market. This has been generally recognised and the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry have come out with a timely assessment of the disadvantages of British participation on our current trade. The Press has been quick to take the same line and the public has been led to believe that the first-round effects of Britain's possible entry into the Common Market will be very damaging to Indian

trade. The fact that the leading elements in our exports to the United Kingdom, predominantly tea, and next, cotton textiles and jute, will come under pressure, has been read in isolation. The fact that once we jump the initial hurdle of higher duties on our imports into the U.K. we are in a vastly expanded market, of which the U.K. is only a small part, has passed unnoticed. Therein lies the danger of a static assessment of the operation set in train by the Treaty of Rome. This is a continuous and on the whole, a future, rather than a present, challenge. The question for India to consider is whether or not in the longer term her trade will be better if the United Kingdom is a portion of this market or if it is outside it. In *The Eastern Economist's* view, apart from a transitional stage in which many of our current markets will be disturbed notably that for tea and cotton textiles, India will reap the benefits of enhanced trade via the United Kingdom, if Britain should join the Common Market.

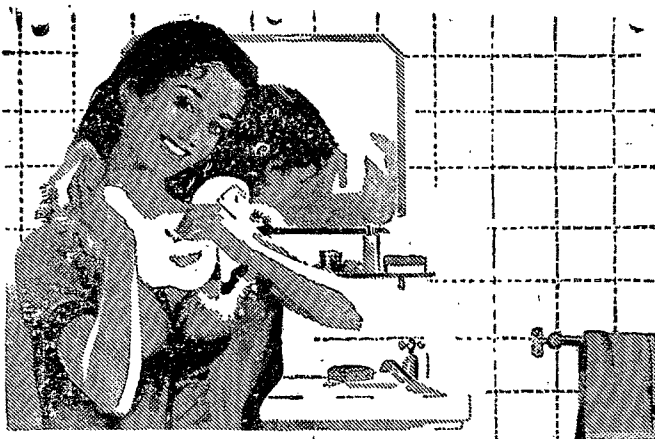
"On the face of it, the initial hurdles are grave. Of India's total export of tea in 1960 worth Rs. 120.06 crores, Rs. 75.40 crores went to the U.K. If in place of duty free treatment, the Common Market rate is 18 per cent for loose tea and 23 per cent for packaged tea, obviously prices in the United Kingdom would rise by this amount. Since, at the same time, it is likely that real incomes will be held for at least a year in the U.K. by the fact that real wages are likely to decline in competition—reports say that the trade unions have agreed to a 5 per cent cut—it is extremely unlikely that the market for tea in the U.K. can be maintained. On the other hand, it is probably a mistake to suppose that, because prices are up and incomes down, the whole of the impact will fall on tea. It is part of a customary ritual in the U.K. to drink tea at stated times, and while there may be some resistance, there is no indication that fluctuations of tea prices have had proportionate effect on tea consumption in the United Kingdom. It is probably true in somewhat different terms and perhaps with less certainty that this applies to jute cloth and to cotton textiles. Here, however, we must be prepared for a setback of a somewhat different order because there is no built-in customary use of Indian textiles or Indian hessian as there is of tea. All in all, one would expect a decline in the U.K. market in terms of the consumption of Indian goods.

"The error that has constantly made us to confine the discussion to the U.K. on which undoubtedly, on balance, we will be losers, has made us oblivious of the larger issues. The essence of the European Common Market opportunity is different. Firstly, it is the most rapidly

growing market in the world. Between 1950 and 1958, national income at constant prices of the European Economic Community rose by 53 per cent, as against all Europe which rose by 42 per cent while that of the United States rose by only 26 per cent and that of the U.K. merely by 22 per cent. If we look in terms of real per capita income, the figures are somewhat similar to West Germany, Italy and France which are well ahead of the U.K. and the United States. It is this basic factor of growth (reflected also substantially in industrial production and productivity) which is the most vital factor in India's future prospects which has been unduly ignored by both the Federation and by current Press assessments. Getting into the European Common Market via the U.K. might well be one of the most important shots in the arm that Indian exports will receive over the next decade. It is clearly necessary that we should get into this market and build in it since it is likely to be the greatest market in the world, once the U.K. has joined it, as it is extremely probable that it will. Within two decades

from now the European Common Market might well be equal to the United States market and the Commonwealth markets combined. Mere safeguards to protect existing trade in this direction might well be a bar to participation in the market. Secondly, while higher prices will have to be paid for Indian goods in the United Kingdom, it is to be remembered that, once these added duties are paid, Indian processed material can move duty free subject to the clauses of the Treaty of Rome, into the vast potential of the European Common Market. In other words, what we lose on the swings we may gain on the roundabouts.

"The mere fact that this market exists does not imply, of course, it is ours for the asking. Indian salesmanship has been notoriously weak in both Western and Eastern Europe, particularly in the latter. Those who have recently seen these parts of the world can well realise the shocking inadequacy of Indian export promotion in these areas. Surely it has not been appreciated that this is the greatest potential market in the world and, indeed, for certain commodities already."



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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Social Security in E. C. M. Area

Whenever one discusses the practical implications of socialism, one naturally has to examine the social advantages that accrue to the members of a particular group of persons who are managing their affairs socialistically. The difference between the socialistic outlook and that which says, "Everyone for himself and the Devil for the hindmost," is that socialism does not bank on the Darwinistic theory of survival of the fittest: but it tries to make as many as possible fit to survive or grant social protection to the weakest and the least fit in order to enable that individual to survive. In India, we are always hearing how wonderfully socialistic we are becoming. Our leaders are socialistic in their outlook; our social organisation too is supercharged with the spirit of socialism, etc., etc. But, in fact, we have little social outlook and

our leaders and the common men are equally immune to the influences of socialism.

The European Common Market is the latest example of a capitalistic organisation attempting to benefit all persons in it by joint effort. If we have a peep into the social security measures that the European economic community have taken for providing fuller social security to its workers, we shall realise that capitalism is not necessarily anti-social and that very often an enlightened capitalistic organisation is better than a socialistic organisation which preaches more than it practises. The figures given below are taken from the Tables published in the *International Labour Review*, July-August, 1961. The E. M. A. unit in terms of which values have been calculated is the gold equivalent of the dollar.

Monthly Statutory Family Allowances on January 1, 1961.

To wage earners in Industry and Commerce (In E. M. A. units about Rs. 5/-)

No. of children	Belgium	France	West Germany	Italy	Luxembourg	Netherlands	United Kingdom
One	8.93	.....	....	7.40	9.62	5.13	....
Two	20.48	12.10	....	14.81	19.24	10.74	4.48
Three	33.60	30.31	9.52	22.21	28.86	16.35	10.08
Four	49.88	50.81	19.05	29.62	38.48	23.95	15.68
Five	69.72	71.51	28.57	37.02	49.14	31.54	21.28
Six	89.57	91.86	38.10	44.43	60.84	40.09	26.88

Example of Cash Benefit payable to a married Iron & Steel worker with two dependent children, compared with gross average wage (E. M. A. Units).

Country	Average gross monthly wages	Family supplements	Unemployment benefit	Sickness benefit	Employment injury benefit	Benefits as percentage of gross wages			
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Belgium	177.1	21.4	74.9	117.9	126.3	12.1	42.3	66.6	71.3
France	128.3	24.9	52	50	59.9	19.4	40.2	39.0	46.7
W. Germany	157.7	3.8	81.7	111.1	111.1	2.4	51.8	70.5	70.5
Italy	117.2	20.1	22.6	55.7	80.2	17.1	19.3	47.5	68.4
Luxembourg	202.0	21.2	112.8	109.2	158.4	10.5	55.8	54.0	78.4
Netherlands	130.0	8.5	103.8	98.5	98.5	6.5	79.8	75.8	75.8
United Kingdom	168.0	4.5	61.6	57.1	76.7	2.7	36.7	34.0	45.7

In India, we have no unemployment benefit granted to anyone. Family supplement grants are unknown, sickness and injury benefits are paid on a meagre scale to certain industrial workers only. The vast majority of the workers in agriculture and other fields are left unprotected. Yet, we are a Democratic Socialist Republic!

WHOSE CONGO ?

The International Review of Missions in its July, 1961 issue writes about Congo as follows :

"Since June 1960 events in ex-Belgian Congo have seemed at times to be a story of unutterable confusion, yet beneath the appearance of chaos there has been at least one recurrent pattern. Interests extraneous to Congo have constantly sought to manipulate the situation for their own ends. In so doing they have collided with one another and largely nullified every attempt to restore peace and stability. They have shown little regard for the peoples of Congo or faith in their capacity to fend for themselves. Since the Republic of Congo had had no opportunity to assert its nationhood before confusion descended upon it, the body politic has been regarded more as a corpse to be fought over—a trophy of battle—than as an active participant in the struggle for its own stability, order and freedom. The Congolese might well ask: 'Whose country do you think this is?'"

"When the recent history of Congo is examined in terms of this conflict of external interests much becomes clear, and legitimate ways of helping Congo can be distinguished from injudicious meddling.

"Among the agencies influencing Congo are various Belgian interests, the Communists, the Pan-Africanists and the United Nations. Each of these must be seen in relation to the others and to the Congo nation.

Belgian Business and Financial Interests

"In material terms Belgium had, and continues to have, a very large stake in Congo. As of July 1, 1960 about 80,000 Belgians were living there. Most of them left during the wave of violence in July or in later disturbances; but some returned and others have been replaced by newcomers. As of March 1961 Belgium re-

ported about 40,000 citizens in Congo, distributed approximately as follows: 10,000 in business and industry, 6,000 missionaries, 2,000 in the service of the Congo government, 600 teachers and the balance wives and dependents.

"The group involved in commerce and productive enterprise, with their families, thus forms the largest non-African segment of the population. Among them are some hundreds of farm and plantation owners, mostly in the north-east or in Katanga. A few thousand are proprietors, managers or senior employees of small business establishments. But the larger group is the corps of administrative and technical personnel which serves the large-scale mining, extracting, business and financial interests which dominate the economic structure of Congo.

"It is not surprising that these interests take a somewhat possessive attitude towards Congo, especially Katanga. More than a billion dollars of investments, coupled with superb management, immense resources of technical competence and a tremendous amount of hard work have combined to build a great industrial empire in the wilderness. While the national treasuries of Belgium and Congo were entirely distinct, the flow of corporate profits and raw materials from Congo to Belgium was a major sustaining factor in the Belgian economy. Tax revenues from the same enterprises provided the principal income of the Congo, enabling it to pay for expanding educational, health and welfare services, an elaborate administrative system and extensive public works. Wage scales were among the highest in Africa, and hundreds of thousands of employed Africans formed a steadily expanding market.

"With some justification the Belgians could speak of 'our Congo' because this material enrichment was primarily their doing. One can understand the viewpoint of the Belgian commercial agent who remarked in July 1960: 'We have lost five provinces to these ungrateful Congolese. But Katanga is still ours, and we shall jolly well hang on to it.' No doubt many of them interpreted Mr. Tshombe's declaration of the independence of Katanga as an arrangement of convenience whereby the Tshombe government would be nominally independent but the real economic and political control would remain in Belgian hands. Many people outside Congo thought the same. Dismay was reflected in the words of the

Katanga official who remarked to a British reporter early in August 1960: 'We have lost control of Tshombe, we are afraid he will declare war on the United Nations.'

"The urge to retain exclusive control of this rich patrimony was one of the main causes of the Congo debacle: Congolese had been systematically trained and employed in all the routine operations of business and industry, but never in management. Primary and trade schools abounded, but less than a hundred secondary school existed in the whole colony, and most of these were too new to have produced any graduates before independence.

Louvain, the first University, has been building a grandiose plant near Leopoldville, but graduated its first class of sixteen students in 1959. Only a handful of Congolese had ever been permitted to study overseas. Liberal and farseeing Belgians had repeatedly urged the need to prepare Congolese for the higher tasks of management, and to give them some share in planning and decision-making; but action was always postponed. So, in the hope of retaining everything, the Belgians suddenly found themselves in danger of losing everything and witnessing the economic ruin of Congo at the same time."



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NOTES

The World

The question, that is exercising the mind of all thinking men is the why and wherefore of the mighty megaton nuclear bomb explosions. According to the scientists of the Western world that super-bomb was exploded somewhere in the Arctic region on or about the 23rd of October. Mr. Malinovsky, the Soviet Defence Minister, is said to have confirmed, on that date at Moscow, the explosion of a 50-megaton super-bomb, in a speech to the Soviet Communist Party. Later reports say that it was not a 50-megaton bomb but a 30-megaton one, but that is not confirmed either.

Scientists in Sweden, Norway, Denmark, France and Holland had recorded an explosion of extreme power in the Arctic region. The Uppsala Laboratory of Sweden, said that the blast probably took place in the Novaya Zemlya region.

It is agreed on all quarters, outside the Communist Bloc—which is keeping silent,—that the cumulative effects of nuclear tests of such magnitude if they are allowed to continue, would spell disaster to all mankind inclusive of the those in the Communist world. And scare-headlines in newspapers in all countries having a free press, give indication of the concern of the people at the increase in the atmosphere of deadly radio-active isotopes.

The question is about the intentions of the Soviets' authorities. What do they stand to gain by thus ignoring the protests and requests of all nations outside their own bloc? Or is it that they are now in the grip of an inexorable compulsion

generated out of hate and suspicion which is impelling them—and with them all mankind inclusive of the totally inoffensive ones, for whom they have professed so much sympathy and concern till only the other day—into a veritable maelstrom of death and destruction?

A news report, originating from Tokyo on October 26, says that :

“Mr. Khrushchev has told the Japanese Government that after long thought he was forced to resume nuclear weapons' tests “with sorrow and grief.”

He said in a letter to the Japanese Prime Minister, Mr. Hayato Ikeda, that the international situation had forced him into the decision because the Soviet Union “must face the war efforts of the NATO powers.”

These powers, he said, had answered the Soviet proposal for a German Peace Treaty with a threat of war. If the Soviet Union had not acted then, “aggressors” might have been tempted to start a war.

The Soviet Prime Minister's letter was in reply to Japanese protests against the tests. It was handed over yesterday when the Soviet Charge d'Affaires here, Mr. Sergei Suzdalev, was summoned to the Japanese Foreign Ministry to receive Japan's protest on the Soviet nuclear explosion on Monday.”

But this statement, even granting that the contention of the Soviets' Premier is correct, does not appear to be reasonable to anyone outside the indoctrinated circle. Does “facing” the war efforts

of the NATO powers mean facing the inevitable war—and extinction? Or has the Soviets group abandoned the theory of "peaceful co-existence" and surrendered to the blind and senselessly illogical and doctrinaire war-hysteria of Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai? And that, incidentally brings us to the affairs of Nepal, whose King Mahendra is reputed to have been beguiled by the wily Chou En-lai into accepting a veritable Pandora's box of international evils, whether all in innocence and ignorance or in desperation, is unknown as yet.

In any case it is of deep concern to the peoples of India, to know the contents of the so-called peaceful proposals of China with regard to her Northern Frontiers. We hope Pandit Nehru will not again go into a four-year trance as he did when China's aggressive moves in the Kashmir and the North-East Frontier regions become known to him when they are revealed to him.

In Berlin the position remains as critical as before, the tensions fluctuating from high to an unstable low. Tear-gas and water-hoses gave way to bullets fired by the East German police in preventing attempts at escape by the East German people. At least nine persons have lost their lives in these shootings. And now triggers are on the ready on both sides. The West is now gradually making up its mind to fight for West Berlin, if necessary, Britain having made a finally positive statement to that effect. In all the situation remains as tense and the prospects as bleak as before. The Soviets have not gained by their obduracy over the nuclear tests. Indeed, they seem to be inclined to ignore world-opinion in the same way as some Western Nations did in the hey-days of their power and pride.

In Algeria, the situation has degenerated into an *impasse* with terrorism from both sides raging through the country, the French *colons* and the Moslem-Algerian F.L.N. being both equally rampant. General De Gaulle has estranged his best ally in the negotiations, having treated the Tunisian people and its President in an extremely high-handed fashion. The question of a settlement in Algeria seems as remote as ever before.

Turning to what is known as the "Middle East" or "Near East" the most notable event was the bloodless coup on September 28, which broke-up the United Arab Republic into its two components, Egypt and Syria. The coup was made by

a group of Syrian officers who seized the capital and by the end of the month established a new government under the Premiership of Dr. Mamoun Kuzbari, a former Minister of Justice, Sorbonne-trained and fairly experienced in administration.

It is too early to gauge the full import of this break-up of the first Arab attempt at the Union of the Splinter States into which the Mephistophilian diplomacy of imperialist Britain and imperialist France of the Post-World War I era divided up the old Turkish Empire.

The idea at that time was to cut up the straggling domains of the Turkish Sultanate, so that they could be swallowed piece-meal at leisure by the two self-appointed trustees. That plan miscarried due to mutual distrust and jealousies of the two Great Powers of the day, and the resistance of resurgent Arab nationalism, and the pieces became completely independent sovereign states.

Syria, with an area of 70,014 sq. miles and a population of over 4,000,000 combined with Egypt with an area of 386,100 sq. miles and a population of about 26,000,000 came into an Union in February 1958, the agreement and the terms being settled between the then President of Syria, Shukri Kuwatly and Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt. After three years and a half of Union, Syria has chosen to secede.

Contrary to the expectations of the enemies of Arab nationalism, Nasser reacted in a highly dignified and statesman-like fashion. "Does Arab fight Arab" was the prime question and his actions indicated an emphatic "No."

Further East, in that unhappy and disturbed area that was formerly known as French Indo-China, and is now known under the collective name of South-East Asia, new tensions have been generated through the working of Chinese Imperialism on the ambitions of its satellites. The Soviets had also taken a hand in the affairs of Laos, when it seemed that Chinese strategy and tactics were not equal to the moves of the American trained, directed and equipped forces. That area now is experiencing an uneasy peace, the latest news being that of an agreement to place Laos in charge of a neutralist Government under the Premiership of Prince Souvanna Phouma. It is yet to be seen whether a real peace can ensue with the Soviets equipped Pathet Lao forces still under arms. American Press opinion seems to be in-

clined to count Laos as being "written off" as a loss to the democratic world. The positions according to the *New York Times* of October 15, from the American point of view, can be seen from the following excerpts from its news summary:

At a news conference last March, President Kennedy sounded an urgent warning to the nation. "My fellow Americans," he said, "Laos is far away from America but the world is small. . . . The security of all South-East Asia will be endangered if Laos loses its neutral independence. Its own safety runs with the safety of us all."

Last week President Kennedy again used the occasion of a news conference to make a special statement on South-East Asia. He lent emphasis to the danger of the situation by announcing that he was sending his military adviser, Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor, to South Vietnam to study ways to keep it from falling to the Communists.

For almost a decade, ever since it consolidated itself in China, Communist power has been pressing down on South-East Asia. In the lands tucked under the long Chinese border, a guerrilla movement that started out as a nationalist uprising against French colonial rule has been taken over, armed and trained by the Communists. North Vietnam has already fallen into the Communist orbit. The next targets are three other former French colonial areas—Laos, Cambodia and South Vietnam.

The United States has given large amounts of economic and military aid to Laos, Cambodia and South Vietnam but the Communist advance has not stopped. One of the main troubles has been the indifference of much of the native population to the struggle. Ideology has little meaning for the Indo-Chinese peasant; the Communists have managed to forge a mystique of success; and the morale of the government troops is a source of worry.

For the past half-year the danger for the West has been coming to a head. Laos, after being racked by a series of interparty coups in which the United States tried unsuccessfully to bolster the pro-Westerners, has been half-occupied by the Communists and is on the way to being "neutralized" by international agreement. Last week Laos' neutralist leader, Prince Souvanna Phouma, was selected as head of a coalition government including neutralist, pro-Western and Communist elements. But the fear is that the

regime will be dominated from within by the Communists. As a rallying point for the West, it has, in effect, been written off.

The new Western line of defense runs through South Vietnam—but here too the situation has been growing increasingly critical despite stepped-up American military assistance. With North Vietnam as a staging area, Communist forces have been using Laos as a land-bridge for an offensive against South Vietnam. They have sliced down the center of the country, with the objective of cutting it in two, engulfing it, and then picking off Cambodia to the West.

The troubles in the Congo have slightly eased after an exchange of prisoners in the Katanga area. But it not as yet time to think that anything like a lasting settlement will be arrived at until the machinations of European vested interests—which have influenced even the more sober sections of the American Press, as the following extract from the *New York Times* of October 15, shows—are fully convinced that their attempts at establishing a puppet regime in separated Katanga will fail. *The New York Times* said:

The hope for peace in a free and unified Congo rests on finding a solution to two problems. One is the restoration of the United Nations position as impartial arbiter among the various Congo factions—a position that was prejudiced a month ago by its armed offensive against secessionist Katanga. The other is the unification of the Congo through the return of Katanga to Leopoldville's control.

Last week there was progress on the first and new hope for the second. In his home at Elisabethville, Katanga President, Moise Tshombe, and Mahmoud Khiari, Chief of U.N. civil operations in the Congo, sat down to a table draped with the red and green Katanga flag and signed a permanent cease-fire ending the ill-starred U.N. offensive and restoring the *status quo ante*.

In Leopoldville, the signing was expected to bolster a new mood of optimism that has been growing for several days. A *New York Times* correspondent there cabled that "much of the bitter anti-Tshombe feeling of two or three weeks ago appears to be easing and there is increasing feeling that it might be a good idea to meet with him." The same correspondent noted, however, that President Tshombe "feels he has won the war and is likely to be harder to bargain with than ever before."

National Integration

The National Integration Conference which met in New Delhi at the end of September, discussed a number of subjects that were regarded as being essential for the maintenance of unity and accord on a broad national basis, irrespective of party or other differences. This conference was necessary beyond all doubt, because of the rising tide of disruptive forces that are now tending to shear bonds that have kept together the nation, despite differences in language, caste and other racial characteristics of our peoples. It was clear, from the statement made by the Steering Committee in its recommendation, that whatever action was decided upon for the prevention of the disintegration of the Indian nationhood, it had to be broad-based and all embracing, so as to embrace every strata and every plane of the population, without any limitations being observed along party, provincial, linguistic, occupational, religious or other boundaries.

A Standing Committee was proposed and accepted by the conference, which was inaugurated by a very thoughtful speech, on a rather high-level,—considering the main body of the participants—by Dr. Radhakrishnan. A Code of Conduct for political parties was also drafted by a sub-committee, which was also accepted after minor alterations. It was also held that the major threat to National Unity was linguism, though the spokesman of the party pledged to the disruption of India as country and its peoples as a nation, characteristically tried to divert the attention of the conference off the track of this major disruptive force by eulogising it as being a progressive force and by trying to draw the red-herring of "Hindu Communalism" across its trail.

The Draft Code was introduced by the Steering Committee in the following way :

The Steering Committee in its recommendation, said that "in order to foster and develop national integration, it is necessary to have a Code of Conduct in respect of political parties, the press, students and the general public".

Regarding political parties, the Committee said it was of the opinion that in view of the impending general election, a special Code of Conduct should be drawn up for the guidance of political parties during the election campaign.

The Committee said it was not possible to formulate comprehensive codes on all these matters without further consultations with the interests

involved. Representatives of various parties present at the meeting, however, agreed to the following code for immediate adoption by political parties.

1. No party should indulge in any activity which would create mutual hatred or increase tension between different castes and communities, religious or linguistic.

2. Political parties should not resort to agitation for seeking redress against any grievance relating to communal, caste, regional or linguistic issues, which is likely to disturb peace or to create bitterness or increase tension between different sections of the public, before exhausting all methods of conciliation and mediation.

3. Every political party, in any agitation which it may launch in respect of any matter, should ensure that there is no incitement to violence and that no acts of violence are resorted to. If in spite of the best efforts of the parties, there is any outbreak of violence, it should be forthwith condemned.

4. Political parties should desist from creating obstruction in or breaking up meetings, processions, etc., organised by other parties.

5. The Government, while taking measures to maintain law and order, should take care not to impose undue restrictions on civil liberties and should not employ such measures as would interfere with the normal functioning of political parties.

6. Political power should not be used for furthering the personal or individual interests of members of one's own party or to harm the interests of members of other parties.

Mr. Asoka Mehta, the P.S.P. leader called for "some kind of co-operative approach" between political parties. All the parties, not one single party alone, should be prepared to risk their own interests in the larger interest of national integration.

The Praja Socialist leader suggested the setting of a machinery to deal with grievances "both at the official level and at significant non-official levels".

The language problem came along during the discussion on the Education Policy. The discussion, as given in a news summary, was as follows :

Discussion on the draft statement on education policy was protracted. The draft had been prepared by a committee consisting of Mr. C. D.

Deshmukh, Dr. Zakir Hussain, Dr. D. S. Kothari and Mr. S. R. Das.

There was difference of opinion on some of the decisions taken by the Chief Ministers, notably on the three-language formula at the secondary education stage.

A formula, members did not think it was wise to burden young students with three languages as it would be impossible for them to attain proficiency in three languages.

Ranged against them were a sizable number of members who held that the three-language formula was ideally suited to a country like India.

Prime Minister Nehru cited the case of foreign countries where, he said, a student was required to learn four or five languages. As a student in the United Kingdom he had to learn French, Latin and German besides English. Others had to learn a fifth language, Greek. Being an Indian student he was exempted from learning it.

The Education Minister, Dr. K. L. Shrimali, said that the three-language formula had been accepted by academic authorities, Education Ministries and the Central Advisory Board of Education. It was true it had not been implemented so far. As soon as this Conference endorsed it, Government would implement it.

Mr. K. M. Munshi said: "if this country is to remain one, we have to accept this formula".

The conference further appointed a 37-member permanent National Integration Council, to act as the "informal highest court of appeal" on issues that might lead to disruption—but without any constitutional status!

It would have the Prime Minister at the head, and will include all the State Chief Ministers, the leaders of the seven recognized opposition leaders, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the Chairman of the University Grants Commission, the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities and the Commissioners for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes were named as members of the Council. It was also stated that "nine other eminent Indians, including two educationists" would be nominated by Pandit Nehru as members of the Council.

In short the Standing Council will consist of Pandit Nehru with 29 supporters and seven casual dissenters, who would discuss everything under the sun excepting the most pressing questions of the day. The Conference opened with the dominant mood that in reality there was no danger threatening the unity of India and the

Indians and the Council will no doubt carry on with the same refrain. Pandit Nehru was emphatic on this point on the opening day and he reiterated that statement at the close of that futile four-day conference.

It was futile because the basic problems were carefully avoided by all concerned.

The basic problems are those that have been caused by the helpless condition of the law-abiding citizen in the face of suffering and want, consequent on maladministration and legal and constitutional laches and lapses. This has placed unlimited power in the hands of the inept and the unscrupulous, who are in office, and has likewise generated a lust for power and gain—personal or partywise—in the minds of those who are jockeying for position. What can pious resolutions achieve where corruption is rife?

Non-Violence and Portuguese Colonialism

The Delhi Seminar on Portuguese Colonialism, rejected non-violence as an effective method for the liberation of the peoples suffering under Portuguese Colonialism. This view was firmly expressed in courteous language by Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, the North Rhodesian leader, who said that the ideology of non-violence was not wrong but that Portugal would not listen to reason and, therefore, force was the only other alternative, as there are "inherent weaknesses in human character." He compared the situation with that of a mad bull attacking a man. Either the bull has to be shot or else the man would die.

Other speakers repeated the same opinion, one after another, in the six-hour session on October 21, after narrating the repression and slaughter of innocent and non-violent demonstrators, by the Portuguese authorities. The NATO allies of Portugal were also charged with sharing the guilt as without their support Portugal could not possibly hold her colonies.

The delegates from Goa shared the impatience and the positive call for other measures against Portugal as expressed by the African delegates. They also stated that Portugal took the non-violent attitude of India as an evidence of weakness, and reiterated the call for more tangible measures.

Mr. Morarji Desai advocated non-violence with the plea that India had won her freedom by non-violence. He further declared that it would

not be possible to justify any armed action—even police action—in Goa, as Indian interests were concerned and India could not preach non-violence to the world and at the same time practice warlike methods in her own interests.

Mr. Desai's statements evoked strong reactions from the African and Goanese delegates. The Tanganyikan Commerce Minister, Mr. Nsilo Swai said that what was needed was not "pious resolutions but action, action and action." The Angolan delegates made it clear that all other means had failed and the only way left for the people of Angola was to fight force with force. They called for massive support from free African and Asian countries for the inevitable armed action against colonialism. The Goanese delegates used more restrained language but their reaction to Mr. Desai's speech was equally sharp. They also called for active measures to end the suffering of the Goanese people. There was also a call for a common approach to fight Portuguese colonialism.

The Delhi Seminar ended without a joint and unanimous statement being issued. Some delegates, the organizers of the seminar forming the bulk, felt that the scope of the seminar was too limited for such a statement, whereas most of the African and Goanese delegates thought that a direction should be issued to all freedom movements on behalf of the seminar. It was finally decided that a 12-man sub-committee, should draft a "declaration" embodying in broad lines the views of the seminar. This was to be put forward before the Bombay meeting of the seminar.

We ourselves feel that this question of India attaining freedom purely through the non-violent action of the Congress should be examined by a truly independent body of historians, of which type of scholars there is no want in India. We have had enough of statements by fanatic adherents, most of whom were in jails, in complete ignorance of what was happening in the outside world. It is time now to make a true and proper assessment of factual data.

Non-violence undoubtedly gave the mass of the Indian people the medium and the training to become freedom-conscious and disciplined to the actual fulfilment of the task before them. But the torch of freedom would have been totally extinguished by British power, when *all the Congress leaders* were caught and jailed in one massive sweep of the British net in August, 1942, had not the people of the country risen in

a mass revolt—and they had neither the training nor the leadership that a non-violent mass action needed. Six British army divisions were employed to put it down, besides the entire police force of the British Indian Administration.

There was a global war at that time and India was isolated. The desperate struggle went on in all parts of the country. And besides that there was the action of the army under Netaji Subhas, which though in itself was not much of a striking force, yet it had massive effect on the minds of the Indian forces, which numbered nearly two millions at that time. Prior to that, the Indian soldiers obeyed his British officers blindly, even when ordered to take action against their own flesh and blood.

We believe that senior officers of the British Indian army were ordered to find out how far the British Government could rely on the "loyalty" of the Indian soldier, in quelling "rebellions" like what happened in Midnapore in Bengal, Shahabad in Behar and in many smaller areas all over in India. And we believe that the results of the enquiry were disquieting in the extreme, and that this survey strongly influenced the "handing over" of India to Indians—after what was thought to be a crippling partition.

We have no desire to belittle in the least the power of non-violence, and we are as staunch and faithful to Gandhiji's supreme behests as any leader in the country—indeed more so than most of them, who are time-servers. And we have no desire either to belittle the action of British statesmen, like Stafford Cripps, Pethick Lawrence and Alexander, who took the final decision. But we must declare that the statement that India won her freedom purely through non-violent action of the Congress, and that the British handed it over to us voluntarily, without any compulsion whatsoever from the circumstances then prevailing, is *not the whole truth*. We know because we saw the struggle at close quarters and in the midst of public life.

We have had to write at length on this subject because senseless reiteration of the *Ahimsa* tenet, by persons who have a very imperfect understanding of the real significance of the principle have caused more damage to our cause in international affairs than any other maxim which has been formulated by our spokesmen.

The African spokesman, Mr. Kaunda was

perfectly right when he illustrated his statement by comparing the position of the Africans with that of a man defending himself against a mad bull. Inherent weaknesses in human character have to be taken into account in the treatment of international evils and ailments. It is all very well for Mr. Desai to say that we could not justify war, where Indian interests were concerned in the case of Goa, but can he justify his sanctimonious attitude of indifference to the continued suffering of our own flesh and blood on Indian soil?

The late Sardar Patel was faced with a similar situation where Hyderabad was concerned. On the one hand was the principle of *Ahimsa*, as formulated by the super-brahmins of Gandhiji's following with their crass ignorance and fanatic and rigid adherence to the words of the doctrines supposed to have been enunciated by Gandhiji—who himself was flexible beyond measure under such circumstances—and on the other hand was the prolonged agony of the Hindus of Hyderabad who were subjected to rape, loot, arson, and mass murder by the myrmidons of a potentate, who thought he could attain a sovereign autocratic status as a Sultan by the use of force. The super-brahmins were supported by Maulana Azad and by certain influential foreign advisors of Pandit Nehru—who himself displayed the same knock-kneed indecision in a crisis that has caused India a lot of loss in the past. Sardar Patel's decision was for police action, in the face of manifold difficulties and he backed his decision with the posing of his resignation in the alternative on the question.

We all know that his decision was right and the millions of inhabitants of what was Hyderabad State know it, and even Maulana Azad could not in any way justify any condemnation of the act—though he had his vengeance in another way, by attempting to denigrate the Sardar's status in his memoirs. We should like to know what opinion Mr. Desai has of the police action in Hyderabad before we can accept his statement that police action in Goa would be an "act of war". For we, together with all right-thinking Indians with their eyes open, consider that Goa is as much a part of India as Gujerat or West Bengal.

What if it be an "Act of War"? Is there any principle or any law that must be adhered to the very letter, no matter what loss it might inflict on the cause of humanity and liberty? And again the question comes whether the letter of the law

is always a complete and comprehensive definition of the spirit of the law as deduced from its basic concepts. We know that Gandhiji himself never thought it to be so. Let Mr. Desai look up the statements made by Gandhiji after he was attacked for allowing a mortally sick and suffering calf to be put out of pain in his *ashrama*.

The Chinese have maintained their aggression and have tried to confuse the issues by contradictory actions and statements. Indeed, the latest news indicate that they are making a fresh bid to occupy by force some more Indian territory in the Siang and the Subansiri regions of the North-East Frontier Agency. Pakistan has not only maintained their aggression in Kashmir but—thanks to U.S. arms supply—has put forward veiled threats of the use of force to occupy the rest of Indian Kashmir. And we are to be content with pious resolutions and the sanctimonious utterances of our spokesmen!

Even Pandit Nehru has been forced to admit the failure of past policies with regard to Goa, at Bombay on October, 23. So let us wait and see what follows.

The Train Disaster

One of the worst disasters in the history of the Indian railways has occurred with the derailment of the Up Howrah-Ranchi Express near Ghatsila. The death-roll, together with the number of passengers missing, has gone over fifty and the seriously injured number about a hundred and fifty while the total of all persons injured must number several hundreds. It was all the more terrible because it happened at the dead of night on a particularly lonely stretch of the railway in the very early hours of Friday the 20th October.

There is a demand for an open enquiry, by an independent body, preferably under a High Court Judge, into the causes of the disaster. The railway authorities have trotted out the time-worn plea of sabotage, by persons unknown. But no motive can be ascribed, and even if the supposed miscreants had almost half-an hour to commit the fell misdeed, the act of loosening and removing two or more fish-plates with their multiple bolts and nuts, at the dead of night, would be a job for a skilled gang with proper tools. Railway workers, when repairing the permanent way take quite a long time to do it in broad daylight or under the light of brightly burning flares, as is well-known. There was no attempt at looting. And the only

other motives are those of blind and insensate desire for the destruction of life and property—which also involves a supposition of criminal lunacy on a mass scale.

In any case a thorough and impartial enquiry is called for. The public mind must be cleared of any suspicion that the railway authorities are trying to suppress their own culpability for this tragic occurrence involving death and injury to so many persons and destruction of such an amount of valuable public property.

There are letters appearing in the press from the pens of actual sufferers and there are positive statements that the railway-engine was defective and the unfortunate driver had to take it under pressure from superior officers.

The Indian Police Force

Sometime back one of our spokesmen for the higher executives, extolled our police force to the skies, comparing them with best in the world. Needless to say the spokesman was of the elect—or rather the elected—and as such he may be deemed to have spoken on behalf of his electors.

The other side of the medal is represented in a special correspondent's report, in the *Statesman* of October, 25, of a petition before the Lucknow bench of the Allahabad High Court, filed by the State of U.P. The petition which prayed that certain observations made on the police force in a judgment delivered by Mr. Justice Anand Narain Mulla be expunged, was dismissed. The observations referred to in the petition were:

"In his judgment in connexion with an apology submitted by Mr. Mohammed Naim, a sub-inspector formerly in charge of the Shahabad police station in Hardoi district, Mr. Justice Mulla had observed, *inter alia*. "If I had felt that with my one effort I could have cleaned these Augean stables, which is the police force. I would not have hesitated to wage this single-handed. There is not a single lawless group in the whole of the country whose record of crime comes anywhere near the record of that organized unit which is known as the Indian police force."

The appeal, which under the law the U.P. Government had to put before the same judge who had made the observations, was dismissed by Mr. Justice Mulla. In dismissing the petition, Mr. Justice Mulla observed:

"The first question that arises is whether the Judiciary is entitled to draw the attention of the

Executive regarding matters which affect the administration of justice or not. A court of law is entitled to make observations regarding public administration. As a matter of fact, I am of the opinion that a judge would fail in his duty if he does not draw the attention of the Executive to the fact that criminal cases which are placed before the courts are in a large measure traps and frame-ups and by extorting confessions through third degree methods and by disregarding the prohibitions contained in the Constitution of India to safeguard the rights of the citizens. It is unfortunate that the Executive instead of giving due considerations to the observations of a court of law prefers to doubt their accuracy and goes to the length of filing such an application."

Dealing with the Judicial and the Executive wings in a democratic set-up, Mr. Justice Mulla said: "I would like at this stage to say that the courts of law have not been getting that co-operation from the Executive which in a democratic State they are entitled to claim. According to the well-known principles and traditions of a Democratic State where strictures are passed by a court of law, they are not challenged by the Executive. But, it seems, those who have filed this application are of the opinion that these traditions should not be followed in this country and the departure should be made. It is also surprising that considered opinion based on knowledge, given by a judge of the High Court is questioned on the basis of some information which, obviously, proceeds from interested persons. Truth has a strange way of presenting different facts to different persons and in its final analysis, it depends upon the place occupied by who sees it and the range of his vision.

"It is, therefore, difficult for me to understand how anyone can question that the observations which I made were not the truth."

Referring to the U.P. police, his lordship said: "I know the police force of my province better than the lines of my hands and I again reiterate that Mohammed Naims are the rule in his force and not the exception. It would be a sad day indeed, where judges would be stopped from speaking the truth."

Regarding his knowledge about the police force. Mr. Justice Mulla said: "If dealing with the police for the last 35 years is not sufficient to give me this knowledge, I do not know what knowledge would be considered to be sufficient.

I practiced exclusively as a lawyer on the criminal side and as a judge I functioned exclusively on the criminal side. To make a modest estimate, not less - than 15,000 to 20,000 criminal cases passed through my hands. I believe I possess average intelligence and if an experience of so many cases does not give any knowledge to me about the way how the police prosecute its cases; then it seems that very few men can possess this knowledge.

His lordship further said: "It is painful for me to say that those police officers and other public servants against whom I made strictures in my cases did not suffer at all because of the strictures passed by the court. I know a few cases in which these officers were even promoted and that too by superseding some of their seniors. This experience is shared by my brother judges.

We are quoting at length, because of the source from which the observations came.

It was also reported by the *Statesman* that the U.P. Government is thinking of appealing to the Supreme Court, and that the judgment is being studied by the Judicial department of the U.P. Government.

The Nobel Peace Prize

The Nobel Peace Prize Committee of the Norwegian Storting (The Norwegian Parliament) has awarded the 1961, Peace Prize to Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, posthumously. We are told that the statutes for the Nobel Prize awards indicate that this award could not have been made unless Mr. Hammarskjöld had been a candidate prior to his death. The amount of the prize will be placed at the disposal of Mr. Hammarskjöld's estate.

There had been no announcement of a Nobel Peace Prize award in 1960, as the Storting had postponed the award. The announcement that the 1960 award has been made to Mr. Albert Rohn Luthuli, a Zuhe Christian leader in South Africa, for his efforts to alleviate racial discrimination in that benighted country, was made simultaneously with that of the 1961 award.

The world of peace-loving people will all approve of these two awards. The Soviet's attitude towards the memory of Mr. Hammarskjöld is strongly coloured with the taints of power-politics, as was evinced by the refusal of the Soviets' delegates at the U.N. to associate their

countries with the expression of grief and respect at the U.N. condolence meeting, and so we do not know as yet what their reaction would be to this award. With regard to the award to Mr. Luthuli, which is undoubtedly an indirect condemnation of South Africa's policy of *apartheid*, perhaps the only countries that would openly disparage the Nobel Committee's judgment, would be South Africa, Portugal and the colonial die-hards of Rhodesia.

Mr. Luthuli who is in internment at his own residence near Johannesburg, expressed a desire to go to Oslo, as is the custom with all Nobel Laureates, to receive in person the award from the Nobel Committee. The reaction to that desire has again illustrated the atavism that overlies the mentality of the rulers of South Africa.

A news item supplied by the *A.P.*, reported from Pretoria that South Africa's Premier Dr. Hendrik Verwoerd, will himself see that Mr. Albert Luthuli be given a passport to travel to Finland to accept the Nobel Prize. It is likewise stated by the South African press association that under the South African exchange control regulations Mr. Luthuli will be obliged to bring *within 30 days* the 43,550 dollars which is awarded with the Peace Prize. If he failed to do that then the entire sum would be confiscated and he would be jailed upto five years and fined upto 14,000 dollars.

And we have no doubt that Dr. Verwoerd would also see to the confiscation, fine and jail-term being inflicted on Mr. Luthuli, if Mr. Luthuli brings the prize money home, on some pretext or other.

It would be cogent in that context to mention the adoption of a motion of censure against South Africa, on October 11, in the General Assembly of the United Nations. This was the reaction to the statement made on the same day in the general debate by South Africa's Foreign Minister Eric H. Louw. *The Weekly Newsletter* of the U.N., published at New Delhi gives a summary of the motion as follows:

The motion was put forward by Henry Ford Cooper (Liberia), following withdrawal of an earlier Liberian motion asking that the South African statement be expunged from the records. In making his new motion, Mr. Cooper asked "that the Assembly should vote a motion of censure against the Government of South Africa or its delegate for a statement which was offensive,

fictitious and erroneous and of which the Assembly fully disapproves."

The vote—by roll call—on the motion of censure was 67 in favour to 1 against (South Africa), with 20 abstentions. Nine delegations did not participate in the vote, and three were absent.

Mr. Louw, the Foreign Minister of *South Africa*, declared that South Africa's policy of *apartheid* or "separate development" was equally in the interests of the whites and of the Bantus. Bantu leaders had publicly signified their unqualified acceptance of this policy, he said.

Many member states, in Africa and elsewhere, which criticized South Africa and even threatened sanctions, were, he said, closing their eyes to the fact that the principles of human rights which they championed here were not honoured in their own countries. "Why pick on South Africa?" he asked.

Mr. Louw denied that the non-whites of South Africa were "ill-treated" or "oppressed" and asserted that they were better off than the people of many countries in Africa and elsewhere.

South Africa believed, he said, that its policy of "peaceful but separate coexistence" would provide the solution of its racial problems and ensure the happiness and prosperity of all concerned. All that South Africa asked, he said, was that it be permitted to carry out its policy "without interference from outside."

There is a motion ready to be put to the U.N., for an independent commission of enquiry into the "accident" that led to Mr. Hammarskjöld's death. The results of the enquiry that was made previously has satisfied few persons excepting those who want to hush it up.

THE EDITOR

Better Be Backward

If some methods of warfare were such that a mere rehearsal of the methods would become an act of war against, not only the probable enemies; but also against the whole world; then such practising of defensive or offensive measures would be considered reprehensible by the entire world. The deploying of soldiers can only be practised within one's own national boundaries. Nobody will tolerate an invasion of the territories of one nation by the armies of another, even

if such invasion were merely for practice. Mining the sea passages of other nations for practice only will not also be acknowledged as lawful. Blowing poison gas over or releasing bacteria in the territory of a neighbouring country will be acts of aggression; no matter how peaceful the relations between the aggressor and the aggressed may be. In short, no country has a right to behave in a careless, thoughtless, inconsiderate and callous manner in the field of tests, trials or practice manoeuvres to an extent where the lives, property, health or safety of the peoples of other nations are endangered by such conduct. Trying out new weapons which may fly off into other people's territory will be considered as heinous as shooting of guns at random in a crowded area, or setting fire to one hut in a *bustee* of *kuchcha* huts in order to test a gun or to try out a fire extinguisher.

The Russian, or for that matter, the American, French or British nuclear tests are matters of concern to the entire world. The radio-active fall out from such test explosions cannot be contained within the territories of the test-making nation. It is well-known that the result of such tests is an inevitable pollution of the atmosphere of the entire earth and such pollution will inevitably cause suffering, illness and death to thousands of people all over the world. In the circumstances, such tests are a crime against humanity and must be treated as such by the whole world. If Russia, America, Britain and France insist on these trials, although the effects of such trials are known to be very dangerous to all nations; there must be concerted opposition to these trials by the nations of the world; no matter how strong militarily and economically lawless and immoral perpetrators of these anti-human trials are. If the entire world combined against the power blocs and broke off diplomatic relations with their members, it will at least clear all illusions and show up the true nature of the many governments that now rule the peoples of the earth. We do not know clearly how many nations are bound up openly or secretly with the power-blocs. A good many nations are in the communist bloc and the total population of all these nations will be over a thousand millions. The total population of the nations of the Anglo-American bloc will be about 700 millions. The neutral nations of the world probably have a population of over one thousand millions. The neutral nations can, there-

fore, cut themselves away from the cold war combatants and, though, that may not seriously affect the material stability or prosperity of the bloc nations, there will be a definite moral effect. For the neutral nations are likely to lose economically by breaking off relations with the advanced and prosperous groups. But, if the poorer nations can face upto greater poverty for reasons of world peace, we think that will have some effect on the smug self-assurance of the potential destroyers of humanity and human civilisation.

We have never clearly understood the true meaning of the ideals that these groups of hatred-mongers uphold. The difference between being a victim of private exploitation and public exploitation is more or less like what we find among starving employees of private concerns and starving employees of the state. An overloaded State-bus is as bad as an overloaded Private-bus. Untruth cannot become truth by being propagated officially or nationally. The fundamental needs of humanity are well-known and uniform, no matter what faith or belief different groups of people harbour in their souls. Food, clothing, housing, medicine, education, communication, recreation, social security, etc., etc., have the same meaning and dimensions no matter what ideological considerations lead to their provision. Human beings have different appearances, likes, dislikes, abilities, incapacities and so forth; and it is natural that each type prefers its own looks and physical habits. But that does not prove anything for or against white skin, woolly hair, slanting eyes, tea, coffee, beer, vodka, *lassi*, grapes, mangoes, saris, gowns, cricket, baseball, pictograph, phonetics, meat-eating, vegetarianism, non-violence, violence, christianity, hinduism, islam, or communism. All forms of government are impositions upon individual liberty. All social systems are based on restrictions and limitations. Every kind of economy has something for or against it. No one has yet been able to think out any perfect principles on which all humanity can build any or all institutions, crusades, *zihads*, wars of independence and wars for making wars unnecessary and the world safe against all evils, have been fought time and again, and, we are still at it in the same manner as at *Kurukshetra* or anywhere else at any time. That communism or the American way of life will finally abolish human suffering and sorrow is just unscientific propaganda. No matter how very ready-made life

becomes under this system or that, sorrows and suffering will continue to dominate the human soul as they have in the past. Emotional crises and disquiet will remain even if all the unsolved problems of science were solved. It is, therefore, fruitless to plan mass conquests or to spread news of the coming of a *utopia* in which there will be no want and no unfulfilled desires. For all this kind of talk is just childish and grown up persons in an age of science should learn to abhor false propaganda. We know there are no reasons why nations should fight. We also know that it is insane to think of curing an ounce of economic evil by a million ton of physical and moral torture. The idea of a nuclear war for settling ideological disputes is like burning persons at the stake for the good of their souls! We repeat that all neutral nations should solemnly tell the blocs that if the latter did not stop thinking of and planning a nuclear war, the former will *per force* have to break off all relations with them.

A. C.

China, Nepal and India

Nepal has a population of less than one crore. This, as compared to China's 60 crores or India's 43, is a tiny fraction. But the Nepalese leaders, whether democratic or royal, want very badly to join in the game of international diplomacy and power-politics, in total disregard of Nepal's human and material resources. It is not always a great advantage to be a buffer-state between two great powers. Belgium found out the truth of this in the two World Wars in which her territories were invaded and used as a battle-field by the mighty armies of Germany, Britain and France. If China and India ever came to blows, Nepal would similarly provide a battle-field for the two warring nations. It was better if Nepal had not stuck its neck out and had left Tibet as the natural buffer between India and China. For no matter how powerful King Mahendra is in Nepal or how brave the little Gurkhas are; the Nepalese people can hardly gain anything out of a military conflagration in which great armies will clash and thousands of planes will zoom over the Himalayas. Religiously, culturally, linguistically and racially, the Nepalese are the brothers of the Indians. Millions of the Nepalese are employed in India. Any breach with India will injure Nepal so greatly that nothing from China will heal that

injury. The Indians have been true friends of the Nepalese and India has no expansionist ideas which may in the future embitter Indo-Nepalese relations. The Chinese are insidious infiltrators. Once they are allowed to build a road to Kathmandu, thousands and millions of Chinese will try to come into Nepal as technicians, traders, teachers and skilled workmen. After that it will be a matter of time before the Chinese will claim that Nepal is China; in the same manner that Tibet has become China, in spite of all differences in race, culture, language or social order. The story of the 'Arab and the Camel' is one that King Mahendra should study intensively; if the story of Tibet has not registered in his mind. The recent news of China's plans for exploding a nuclear bomb in Tibet should also interest King Mahendra. He will get the lion's share of the fall out from any such explosion in Tibet. Generally speaking, the Nepalese are playing a dangerous game and they should go cautiously. Our government are no doubt watching things closely with their eyes shut, as has been their practice since August, 1947.

A. C.

Red Tape Vs. Humanity

In India Red Tape, that is rules, regulations and official procedure, clashes with humane considerations everywhere and at all times. If there is an accident in the streets of Calcutta, the dead (?) bodies, if any, may lie in the streets for hours before anybody can touch them. Police investigations must be carried out first and nothing must be moved which may jeopardise the chances of the police discovering the truth. In Bihar a car got over-turned by running into a man-size pot hole, near Barhi. Petrol started leaking out of the tank of the car; but the police prevented the people there from putting the car back on its wheels for reasons of "investigation." The car remained upside down for 24 hours, until an investigation officer came from Hazaribagh, 50 miles away, the day after the upset; which had happened due to "natural" causes. Any person who has any experience of hospitals run by the government will testify to the absurdities of procedure that suffering humanity has to endure in such places. The human beings concerned in any incident have no priority where officials and policemen are concerned. Everybody must quietly

suffer pain and inconvenience and some may even die while waiting but the investigating officers or the fillers of forms must not be hustled. In Ghatsila, recently, after the Ranchi Express had jumped the rails, the police and the railway officials introduced detailed procedure before they could extricate any probable victims of the accident who might have been buried in the debris. Removal of the debris began *12 hours after the accident*, according to neutral reports; while the Bihar police brought out their measuring tapes and noted distances, lengths and breadths on yellow paper, with red pencils and in hindi of unfathomable meaningfulness. Later on the railway people and the police had a competition in patting one another on the back and both were satisfied as to the excellence of the work they had jointly done. But many felt that a few lives might have been saved if they had not behaved in this callous and brainless manner and had proceeded to removing all piled-up debris first and looked for probable victims underneath. This much about human lives and human suffering. In all other fields of life, individual citizens of this *free* country have to suffer losses, inconveniences and frustration, all along the line, for reasons of procedure, rules, regulations, ministerial whims or the personal malice of some officials against some members of the public. Corruption, nepotism and the other evils of an immoral set-up are also there. The government departments of supplies, the customs, the foreign exchange controllers, the passportwallas and last but not the least the income-tax people; are all named by the public as special destroyers of national well-being. Most of them neglect their own duties over long periods in order to feed their own capricious urges. They do come down upon the unwary at times with a terrifying impact and the victims quail and suffer. But, generally speaking, they seldom go after the anti-social elements whom they should control and chastise. Rather, they select the innocent and the inoffensive members of the public to show off their might. Had India been Russia or China and had we been fond of "purges" we do not know how many employees of the state would have survived such a purge. They say in Bengali that entire villages would be depopulated if someone picked the dishonest persons in a village and removed them. The entire administration in India in all branches of government will someday require to be re-

manned, if we desired good government and sensible and human conduct in all fields where the state functions. Yet, we find the congress boosting their "system" of administration on the eve of the elections! This is the time when the public should reassert their rights and remove some leading partymen from a number of selected

constituencies. It is no good trying to change political parties or to form new ones. They are and they will be evil and anti-social. But some men should be defeated by concerted public effort. The leaders of the political parties preferably.

A. C.

NILRATAN SIRCAR

(1861—1943).

Nilratan Sircar was great because he had an intensity of outlook which enabled him to know a great deal more about anything he touched, than others who worked and lived with him. As a village boy, he always had brighter ideas about playing games or escapades; and he was also quicker to learn his lessons and to do his sums when it came to studies. He had a band of followers who climbed trees, caught fish, went out on pic-nics with him and they always agreed that he was their natural leader. Yet, he was no bully, nor self-assertive in any obnoxious manner. He was keenly intelligent, ardently capable and had that comprehensiveness of vision which makes great leaders of men. He also had the capacity to look deeply into things and work out their fundamentals; so that, mentally he was fully and properly equipped to be a path-finder in any field of thought or scientific exploration. His contemporaries, some of whom were still living at the time of his death, in May 1943, could clearly remember what he did, what he said and how he behaved when he was their playmate and leader during the years 1865-75. "Nilu never failed to produce ideas and the ideas never failed to work, when we all engaged in harmless escapades in our boyhood." For the boys of those days had to discover their own recreation and to entertain themselves as best as they could in a setting of rural simplicity. The friends of his youthful days remembered him as a strong, cheerful and clever boy, who was never mean, malicious or dis-

honest. He and his friends organised akheras for physical culture and they did all the hard work whenever there were social occasions, such as marriages, shraddhs, pujas or other ceremonies.

Some men achieve greatness by ruthless self-assertion. They stamp out all opposition, tolerate no competitors and go from height to height; leaving behind them a trail of broken men who had dared to challenge their progress. They are acknowledged as rulers, leaders or conquerors in craven hatred and are remembered with signs of relief when they are no longer on earth. There are others who are great by nature and they go on to success and carry all their friends and followers with them to share their fortunes. When they climb newer heights, they pull others up and help them to get along. Nilratan Sircar in his boyhood, was a friend of his community of boys. When he grew up and achieved remarkable success as a medical practitioner, he helped scores of others to go forward and to be successful. As an educationist, he helped his collaborators to make a name or to win fame; and never tried to push himself forward by elbowing his co-workers out of the way. In the field of industry, he doled out funds freely and lavishly without attaching any strings to his Aid-Indian-Industry scheme. He asked for no security when he gave money and he gave money so that his country and his nation could be industrially great and effective. That is why to-day, after his hundredth birthday, all who knew him,

worked with him or lived with him; remember him with love and true admiration. There is sadness in every heart that he is no longer with us. For, his mere presence was a tonic to all who suffered physically, mentally, economically or spiritually. His smile and his touch cured diseases and when he said something, everyone knew it was God's truth, for, he had no axe to grind, no policy to put through by cunning devices and no ulterior motives other than the good of the person or persons to whom he spoke. His love of humanity and his desire to see all men happy, healthy, educated, prosperous and free from unreason, were accepted without question by all.

Greater men than those who are now prominent in this world of subterfuges and fakes, testified to the greatness of Sir Nilratan Sircar. During the years that he lived on this earth, he earned the love and friendship of many persons of outstanding character. Some of them were great forceful characters, some were dreamy thinkers who conjured up visions and wonderous thoughts which will stimulate the minds of all men during the centuries that will follow, and quite a few were powerful thinkers whose minds probed the mysteries of nature and the unknown past of humanity in the manner of the great explorers of the world. And all these friends of Nilratan Sircar agreed on their estimation of his character. He was great because he was good. All of them trusted him implicitly and their faith in his wisdom as a physician verged on the faith that mystics felt in Divinity. People came to his house to pass a few days in his company as well as for treatment from far away Ceylon or from Bombay, Madras and the extreme ends of India. He was called out very often to Patna, Allahabad, Patiala, Nepal and other places and, even when he was quite old and ill, people crowded his house or the places he went to for a change, such as, Puri, Darjeeling or Giridih; and sought his advice for medical treatment. We remember some of those people on account of their outstanding character and fame. We have forgotten many who were also very important people in the true sense of the term. Thousands of his patients had belonged

to the ranks of the humble and the poor who never created a stir in society nor left their mark on the records of the nation. He treated numerous people free and often supplied them with medicine too. During epidemics he never denied assistance to any who sought it. In the educational and the industrial fields too his friends, protégés and admirers were many. Factory workers, shoe makers, motor car mechanics, masons, carpenters, weavers and fishermen knew him as a friend, a great soul and a patron. After his death, many wept who were not known to his relations; and even to-day folded hands are lifted in veneration by quite ordinary folk when the name of Nilratan Sircar is taken by anyone. During the centenary celebrations, the people of the tea-gardens area of Jalpaiguri and the coal field of West Bengal made praiseworthy donations to the Nilratan Sircar Memorial Trust Society generously and in fairly large numbers. Numerous people joined the celebrations in different centres, and they all did so wholeheartedly and with the idea that they were paying homage to a great friend of humanity, who deserved it by reason of the services he rendered to mankind. They were also unanimous in their opinion that Nilratan Sircar was a miracle man in the field of medicine and that he was totally sincere, genuine and good. Rabindranath Tagore said about him that he was so great as a doctor because he was so good. Ramananda Chatterjee said after the death of Nilratan Sircar that he had all the qualities which made men egoistic. Knowledge, ability, fame, wealth and social position were his, and he had been honoured by his fellowmen and decorated by the State. Yet, far from being egoistic or arrogant, he was totally humane and a gentleman to the core. He never had a harsh word for anyone. He tried to find excuses for even those who had injured him. He never spoke ill of any one and did not believe in giving advice to younger doctors or others who consulted him in a dictatorial manner. "What do you think of such and such?" He would suggest, or "How do you think your patient would respond to" this or that? He never let, anyone feel small, though he never agreed to go against his true beliefs in any

field of work. He managed to turn the opinion of others in favour of his own beliefs without being aggressively didactic.

Many are the names of well-known personalities that have come into the writer's mind as he is composing this tribute to a great Indian. For almost all his contemporary leaders of thought, opinion and action were Nilratan Sircar's friends. When Nilratan Sircar had his first serious illness in 1940, Mahatma Gandhi came to see him and said, "Doctor you must get well soon, or we shall be quite helpless when we fall ill." And that was also the feeling of all those who believed in the unerring wisdom and ability of Nilratan Sircar as a physician and adviser. Among those, who sought his aid and assistance were Maharajas, Maharanas, Rajas, Officials, Lawyers, Doctors, Engineers, Industrialists, Landlords and Millionaires on the one hand, and the vast masses of the middle class and working class people on the other. In between were the great intellectuals, the social workers, the artists and the political leaders. Lord Carmichael, the then Governor of Bengal, held Nilratan Sircar in high esteem and so did many of the revolutionaries, liberal politicians and those who fought the British non-violently. He helped students studying abroad even when he could ill afford it and many were the occasions when he obtained money with difficulty; to help needy persons seeking his assistance.

When Nilratan Sircar was young and was not yet fully qualified as a medical practitioner, he worked as a coach, a private tutor, a school master and struggled hard to make his way and to help his younger brothers too. His elder brother Abinash Sircar, was a redoubtable fighter in their family's struggle for existence and stood by his talented brother staunchly, as no brothers or sons of impecunious families do now. The present day principle of 'Heaven helping those who help themselves' has been borrowed from the West. The good old Eastern motto had been that 'Heaven helped those who helped others'; and that was the guiding principle of the people of India in the past. Nilratan Sircar was brought up in the tradition of ancient India. Intellectually and culturally he was a reformer, a puritan

and a rationalist. But never did he, even for one moment, hold those who believed in the old order or had faith in the old social system or forms of worship in contempt. He told all moderners who despised the ancient ways of believing and behaving, that he could never harbour contumely for those who thought in the traditional manner; for, he said, "My mother believed in all that." This great love for his mother was the basic principle of his life and without it Nilratan Sircar would never have been the great doctor that he was; nor the great reformer, the great helper of humanity and the great seeker after total national well-being.

The writer was in his early teens when he first saw Nilratan Sircar in Darjeeling. He had seen him even before that; but no clear recollection of any encounter would come to his mind. In Darjeeling in those days Nilratan Sircar went about on horse back. He was a good rider and his bluish grey horse liked him a great deal. He went about alone and though he went to the hills for holiday his practice followed him wherever he went. He went about for miles on horse back and occasionally stopped at this house or that. And in every house he went to he was the friend of all inmates irrespective of age or status. Then the first World War broke out and many Indian doctors took temporary Commissions in the I.M.S. With them went his beloved nephew, Dr. Jyotiprakash, with the full support of his uncle. Later on he sent his only son into the Territorial Army. His son-in-law and nephew also joined up. Nilratan Sircar liked men to be adventurous and fearless and he thought that the job-hunting outlook of the Bengalis was due to their lack of courage. This sort of hanging on to a low fixed income slowly reduced a nation to penury; and, he encouraged young men to be bold and to take up business, trade and industry in order to be progressive and prosperous. His son later on was sent for technical education to Leeds to be successful in commerce and industry. Nilratan Sircar's strongest emotion had always been his spirit of independence. During his entire career he made strong efforts to improve the position of Indians vis a vis the British, who tried their best to

keep Indian's down in all spheres of life. The whole medical profession was British ridden and only British doctors were considered to be properly qualified. Nilratan Sircar and his friend Suresh Prasad Sarbadhikary were the first Indian doctors to demand equal fees with their British competitors, and soon they earned higher fees than the British doctors. Medical education too was fully controlled by the I.M.S. and the British officials. It was Nilratan Sircar who first brought about the foundation of a non-official Medical College in Calcutta. In this he was greatly helped by some of his Indian friends, like Rashbehari Ghosh and by Lord Carmichael, the then Governor of Bengal. The Carmichael College, now the R. G. Kar Medical College, is probably the first non-official Medical College in Asia, and its principal architect was Doctor Sir Nilratan Sircar. The work that Nilratan Sircar had done in the field of education and industry was also the outcome of his patriotic feelings. He wanted Indians to be great in knowledge, intellectual and scientific endeavour and in industry. All his activities in building up the Calcutta University, the Jadavpur Technical College (Jadavpur University), the Post-Graduate Science College and the Belgachia Medical College (Carmichael Medical College) were triggered off by his one great emotion, which was to see India great and independent.

In this life of struggle and acute hardship in the midst of great affluence his wife Lady Nirmala Sircar was his strongest supporter. Nilratan Sircar used to earn several lakhs of rupees annually; but his expenses on his numerous intellectual, educational and industrial projects exceeded this large income. His own personal habits were simple and required no great expenditure. Lady Nirmala, the daughter of a devout missionary of the Brahmo Samaj, always tried to econo-

mise on personal expenses in order to keep things in check. She looked after her children very well and assisted in the management of at least one industry, the National Soap Factory, which at one time was well on the way to financial success; but closed down after her death in 1939. She was the cultural soul of the Sircar family which was well-known in the first quarter of the twentieth century for its patronage of musicians, artists, scholars and all others who were then trying to revive the lost glory and greatness of India. 61, Harrison Road, which was the residence of the Sircar family upto 1920, was the meeting place of many outstanding people in those days. Musicians, Artists, Scientists, Scholars, **Pundits**, **Maulvis**, Politicians, Physicians, Lawyers and so forth thronged the halls of this great building and many a nationally important meeting had been held there. Along with all this cultural - social - educational - medical-scientific - economic upsurge within, Lady Nirmala had the unique distinction of running perhaps one of the largest households in Calcutta. Friends, relations and occasional visitors always found in 61, Harrison Road, a ready welcome and they got unstinted hospitality from the lady of the house. She was a person who could be kind, friendly and nice without being effusive. The general atmosphere was one of extreme amity and the inspiration for this severe cultural setting was Lady Nirmala Sircar. That Nilratan Sircar could devote his life to the service of the national with such single-minded devotion was very largely due to his wife's selflessness. She found in her husband's ideals a good substitute for easy-living and the glitter and pomp of a wealthy existence. Nilratan Sircar was great in his ideals and he was lucky to have found a wife who understood that.

(Contributed)

PRINCIPLES OF LEADERSHIP

By Miss PEARL S. BUCK

THE atomic bomb has already become significant to us not primarily as a weapon any more but as the blast which announced the end of one age and the arrival of another. On that day, in August, 1945, when we heard that a small silvery object falling out of the sky had killed a hundred thousand people in a matter of seconds, we could only think of it as a weapon. Silence fell upon the world, the silence of shock and horror. Now, a few years later, while shock and horror remain, we see more than that. We see a future different from any past that the human race has ever known. We are already living in a present different from any that we have ever known. Our bodies, encased in the shell of a jet plane, can be carried in a matter of hours to and from the remotest parts of Earth. Breakfast in New York brings us to luncheon in London. New Delhi is next door and South Africa just over the horizon.

We know this, but our comprehension has not been able to keep pace. We are actually still living in yesterday. Our knowledge is incomplete, our perceptions are not swift enough, and our emotions are still unready for the world in which we physically live. The distances today are not geographical, they are cultural and economic. Upon the lightning wings of that jet plane we are catapulted from one cultural and economic level to another, and we find it difficult, if not impossible, to adjust quickly enough to know where we are. Such distances are emphasized because we have no time to prepare for them, geographically. The people of the Chinese mainland, for example, are centuries behind the peoples of Europe and the United States in physical ways. Their government is being administered locally today by the sons and daughters of the peasants of yesterday, who could not read and write. These young people, too, have not had time to be educated even for the present, not to speak of the future, pressing so hard upon us all. Though they may have been taught how to read and write in poli-

tical schools as they have, they have had no time to be educated in the true sense, and yet out of ignorance they are trying to administer government, and I am sure with devotion and consecration, to six hundred million people. A Canadian friend of mine, travelling occasionally back and forth from mainland China tells me that it in his impression that the whole government is administered by young people between the ages of 17 and 22, a thought which I want to remind you is horrifying. In western terms, these children who are trying to govern are centuries behind. The people of Russia I suppose are less behind in some ways, and in others more, for in China learning was at least revered, and knowledge was respected. Ideologies are not so different as are the cultural and economic levels of these peoples, in comparison to our own. In the rush for modernization in Asia—a perfectly understandable rush, democratic processes may fail, for these processes are too slow when an ill-organized populace must somehow be incorporated into a unified whole, if the nation is to progress in science and industry. And such progress is essential, for a predominantly rural people can no longer survive, it seems, in our modern world.

Inevitably, then, leaders appear in our violent modern world, leaders self-appointed or chosen. With the need for leadership, a leader always appears, and in his person he epitomizes the struggle of his people. He becomes a symbol, and by the power of his influence he shapes the struggle into revolution, violent or non-violent. He could not become a leader, did not the people ask for leadership. Yet, conversely, were he not a born leader, the need of the people could not make him one. A strange powerful instinct works between leader and people. I have seen this happen again and again in my own life-time, living as I did through decades of revolution in China, leadership on a local scale or on a national scale. There was a strange relationship, an instinc-

tive one, between leader and people. The people need him and they find him and they shape him to their demand. He responds, and in turn shapes them to his demand. Once found, the people follow their leader blindly as sheep and sometimes to their mutual destruction, as in the case of Hitler, and others before him and after him. Or they follow, to their success and triumph, as in the case of Gandhi of India. What makes the Hitler, leading his people to destruction? What makes the Gandhi, leading his people to triumph? The answer lies in the quality of leadership, and the quality of leadership depends upon the quality of the leader. The people are not always wise. They can and often do choose the wrong leader, a man with magnetism, perhaps, but without the principles upon which true leadership depends. It is these principles, which I propose to explore with you for a little while, this evening. I consider them pertinent to our country at this very moment, when obviously our people are waiting for leadership in important ways, essential to our democracy. Tentative leaders are beginning to appear in various areas, you have seen them and I have seen them, and it is well for us to consider each of them carefully before choosing one to lead. We must weigh each one against the principles of good leadership, for it is quite possible for one man again to lead a whole nation to destruction or its brink. And what are the principles of leadership? I venture to say that, first of all, every potential leader is and of necessity must be a dreamer, one who dreams of what should be and could be, if—

A world that could be better, if—

A life that could be fuller, if—

A people who could be happier, if—

Most people do not dream big dreams. They hope, they wish, they have fragments of dreams, a better house, a big car—or a smart small one these days—clothes, food, prestige, business success, travel—these are all good little dreams that have no significance beyond themselves, enough perhaps to induce little dreamers to work harder, earn more, enjoy their individual lives. All good, but these are not the dreams I mean, the big dream, the universal dream of mankind for mankind. The person who can envision the big dream must have the conceptual mind, the synthesizing mind, the creatively thinking mind. Essentially, of course, this is the mind of the artist, living in

the eternal search for meaning, for beauty, for order, for understanding, for universal happiness. Essentially, this mind expresses the very nature of the artist, the capacity to feel, the energy to pursue the vision. Instinctively the people, in search of a leader, are drawn to one who is superior to them they think, one who sees beyond what they can see, one who is willing to work for the dream and so for them. He is, above all, able to express the dream in terms which they can understand, a dream of enough to eat, a steady job, freedom from oppression, freedom to think, to speak, to write—just to be free. He puts into words what people want and in terms simple enough so that they can grasp it and they come to believe that he knows how to make the dream come true. He promises, and they follow.

This capacity for dreaming is an essential part of the leader's nature, it is imagination, it becomes a longing, which grows acute in him when he sees the needs of those who surround him and their dependence upon him, their hope in him. He is under obligation to them to prove himself. He is compelled by his belief in himself and in his dream, and in the power of his own promises. He believes that he can make the dream come true. He is now the chosen one.

Will he fulfill the promise and deserve the faith? Let us see; let us proceed.

The next principle I think is that of genius, abetted by talent. It is very easy to dream. In one way or another as I have said each of us has his dream. Whether we can fulfill the dream, the extent to which we can fulfill them, determines the quality of leadership. I do not hesitate to attach the word *genius* to this quality. The flair, the vision, the conceptual thought, all are part of genius. You will notice that I also attach the word talent. *Genius* and *talent* are two different attributes. Genius is the quality, the principle; talent is the ability to express the genius and to make the application. I think in this regard particularly of Sun Yat Sen of China whose life-time was partly my life-time. There is a man who certainly was a dreamer and certainly had the quality of a genius in a strange sort of way but had no talent whatever so that he had no means, no technique, to make the dreams come true. He had no ability to work out in practical terms his own hopes. I might say then that genius is art and talent is craft. The difference between art and craft, and the relationship between art and

craft is the difference, the relationship, between genius and talent. The potential leader may have genius, but unless he has the talent for its practical expression, he will fail as a leader, and when he fails the people, those whom he had led will either follow other leadership or they become quite ruthless toward the leader who failed. They will not only reject him, they will put him to death because they cannot forgive him. He has betrayed them, not by intention, but by lack of talent. He has been able to conceive, but not to organize. He has promised but he has not produced. One has only to study the history of revolutions in this world to understand the necessity of talent in leadership as well as genius. Rarely if ever has the first revolutionary leader remained free and alive. Others of little genius but more talent take over.

Mahatma Gandhi of India, in contrast, I think, to Sun Yat Sen, had the same genius but he had also a remarkable talent for its practical application. He was a politician and social craftsman as well as a genius. His dreams were solid, anchored firmly to the needs of his people. His concepts were not only of an Utopia, but also of how to achieve it. He knew his people. He knew what they were able to understand and what they were able to do, and he led them only as fast as they could go—but as fast—and in ways that they understood. How much laughter there was in high places when he talked of salt and of the spinning wheel and of non-violence! But these were the ideas which his people, the simplest of them, could grasp. Salt was a daily need, the spinning wheel gave them a symbolic freedom from the machines of empire, and non-violence was part of their ancient religion. Gandhi would have failed completely had he not used such means. The people understood what to do when he told them, and, therefore, they could take their part in bringing the dream to reality. Through action suited to their understanding they were able to see the dream more clearly. The dream itself would have faded had Gandhi been less skilled as a craftsman in his leadership. Had he talked only of the dream without telling people what to do about it, he would have failed as their leader. He did not fail. He never failed his people, for what he asked of them he first did himself. He practiced what he told them to practice. And all the time he maintained the dream. He knew what he was working for. He never lost

that vision, the end to which all else was the means.

Genius and talent, in the simplest terms that I have tried to express them—and this brings me to the next principle, integrity. There is a difference you know between honesty and integrity. People can be quite honest but not have integrity. Honesty is being honest, and telling the truth to the best of your ability, being fair and so on, but integrity is being honest when no one can know about it. Integrity is honesty carried through the fibres of the being and the whole mind, into thought as well as into action so that the person is complete in honesty. That kind of integrity I put above all else as an essential of leadership. There are, as you know, good and honest persons of the utmost integrity who nevertheless cannot be leaders because they have not the qualities of conceptual thought, which I call vision, and who possess no genius and talent. But genius and talent without integrity are not enough. Integrity is the soul of leadership.

I cannot, however, put one quality above another in this matter of the principles of leadership. They are equally important. Without each the whole cannot be achieved and all must be found in the same person before we have the potential leadership which we need.

What is integrity again? It is loyalty in triplicate—loyalty to the dream, loyalty to one's best self and the best one knows, and loyalty to the people one serves. A clear and simple example of integrity might be Gandhi's visit to England at the height of his career, before his success was assured. He was already successful in his own country but whether his leadership would be recognized abroad was as yet unknown. You will remember that notable visit, how he arrived in London wearing his costume of homespun cotton, and although the weather was grey and chill, his only wrap was his handwoven woollen shawl. He fed on goat's milk, and he slept on a mat. Among the dignified and amply-dressed Englishmen he seemed an odd figure and there was much laughter and many cartoons blossomed on the pages of magazines and newspapers. But Gandhi was unmoved by laughter and criticism. He knew what he was doing. I do not doubt that he had thought out carefully every step of his way, how he would dress, how he would behave. His talent was at work. Of course, he could have worn English formal dress with the best of them, but had he done so, his people would have

doubted him.³ They would have feared that he was yielding to the British in some secret way of which perhaps he might scarcely be aware. He had to identify himself with those whom he served. He would eat no better food, wear no better or different garments from those he and his followers had worn in India. He dramatized millions of Indian peasants in his own small rather insignificant person but he did this not only for the sake of drama. Drama alone would not have served. But I am sure that had he gone to England dressed otherwise we would not have seen the India that he wanted us to see. He did it first I believe for integrity's sake. This is I, he said in effect, and in this man whom you behold, you see millions of other men, my people, of whom I am only one. When the people of India studied his photograph in their newspaper they did not laugh or make fun. You may be sure their devotion swelled to greater heights than even before. This man was their man, he had given himself to them. He did not betray them when he went to rich foreign countries. He walked the handsome streets of London looking exactly as he did on the dusty roads of Indian countryside. They recognized him as theirs, though he was thousands of miles away. He was always the same. They trusted him.

"Truth," Gandhi once said, "is not merely a matter of words. It is really a matter of living the truth."

This trust did not come about in an hour or a year. It took years of relentless integrity before Gandhi was trusted completely by his own people and finally by the world. He won this trust not only by his complete honesty in thought and action, but also by a unique frankness. He bared his private life to his people. He described his own struggles with temptation. He told of his own failures, and how when he failed he began all over again, refusing to be discouraged. He was weak as other men are weak and he fought his weakness. His frankness at times was embarrassing. Some called it exhibitionism, but it was not. He was stripping himself naked, so that his people could see him as he was and seeing him, recognize themselves. And because he had conquered himself, he gave them hope for themselves.

For Gandhi, this integrity meant a self-revelation where there could be nothing secret or hidden in his life and thought. All that he

did was open and before the eyes of others. Even the simple rites of eating and sleeping, the habits of work and communication, were there for all to see. Everybody knew everything about him except, perhaps, in his weekly days of silence, when for one day he shut himself away into himself to commune again with his own dream and renew his own vision. On that day he wanted to hear no human voice, not even his own. For the rest, he belonged to the people and they belonged to him.

There were times, of course, when this complete identification, the result of complete integrity, became somewhat irritating. Gandhi could be so identified with people especially those closest to him that he took part in their most private affairs and gave advice where it was not always wanted or—let us say—appreciated. His people had to become accustomed to his directions—or advice—in personal matters of marriage, or health, habits, or politics, or anything. But I think they forgave him everything because it was love and interest that prompted this help. Nothing was sacred to Gandhi—or rather, everything was sacred, and, therefore, open to his inspection and participation. When his advice was not followed, or when he was opposed he had the annoying habit of immediately punishing himself instead of the other person. There is, of course, no more subtle revenge than the direction of Jesus when he advised his followers to turn the other cheek when struck, a concept, by the way, to be found in Hindu scripture, in a poem which says "To give a drink of water in return for a drink of water is nothing. To do something one must return good for evil."

Any act more disconcerting to the enemy could scarcely be devised than the turning of the cheek. Just what does one do when the other cheek is offered? The most callous conscience must be pricked or at least confused, or even angered by such retort. Come on, the saint says gently, hit me again if you are wicked enough. To hit again is to acknowledge the wickedness and extend it to proof beyond dispute. Also—what is the use of hitting someone who asks to be hit? Gandhi applied the technique by going on a hunger-strike and such was his will power that time and again he continued almost until death. Perhaps he was so completely one with his people that he knew nothing could terrify them more than the loss of him, their leader, and,

always the recalcitrant one, in triumph he sipped his fruit juice and returned to life. There was a great deal of humor in Gandhi and at times a child-like mischief, which his people perfectly understood and enjoyed. It was Sarojini Naidu, I believe, that woman of wit and intelligence, who loved Gandhi with utter devotion, who said one day something to the effect that it cost the people a great deal to maintain Gandhi in his simple poverty. This, I was told, was her comment upon a visit by Gandhi to one of his millionaire friends—and he was not proud for he made friends among millionaires as well as among untouchables—when he insisted upon having the furniture and carpets and decorations removed from a handsom room in the mansion and caused a great deal of trouble so that he could live in his usual poverty and simplicity.

Whatever the humor and the drama of his life and that is a part of a good leader which he frankly enjoyed, the people enjoyed it, too. They laughed at him, they revered him, they trusted him. And in return he never asked them to do what he knew they could not do, if they were inspired—and he could inspire them. He never asked them to do anything ignoble or dishonest or unworthy of the high cause for which he gave his life. And, I repeat, whatever he asked them to do he did first. When he bade them give up untouchability he adopted as his own daughter a girl belonging to the untouchables. When he gave the name of Harijan, or "God's Own," to the Untouchables, he led his people gently toward the green pastures and the still waters of non-segregation. He did not force them beyond their power to perform, but he led them. This is integrity. This is loyalty to the vision. This is loyalty to the highest self. This is loyalty to the highest in people. His own integrity roused in response the integrity of those whom he led. And I assure you this never fails.

Mahatma Gandhi then was a leader who succeeded in bringing about his dream. He fulfilled his vision. Genius and talent combined in him and when he died his revolution was not taken over by lesser men. And there is a very important lesson to be learned from that. It is when the leader fails that lesser men take over, but if the leader does not fail, the revolution is not lost. Instead, men like Prime Minister

Nehru, who were his followers, took up the challenge of his leadership. Theirs has been a different leadership in method, perhaps, and even in talent, but the genius has been the same. They have not departed personally from the principles that Gandhi established. India, therefore, has not suffered the waste and loss that most countries suffer after revolution. Her progress has been steady. And the greatest tribute of all, perhaps, to the success of that leadership is the fact that the British themselves have acknowledged its quality and now all over the world people are beginning to understand the quality of the leadership that has followed Mahatma Gandhi. Gandhi would not allow in himself the luxury of personal enmities. He rebelled steadfastly, of course, against colonialism and lived and died for the freedom of his people. Yet he was warmly friendly toward the individuals who administered that which he wished to put away. Lord and Lady Mountbatten were his personal friends and admirers and the dignity and mutual respect which attended the granting of independence to India was unique in human history. We must attribute this primarily to the noble leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and the manner in which he conducted the long struggle.

And I remind you of that and I remind myself of that, especially at this moment when leadership is developing among the Negroes of the South and in this whole country in fact and leadership for many of us who are not Negroes. I think we should remember that dignity and mutual respect with which Britain yielded India. I would like to have the white people of the South be reminded of this way of yielding which brought honor to England and to all Englishmen, Englishwomen, all Britain. The manner in which they yielded won respect and trust. I wish in this city that some of those who have not yet understood how to yield with honor would remember this great lesson in history. Let us remember it. Perhaps there will be ways in which we can bring it to their attention.

I pause here for a moment. Among these basic principles of leadership which I have tried to describe to you, I considered adding one more, that of fearlessness. Then I decided against it. For fearlessness is the inevitable fruit of the capacity for the dream, accompanied by genius and

practical talent, infused and empowered by integrity. Such a person by consequent nature is inevitably fearless. Certainly Gandhi was fearless of jail, of ridicule, of poverty, of death itself.

It was strangely fitting that Gandhi should have died suddenly one day at the hand of one of his own people. I am sure we often think of the great drama of that death. It usually happens that a man of such stature approaches heights intolerable to certain lost souls. Christ always had his Judas. The dualism of our universe manifests itself in many ways. Gandhi died while he was triumphant in leadership. He did not sicken and weaken as lesser men might do. He simply was sent on his way to what beyond we do not know. How can one imagine immortality? When I think of the word, immortality, I am reminded of the simple explanation I once heard an American mother give to her child. We cannot know what happens to people after they die, she told the child, because we aren't breathing the same air any more. See that dragon fly

yonder, on the lake's edge? Once it was a water creature, living under water. Then one day it felt the necessity of going to the surface of the water. It didn't know why it had to go, but just seemed time to do it. So up it went and, there on the surface, suddenly it found itself changed. It had wings, and it could fly. And it did fly. But it was never able to return again under the water or find the other creatures there, who had not wings yet, and who had to live under the water. And those creatures, I suppose, said to one another, in their way, I wonder where he went, and why we don't see him any more.... They think he is lost, the mother said to the child, but he isn't. He's flying on wings in another world.

So, perhaps, we may say of Mahatma Gandhi, in remembrance. He is flying on wings somewhere in another world.

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TAGORE'S IDEALS OF WOMANHOOD

By USHA BISWAS, M.A., B.T.

As "the old order changeth, yielding place to new," so our old ideas and ideals, too, give place to new ones. It is quite interesting to note how Tagore's ideals of womanhood, though not very new, are perfectly in keeping with those of the modern times. Like all great men of the world he thought ahead of his time, and with the unerring insight of a true seer and a prophet, was able to hit upon the right conception of womanhood for the future world to acclaim. He seems to have had almost a prophetic vision of the things that will take shape in the years to come. His ideals do not smack of rank sentimentality or outworn conventionalism. Those are characterized by the originality of thinking, coupled with the sanity of judgment and breadth of vision. So his observations and utterances do not consist in abstractions or the mere effusions of a poet and a visionary, utterly divorced from truth or reality, but sound strangely prophetic. The trend of the modern civilization will perhaps testify to the truth of his statement that "woman cannot be pushed back for good into the mere region of the decorative by man's aggressiveness of power." Only a few decades back, our civilization which had been pre-eminently masculine in nature, tended to thrust women into the background as non-essentials. This brought about a natural reaction on the part of women, specially those of the West, who clamoured for equal rights and status with their male counterparts. Their sisters, more or less all the world over, followed suit. This restlessness of spirit noticed in the Western women was, in the opinion of Tagore, rather abnormal, and was indicative of their constant hankering after something sensational and out of the ordinary. They seemed to have been thoroughly dissatisfied with their everyday hum-drum existence, and courted "a spurious originality," that would mark them off from the common run of women. They appeared to

be oblivious of their womanliness even, and were inclined to believe that their difference from men was only negligible and unimportant. Tagore regarded this sort of mentality on the part of the Western women as unnatural and unhealthy. According to him, woman should never lose "touch with their own true world," and, as "the mothers of the race," they should "have a real interest in the things that are around them, that are the common things of life." He is of the opinion that under no circumstances can women afford to lose "the bloom of their womanhood," which constitutes "their real power to sustain the human race."

The fact that the biological as well as the psychological functions of men and women are quite different can hardly be ruled out, although the ultra modern woman is apt to think that psychologically she is not much different from men. "If the human world," observes Tagore, "in its mentality becomes exclusively male, then before long it will be reduced to utter inanity. For life finds its truth and beauty, not in any exaggeration of sameness, but in harmony." An almost similar idea finds beautiful expression in the famous lines of Tennyson—

.... "Woman is not undeveloped man,
But diverse: could we make her as
the man,
Sweet Love were slain: his dearest
bond is this,

Not like to like, but like in difference."
If woman's nature were exactly like that of man, it would have given "rise to a monotonous superfluity," detrimental to the harmony of life. So Tagore says that Eve, the first woman, had "the instinctive wisdom to realise that it was her mission to help her mate in creating a paradise of their own on earth, whose ideal she was to supply with her life, whose materials were to be produced and gathered by her

comrade." Had women been psychologically identical with men, sweet happiness of the home would have been destroyed. So there ought to be a bond of comradeship and equal partnership between man and woman in building up their home and society. It is for women to supply the deficiencies or inadequacies of men. Love is the tie that binds her to her home and children. But man "has the liberty to give her the security of home," being the breadwinner and mainstay of the family. Hence arose the inequalities in the social relationship between man and woman, which have been fostered, so far, by circumstances. Again, women are handicapped by some biological and psychological obligations and responsibilities, from which men are altogether free. This inequality of freedom, too, has served to affect their mutual relationships, as also to upset the balance of power between the members of the two sexes. Tagore opines that "all relationships tainted with repression of freedom must become sources of degeneracy to the strong who imposes such repression." This naturally led men to domineer and lord over women, who were relegated to a subordinate or a less important position in the home or society. "Many of the laws and social regulations," observes Tagore, "guiding the relationships of man and woman are relics of a barbaric age, when the brutal pride of an exclusive possession had its dominance in human relations, such as those of parents and children, husbands and wives. . . . The vulgarity of it still persists in the social bond between the sexes because of the economic helplessness of woman. Nothing makes us so stupidly mean as the sense of superiority which the power of the purse confers upon us." The economic dependence of woman upon man has much to do with the unequal relationship between the members of the two sexes. But for ages together women have meekly submitted to this sort of subjection, and have wanted to "turn their disabilities into attractions." From the very beginning of society, they have tried their best to prove themselves to be "artists," instead of "artisans," in building up their homes and society. Attempts have been made by them

to add grace and beauty to the services rendered by them, with little touches of love and sympathy, so as to elevate their "domain of slavery" to the "realm of grace." So they spared no pains to make themselves as well as their homes attractive to men—to captivate the minds of the latter by exercising their personal charms over them, as also by ministering to their physical comforts.

In India, efforts have been made throughout the ages to sanctify the ideals of womanhood by religious customs and traditions, and to uphold the chastity of women above everything else. Marriage being a sacrament not to be violated under any circumstances, whatsoever, the Hindu women of our country naturally looked upon their married life as a sacred vow to be fulfilled. Although Indian women, like other women of the world, had their share of sufferings and sacrifices, they cherished the eternal ideals of love and chastity, enshrined in the epics of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata; Sita and Savitri, the noble women of the epic age serving as their models to copy. They were deeply aware of "the spiritual character of their life's work," and were keenly alive to the dignity of their position in their families as wives and mothers. They regarded their life as a religious responsibility to be discharged. So they thought that all their activities should aim at "establishing and maintaining human relationship," that called for the highest moral qualities. They were, therefore, immune, for a pretty long time, from "the reactions and rebellions" of their Western sisters, who were intolerant of the distinction between their lives and that of men. This sort of discontent points all the more to the fact that there must be something wrong somewhere. The Western women, who turned out to be staunch champions and supporters of the Women's Rights movement, perhaps felt ashamed of their womanliness even, being carried away as they were by their zeal and enthusiasm to fight out their rights. They were inclined to disregard the claims of their homes and the domestic world also.

Tagore says that "the domestic world has been the gift of God to woman," and

that, as such, it should not be discarded by her. "Wherever there is something which is concretely personal and human, there is woman's world. The domestic world is the world where every individual finds his worth as an individual, therefore, his value is not the market value, but the value of love; that is to say, the value that God in His infinite mercy has set upon all His creatures." So woman can hardly shut herself out of this world of love and human relationships. But it does not necessarily mean that "domestic life is the only life for a woman," and that the home is the only sphere of her activity. Now that the outside world has got a much larger claim on her time and attention, her responsibilities are mounting from day to day. Today an educated woman can hardly keep herself confined entirely within the precincts of the home. A far bigger field of work outside the domestic sphere of life is awaiting her. She can radiate her love and sympathy beyond the boundaries of her home, whenever necessary. So the entire "human world" is hers. Woman has been endowed by nature with some passive qualities like chastity, modesty, devotion and power of self sacrifice, which make for the stability of home life. Her function is, therefore, "the passive function of the soil, which not only helps the tree to grow but keeps its growth within limits." It is these passive qualities of her nature that are essential for "the healing, nourishing, and storing of life," and help to tame the wild elements in man's nature so as to bind him to his home and family. Thus she has proved an abiding source of "inspiration to man, guiding, most often unconsciously, his restless energy into an immense variety of creations in literature, art, music, and religion." Our civilization has the need of this passive and creative element too, so that the harmony of its growth may be maintained. So, in India, woman has been regarded as the symbol of Sakti, the creative power.

In our country there have also been attempts to glorify and deify true womanliness, which has been considered to be tantamount to saintliness. Woman has thus been extolled and worshipped as a Devi, an

incarnation of Woman the Divine. To the Indian mind, quite familiar with the idea of the Godhead "in the eternal feminine aspect," the divinity ascribed to woman is not simply a metaphor. On the other hand the bewitching powers of women, as seducers of men, luring them away from the path of piety and devotion have also been decried. The members of the fair sex have thus been shunned, as they have been considered to be so many hindrances and obstacles in the way of one's achieving spiritual aspirations or perfection. But Tagore has always tried to judge a woman's worth in terms of her human values, and to lay stress on her humanity, more than on anything else. His conception of the ideal relationship between man and woman has been summed up in the famous lines of "Chitrangada," which can be translated as follows: "I am Chitrangada—neither a goddess nor an ordinary woman. I am neither to be extolled and worshipped as a goddess, nor am I to be thrust into the background as an insignificant person. If you allow me to be by your side in times of stress and strain in the perilous path of life, and let me share your cares and anxieties, if you permit me to be your helpmate in fulfilling the arduous task of your life and to be your comrade in weal and woe, it is then and then only that you will be able to form a right estimate of my true self." These words of Chitrangada, the wife of Arjun, seem to be echoing the very sentiments of the modern woman claiming her right of comradeship and equal partnership with man. In our country there is a general tendency among the women to merge their identity completely in their wifehood or in the part they are destined to play in their actual life. In many of Tagore's poems, short stories, and novels, the human aspect of woman's life has been brought to the fore. Probably it will not be quite out of place to cite a few instances in this connection, by way of corroboration of my statement. In "Niskriti," a poem of Tagore, Manjulika, a child widow, was made to observe all the strict austerities of widowhood as enjoined by social customs and conventions. At the same time she had to play the part of a devoted daughter

to her father, a widower, who, however, got remarried almost shortly after the death of her dear mother. As soon as she heard of the remarriage of her father, Manjulika ran away with Pulin, a childhood friend of hers, who was very keen on marrying her. This enraged her father very much, who happened to be a very orthodox Hindu as well as a great stickler for the old customs and conventions of society. In a fit of temper the father cursed his widowed daughter, and strongly condemned her action. In "Strir Patra," a short story, Tagore has shown how the husband and his family absorbs all the time and energy of a married woman, so much so that she has to forget altogether that she has got a separate entity of her own, other than that of being the wife of her husband. The idea underlying "Mukti," another poem of his, is that a housewife, who has been simply reduced to the position of a mere domestic drudge, so to say, being tied to the wheel of her daily round of household duties, experiences a thrill of exquisite joy, when she discovers herself, for the first time, as a free being—a woman entitled to enjoy the beauty of her surroundings. In "Jogajog," his famous novel, Kumu's (Kumudini's) mind revolted at the very idea of her individuality being totally overshadowed by that of her domineering husband, Madhusudan. More often than not, the women of our country are denied the right of self-determination. In matrimonial matters they are seldom allowed to pick and choose or to carve out their own path of life. A few lines of Tagore's famous poem entitled "Sabala" may be translated thus—'Why don't you, O Providence, let woman have the right to conquer her own destiny? Why shall I keep awake by the roadside, awaiting the chance fulfilment of my desire, utterly exhausted and my patience taxed to its utmost limits—looking listlessly? Why shan't I choose my own path of life, leading to its fulfilment'?

In the opinion of Tagore, the principles of natural selection and adaptation to

environment are equally applicable to the animal world as well as to the human world. In the latter world, in pre-historic times some of the species, such as the great monsters like the Mammoths and Dinosaurs, have died out and have become extinct altogether, having been replaced by weaker creatures of less dimensions, who took up much smaller space for their bodies to move about. The poet concludes by analogy that "in the future civilization, also, the women, the feebler creatures—feebler at least in their outer aspects—who are less muscular, and who have been behind-hand, always left under the shadow of those huge creatures, the men,—they will have their place, and those bigger creatures will have to give way." History will bear out the correctness of his prediction that women cannot remain for ever under the tutelage of men. They are now seeking to achieve their own economic independence by taking up outside jobs, as also by encroaching upon men's other fields of activities. "Women's home may have been shattered," but her womanliness must not be killed by any means. "She must restore the lost social balance by putting the full weight of the woman into the creation of the human world." She must contribute her share to the new human civilization that is yet to emerge out of the wreckage of the old. Strangely enough, Tagore anticipated that "the next civilization, it is hoped, will be based not merely upon economical and political competition and exploitation, but upon world-wide social co-operation; upon spiritual ideals of reciprocity, and not upon economic ideals of efficiency. And then women will have their true place." Today the world seems to be drifting towards this state of things. Co-operation and not competition seems to be the key-note of the future international relationship. At the present moment such is the case with the relationship between man and woman too. Today women are working, shoulder to shoulder, with men in the present struggle for existence.

THE ROLE OF EDUCATION IN EFFECTING NATIONAL INTEGRATION

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RECENT events in India have shown that there are many fissiparous tendencies at work in our national life which must be checked, diverted to socially useful channels or sublimated in the interest of national integration. These disruptive forces have always worked to the detriment of our national unity in the past and have kept us separate though they were less evident before independence because they had not broken out into explosive acts of violence in the form of language riots, as they are doing now owing to the presence of certain factors in the Indian scene.

Linguism or an aggressive form of language-awareness or what may be called "linguistic nationalism" has raised its ugly head in certain linguistic states, which are about to undertake legislation with a view to declaring the regional language, spoken of by the majority, as the medium of administration, without giving due consideration to minority claims. This aggressive form of language-awareness which India has been experiencing today, is a by-product of our struggle for freedom during the British rule. The leaders of the freedom movement demanded the reorganisation of provinces, created by the British for administrative convenience only, on the basis of linguistic homogeneity. This was about this time President Woodrow Wilson's doctrine of self-determination for reorganisation of States in Europe after the First World War gave birth to new national and linguistic states (such as Finland, Poland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, etc.), out of the ashes of Poly-national States. Just as in Europe the sentiment of nationalism acquired a new meaning as it became coeval with the desire for self-government in independent nation-states, so in India also the Congress Party began to press the British for regrouping of provinces on a linguistic basis. The idea was that, if States could be thus regrouped, people speaking one language could get the opportunity of perfecting its own system of law, civilisation and culture so as to be able to contribute its best to enrich the total stock of Indian cultural heritage. Imbued with this idea of nationalism, the people of Bengal stoutly resisted the partition of Bengal (a single linguistic area) during Lord Curzon's regime. Its advocates contended that if individual liberty was conceded in a democratic set-up for the fullest

development of all that was good in the individual, surely there was no reason why the liberty of the nation to self-expression, self-determination and self-development, should not be considered as its inherent right.

After independence Andhra was the first State to be reorganised on language basis only after the death of Shri Ramulu, who faced death on this issue to force the hands of the government. The formation of 14 newly-formed states and 6 centrally administered ones on 1st November, 1956, on the basis of the recommendations of S. R. Commission was hailed as an event of great national importance, which the President described as the natural outcome of the process of integration and consolidation. But in actual effect this step only "tended to blur, if not obliterate, the feeling of national unity by the *emphasis it placed on local culture*, language and history". It strengthened the barriers between the States. For the first time in the history of India it sought to convert cultural frontiers into political frontiers. The regional universities also made the regional languages media of higher education in place of English, thereby developing regional exclusiveness and inter-state unintelligibility.

It is also meant less social and spatial mobility among all sections of society throughout the states, and tended to exalt the regional idea at the expense of national unity. Thus rank and unabashed separatism, based on regional languages, complicated by the economic issue of domination of the state language group over minor ones and consequential social disparities between them now began to express itself in a violent form of group prejudices and conflicts in Assam riots, resistance to Hindi in Southern States, West Bengal, Assam and Orissa, irrational prejudices against Urdu (a purely Indian language with a highly developed literature) in U.P., Bihar, etc., prejudice against Bengali in Bihar, Orissa, etc. All these outbursts of irrational prejudices go to prove that we have yet to learn the values of rationality, tolerance, fair play, etc., essential to maintain a cohesive society.

It is a fact that India has never been a united nation in the long course of her chequered history in spite of whatever some of the finest minds of her people may maintain that behind

the diversities of race, language, classes, castes, religions, different degrees of cultural development, customs, food-habits and institutions in different parts of the country, there has always been a sense of fundamental unity in diversity which has given us a general feeling of Indian-ness transcending all these apparent differences and distinctions. Marshal Stalin has pointed out that, of the five essential requirements that constitute a "nation", viz., territorial integrity, economic life, historical and cultural continuity, language and psychological make-up; the absence of anyone will prevent the growth of a nation. If this view be accepted, one has to admit our *multinational status* because of the presence of many languages which have always operated as the most intractable barrier to the fusion of the people into a homogeneous nation.

Yet the fact of the fundamental unity of India is more than apparent in the long cultural background and the common outlook on life arising out of a mixture of popular philosophy, tradition, history, myth and legend, etc. Thus, although on the surface there may be a good deal of difference among the different nationalities in India, there is no doubt that they will react similarly to similar problems because they have inherited a common cultural heritage. The essence of Indian culture and civilisation is the principle of "*unity in diversity*" which may be called in modern political phraseology as the "Principle of Federalism," giving the greatest latitude for development as between classes, communities and regions. In ancient and mediaeval India this principle worked well in practice because in those days cultural bonds had far more importance than now. But in the present condition of things the risks of fragmentation are greater in a linguistic state unless determined attempt is made to indoctrinate the Indian people with basic and fundamental unities of the country and strengthen them *on a intellectual level* through the education of young persons passing through the nation's schools, colleges and universities. A sense of fundamental unity on the cultural plane, based on emotion alone, cannot any longer stand the test of time in the present age unless our attempt at emotional integration is founded on the solid bedrock of *intellectual apprehension of our cultural heritage by the nation's youth*.

We have already seen how linguistic nationalism as a great cohesive factor, does unite,

elevate, develop, seek to preserve and promote all that is best in a nation. We have also seen how under such conditions of perfect freedom of development each state may be in a position to contribute its quota to the common stock of our cultural heritage. *But this is not the whole story*, for while linguism attracts to itself *like* groups, speaking the same language, it *repels groups that are unlike*. It evokes a separatist tendency towards isolation. It sometimes reveals itself in a kind of parochial patriotism. It evinces a tendency to a kind of imperialistic domination over other language groups, whose language is not recognised as the state language. It attaches an exaggerated importance to local culture, language, institution, history and language at the expense of national unity. Besides, this kind of nationalism on language basis, is no longer an adequate force in the modern world. Again, it has to be considered that if a state is organised on language basis, it may soon develop into a multi-lingual state when another demand will come from minor language groups for further reorganisation according to the language formula, leading to unending balkanisation of India.

In contemporary history, we see many multi-lingual nation-states like Switzerland, Canada, the Soviet Republic, Yugoslavia, etc., which consist of many communities speaking different languages and professing different religions but in spite of these diversities, they are proud of their national unity because they have effected complete psychological integration, i.e., a feeling of belonging to one nation having a common cultural heritage through their universities, colleges and schools. As against this, our regional universities do not pay any attention to the language or culture of different language-groups in the country. This is in startling contrast to the position that modern European languages occupy in different universities in Europe even though these universities do not belong to one nation-state.

Although in the *political field* the Government of India have taken steps to check disruptive tendencies, e.g., the framers of the Indian Constitution have sought to create a strong centre in a federal structure by including in it many features that go to make the Constitution unitary in character and by introducing Hindi as a common language to be used as the medium of inter-communication, much remains to be done

in the *intellectual field* through the educational system. The idea of a single state language for a multi-lingual country, like India, has always smacked of a kind of imperialistic domination. The Moghals tried Urdu for the same purpose, but it never became the language of the people. There should, therefore, be no insistence on one language only, *i.e.*, Hindi, as the common language for all the States of India especially in this transition stage when Hindi is not sufficiently developed but English should continue as such. Likewise, the linguistic states should not be dominated by a single language within their regional boundaries because it is spoken by the majority, but, as far as conditions permit, languages of important minorities should co-exist with it.

Universities and Colleges under them should play a pivotal role, acting as a kind of "Catalytic Agent for the syntheses of cultures on an intellectual basis" so as to evolve in the minds of our potential leaders a common consciousness of oneness—a sense of belonging to the cultural heritage of the race, derived from different elements in our national life. *Universities* can also help by forming Associations which cut across the barriers of language, religion and community through such means as Inter-University Debates, Youth Festivals, Competitive Games, Seminars, Comparative study of the Languages and Culture of other regions, Teacher and Student exchanges, Inter-University staff appointments, Inter-State travel, etc. Every university must consider itself at its post-graduate and research level as a *national* rather than a *regional* institution, through which the leaders of the nation merge. It is necessary for different universities to establish Departments of modern Indian languages as far as practicable and to provide for research in the same so as to establish common origins and current identities and to embark on translation schemes of the best text-books in their own regional languages, besides *three common scripts*, one each, for (1) Indo-Aryan group, (2) Telugu and Kannada group, and (3) Malayalam and Tamil groups of languages. All these steps will promote entry into each university of selected groups of students from other regions and language groups in the country and also ensure teacher-exchanges. Schools, both at primary and secondary level, can also play their part in effecting the *emotional unification of India*.

In the *Junior Basic Stage* (6 to 11) the following items should be stressed in the curriculum.

- (a) Folk-tales collected from all regions of India embodying different ways of life and thought in India;
- (b) biographies of heroes from each region and also founders of religions, religious leaders with interesting episodes in their life, together with simple accounts of all religions (common fundamental principles);
- (c) simple human geography of each region;
- (d) simple accounts of the heritage of each region in arts, architecture, sculpture, painting, literature, dance and drama;
- (e) simple accounts of the social life of the people of each region and the progress achieved since independence;
- (f) a simple account of the cultural heritage of India in each walk of life, viz., flora and fauna, shrines, pilgrimages, historical monuments, beauty spots, industries, fine arts, etc.

In the *Secondary Stage* also more detailed accounts of the above may be given besides the following:

- (1) accounts of scientific and industrial developments in India (past and present) in the context of world developments and containing our own contributions in this behalf;
- (2) a book on Indian Culture containing a study of regional *differences*, divisions and diversities of Indian life (*e.g.*, of classes, religions, castes, races, habits, ways of life, customs, dress, etc.) and also *similarities* (*e.g.*, in outlook, cultural background, popular philosophy, tradition, myth, legend, history, values of life, etc.) may be introduced;
- (3) a reorientation of the teaching of Indian history with a view to fostering the idea of national unity may be made.
- (4) best books on different languages of India should be translated into the regional languages for rapid reading;
- (5) a social history of the Indian people may be introduced. Denominational institutions should have no place in a secular democracy. All college, school and university hostels should be run on

an entirely non-community, non-caste and non-communal basis for obvious reasons. If students belonging to different groups, regions, communities and castes reside together and are thrown into social relationship with one another, many of the prejudices, now preventing free communication between them, can be overcome. Lastly, during the transition period the medium of higher education at the University stage should be *English* which has played a significant

role so long, but those regional languages, which are sufficiently developed and fit to be used as such, may also be used as media when conditions permit side by side with English.*

* Inaugural address by the Principal at the first meeting of the Lahiri College Association held on Saturday, the 2nd September, 1961, presided over by Shri B. M. Lahiri, President of the College Governing Body.

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PROBLEMS OF INDIAN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

By E. F. SCHUMACHER,

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WITHOUT any pretension of statistical accuracy let us think of India as divided into two parts: a small number of 'metropolitan areas' inhabited by about 15 per cent. of the population, and the great 'rural economy' or 'rump economy', including more than half a million villages and thousands of towns of various sizes, containing about 85 per cent. of the population. I suggest that it is the inter-action of these two parts, their action upon one another that requires most careful study.

There appears to be evidence that each part is poisoning the other. The advanced industries in the metropolitan areas are tending to kill off all non-agricultural production in the 'rump economy', while a flight from the land into the metropolitan areas creates quite unmanageable problems in these areas which no feasible amount of industrialization seems capable of mastering.

It may be suggested, therefore, that the primary purpose of national economic planning should be the inhibition of this process of mutual poisoning. This means that:

the progressive destruction of non-agricultural production in the rump economy, through irresistible competition from the metropolitan areas, must be stopped and must be replaced by a systematic development of non-agricultural production throughout the rump economy.

CAUSE OF DEEPENING POVERTY

It is not sufficient to aim merely at a development of agriculture. The deepening poverty of the rump-economy, containing 85 per cent. of the population, is primarily due, I suggest, to the progressive destruction of non-agricultural production, the decadence of agriculture itself being the inevitable result of the cultural starvation due to this destruction. Agriculture alone cannot sustain a fully human life; it thrives only when in contact with industrial crafts of all kinds and when vivified through cultural influences coming from thriving towns nearby.

Modern industry tends to congregate in the metropolitan areas: Nothing succeeds like success; the more industry there is already, the easier it is to start new enterprises. This tendency is noticeable all over the world. In England, there is a tendency for London to attract all industries not strictly tied to a special location and to grow into a vast conurbation with a diameter exceeding a hundred miles. The United States is tending to develop three enormous centres, for which they have coined the word megalopolis, one along the Eastern seaboard from Washington to Boston, one around Chicago, and the third centred on Los Angeles. In Mexico, the planners seem to have woken up to the fact that most of the 'development' automatically takes place in and around

Mexico city, while most of the non-agricultural production in the rest of the country is dying off. Such developments are grave burdens to rich countries; but they spell utter misery for millions of people in poor countries.

It must be clearly understood that agriculture alone can produce a decent standard of living for a sizeable community only in very special circumstances: (a) agricultural output per person must be very high, which is rarely attainable unless the ratio of land to people is exceptionally high; (b) in addition, there must be a large market for agricultural products in the cities, so that the farmer can cover all his non-agricultural consumer needs by exchanging his food surpluses for town-produced goods and services. But this presupposes that the rural population is small in relation to the town population, as it is in Britain, United States, or Germany, or else that there is a large food export trade. As these conditions are rarely given, the general rule is that rural communities can be prosperous only when they engage in a great deal of non-agricultural production, so that most of their consumer's needs can be covered without having to exchange food surpluses with the towns.

Applying these notions to India it is abundantly clear that :

there is no hope of even a remotely tolerable standard of living for about 85 per cent of India's population unless there is a great development of non-agricultural production outside the metropolitan areas, throughout the length and breadth of the rump economy.

This is so because (a) Indian agriculture does not show a high productivity per head and is unlikely ever to attain it, as the ratio of land to people is highly unfavourable; (b) the proportion of rural to town population is such that, even if each farmer could produce a large food surplus for exchange against town goods and services, the market in the towns would not be large enough to accommodate all the farmers.

THE DEADLY DANGER

Rapid industrial development in the metropolitan areas, although giving the appearance of achieving welcome increases in the 'national income', is a deadly danger to the well-being of 85 per cent of India's population as it almost inevitably leads to a further extinction of non-

agricultural production in the rump economy. The danger is all the greater because the metropolitan areas are connected with the whole of India by means of a modern transport system, so that the 'natural protection' possessed by distant rural communities or minor towns is exceedingly small.

The Third Five-Year Plan shows no real awareness of the problems here discussed. There is some lip-service to "balanced regional growth" and it is even proposed to set up "about 300 new industrial estates of varying sizes during the Third Plan Period and to locate them as far as possible in small and medium-sized towns." But the general tendency of the plan can only be a further intensification of development in the metropolitan areas and hence, a further desolation of the rump economy. The plan is conceived in terms of industries, leaving location more or less to the pull of (so-called) natural forces. What India would need, however, is a plan conceived primarily in terms of location, leaving the choice of industry more or less to local initiative and requirements.

Before we can come to even the roughest outline of such a plan, we have to come to a view on the size of the planning unit. The Third Plan, in a sense, takes the whole of India as the unit, determining what "India" is supposed to need (this is the same as saying that it leaves location more or less to itself). An alternative proposal is to take the "village" as the planning unit and to think of "India" as a great confederation of villages. (It appears that those who plead for village development are, in fact, thinking, not of individual villages, but of "development blocs" with about 50,000 inhabitants each). I am not convinced that either of these conceptions is realistic. "India" is altogether too big, while the "village" (however defined) is too small. I think the criterion for the choice of size must be a cultural, not an economic one; for, the ultimate purpose of economic development is culture (in the comprehensive sense) and not mere economics. The unit to be made the direct object of development effort should be large enough, I suggest, to sustain an institution of higher learning. The village is too small for the development of a fully human life; it needs to be linked to and inspired by, a market town. But even the market town gives insufficient scope and needs to be linked to, and inspired by, a district centre. The village can support a primary school; the market town a secondary (or grammar) school; but the

district centre can support an institution of higher learning, without which a vigorous intellectual life at the two lower levels cannot be sustained for long. It cannot be emphasized too strongly that the problem of agricultural poverty and rural misery is essentially and primarily a cultural problem. Those who talk simply in terms of agricultural implements, fertilizers and so forth are missing the decisive point: if Indian agriculture were as good as it might be by its own best methods—never mind about modern techniques imported from the West—it would be very much more productive than it is now. Why is it not? This is a problem of cultural decline and intellectual starvation; the undoubted capital starvation is itself a derived phenomenon.

THE PROPER PLANNING UNIT

These considerations lead me to the suggestion that the proper planning unit for India would be a "district" with something like one to two million inhabitants, consisting of a thousand or so villages, a number of market towns, and a fairly substantial district centre or capital. This means, ideally speaking, that India would be seen mainly as the sum-total and confederation of some 200 to 300 such districts. Each district would be made the object of economic development with the immediate aim to become as self-supporting as possible in all the main fields of consumer needs—food, clothing, housing, implements, and education (up to something like technical college-level). This implies that the authorities of each district will have to be the principal authors and executors of their own development plans; they will have to base themselves on local materials and local methods, planning to meet local needs.

ROLE OF GOVERNMENTS

What would be the role of the Central Government and of the State Governments? I think their role should be mainly to give certain initial impulses and to offer technical assistance. The Central Government should give the maximum of financial assistance from central funds, but with the minimum of "strings attached". If loan funds are made available from the Centre, interest and

amortisation payments should not flow back to the Centre but accumulate as "counterpart funds", available as a revolving fund for further use, in the district centre.

As a corollary of the fostering of district development, the Central Government should consciously and deliberately curtail and impede the development of further industry in the metropolitan areas. This could perhaps best be done by the imposition of substantial turn-over taxes in these areas as well as transportation taxes for all goods sent from metropolitan areas into the districts to compete with local products there. The proceeds of these taxes should be used primarily for district development.

If planning is on a district basis and if its primary aim is to meet the basic needs of the district from local resources by local methods, there will be little temptation to go for giant factories employing machinery of Western origin. Hence, Indian import needs could be kept low enough to be covered by exports. Generally speaking, the aggregation of district development plans should not give rise to a foreign exchange deficit for India as a whole and their implementation should, therefore, not depend on India receiving substantial aid from abroad. (Aid may none-the-less be needed to complete a number of projects already started under earlier plans.) It is my own personal opinion that:

a country that makes development plans which utterly depend on the receipt of substantial foreign aid is doing such damage to the spirit of self-respect and self-reliance of its people that, even in the narrowest economic terms, its loss is greater than its gain.

It seems to me essential, therefore, that development plans should be capable of going forward without aid of any kind (excepting only "aid through trade") and that any aid which is none-the-less received should merely serve to speed up and fulfil the adopted plan.

The above is not more than a very rough and preliminary outline of a basic conception. It is not a plan, and a good deal of detailed work would be needed to turn it into a plan.—(S.P.S.)

FOOD-GRAINS PRODUCTION IN OUR PLANS

By G. N. MISHRA, M.A.

INCREASED food production is of vital importance to our country in view of current short supply and fast growing population. The total population in India (excluding areas now falling in Pakistan) steadily increased from 24.82 crores in 1921 to 35.69 crores in 1951. During the same period, the supply of foodgrains did not increase much, resulting in lower standard of living. A sample survey conducted during 1952-54 by the Registrar-General revealed that the actual rate of natural increase of population (i.e., annual excess of deaths over births) in our country was 1.5 per cent. However, some experts visualised a faster growth in population during 1956-61, due to further fall in mortality and according to their estimate the crude death rate during this period may be lower by about 5 per thousand than what it was during 1951-56. Estimated mid-year population, as obtained from the office of Registrar-General, shows that it has increased from 377.1 millions in 1954 to 392.4 millions in 1957.

Of the total cropped area (317 million acres) in our country, food crops account for 80 per cent, commercial crops 18.9 per cent, and plantation crops and spices 1.1 per cent. A study of data relating to the period 1907-1947, (undertaken by the Planning Commission) revealed that the net area shown did not increase appreciably during the period under study.

The table below shows the area under foodgrains during 1949-50 to 1958-59 :

Year	Area (in '000 acres)
1949-50	2,45,330
1950-51	2,40,489
1951-52	2,39,599
1952-53	2,52,269
1953-54	2,69,509
1954-55	2,67,325
1955-56	2,71,146
1956-57	2,73,588
1957-58	2,68,611
1958-59	2,78,603

(Source : Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Ministry of Food & Agriculture).

It will be observed from the above table that the area under foodgrains have not changed substantially during the First and Second Plan periods.

The table, below, shows the yield of food crops in India during 1951-52 to 1957-58 :

Crops	Yield of food crops (in '000 tons)						
	1951-52	1952-53	1953-54	1954-55	1955-56	1956-57	1957-58
Rice	20,964	22,537	27,769	24,821	27,123	28,282	24,885
Jowar	5,981	7,243	7,954	9,056	6,169	7,249	8,246
Bajra	2,309	3,142	4,475	3,463	3,374	2,885	3,552
Maize	2,043	2,825	2,991	2,928	2,561	3,009	3,036
Ragi	1,291	1,316	1,846	1,627	1,817	1,715	1,665
Small Millets	1,885	1,895	2,438	2,455	2,037	1,964	1,671
Wheat	6,085	7,382	7,890	8,900	8,662	9,314	7,741
Barley	2,330	2,882	2,905	2,933	2,771	2,827	2,238
Gram	3,334	4,142	4,756	5,532	5,332	6,264	4,979
Gur	1,801	1,675	1,834	1,692	1,832	1,954	1,412
Other Pulses	3,152	8,227	3,860	3,553	3,707	3,285	3,116
Total	51,175*	58,266	68,718	66,960	65,794	68,748	62,511

(Source : Directorate of Economics & Statistics, Ministry of Food & Agriculture).

A glance at the above table will reveal that although the per acre yield of Rice, Jowar and Bajra has slightly gone up there has been no marked improvement in the case of other food-grains during the period under study.

Agriculture in India has been a gamble in rains. Since the launching of the First Five-Year Plan, the scarcity conditions appeared in a number of States. During 1953-54, parts of Andhra Pradesh, Bombay, Madhya Pradesh, Madras and Rajasthan were affected by scarcity, parts of Eastern U.P., North Bihar and West Bengal were visited by floods causing severe damage to food-crops and parts of Orissa and South Bihar were hard-hit due to irregular and deficient rainfall. During the First and Second Plan periods, the food production in different parts of the country have fluctuated owing to floods or drought.

Although the Grow More Food campaign was started earlier, it received a fresh and decisive impetus in post-independence period in terms of achieving self-sufficiency by March, 1952. Based on the existing level of consumption, the deficit to be made by the end of March, 1952, was estimated at 4.8 million tons over the level of production in 1947-48. The expenditure incurred by the Government of India on Grow More Food campaign increased from Rs. 3.66 crores in 1948-49 to Rs. 9.76 crores in 1949-50 and Rs. 15.44 crores in 1950-51. Measures taken for achieving targets were minor irrigation works, land reclamation and the supply of fertilisers, manures and improved seeds. The experiment was started and efforts were concentrated in compact areas called "intensive cultivation areas," which had assured water supply and fertile soil. But the G.M.F. campaign failed to arouse public enthusiasm. Consequently, the Grow More Food Enquiry Committee was set up by the Government of India in February, 1952, in order to examine the working of Grow More Food campaign. The Committee submitted its report in June, 1952, which pointed out that the G.M.F. campaign had failed to achieve the desired result. In the opinion of the Committee, 'the problem of food production was much wider than the mere elimination of food imports. It is the bringing about of a large expansion of agricultural production that will ensure to an increasing population progressively rising levels of nutrition. Agricultural improvement is an integral part of a much wider problem of raising

the level of rural life.' With this end in view, the Committee recommended: (i) the setting up of a country-wide extension service organisation, (ii) the acceleration of minor irrigation programmes, and (iii) the provision of adequate rural credit.

The above suggestions were incorporated in agricultural development schemes framed under the First Five-Year Plan and a target of 7.6 million tons, of additional foodgrains was fixed to be attained by 1955-56. As estimated by the Planning Commission, the production of cereals during 1949-50, was 45.13 million tons. The Planning Commission anticipated a rise in population from 353 millions in 1950 to 378 millions in 1956. It was estimated that with the consumption of 13.71 ounces of food per adult per day, the food requirement in 1956 would be 51.82 million tons. If the consumption was increased to 14 ounces per adult per day, the additional food requirement in 1956 was set at 7.6 million tons.

In order to achieve this target, steps were taken to introduce scientific agriculture by supplying approved seeds, fertilisers, organic and green manures and better implements to the tillers of the soil. Consequently, the total planned expenditure on agriculture between 1951 and 1956, was Rs. 354 crores. This excludes the cost of irrigation. As a result of planned expenditure, the production of cereals in 1955-56, amounted to 54.9 million tons, i.e., about 2 million tons in excess to plan targets.

The Second Five-Year Plan aimed at increasing the food production by 15.5 million tons over the 1955-56 level in order to increase the intake of calories to 2450 as against the existing level of 2200 calories. Scheme-wise target or additional foodgrains in Second Plan is as follows :

Scheme	Additional Production	
	Million tons	Per cent.
1. Major irrigation	3.02	19.5
2. Minor irrigation	1.89	12.2
3. Fertilisers and Manures	3.77	24.3
4. Improved Seeds	3.42	22.0
5. Land Reclamation and Development	0.94	6.1
6. Improved Agricultural Practices	2.47	15.9
Total	15.51	100.0

(Source : Second Five-Year Plan.)

It will appear from the above table that the major and minor irrigation will account for 31.7 per cent of the targets of additional foodgrains, followed by fertilisers and manures (24.3) and improved agricultural practices (15.9).

The table, below, gives the progress of foodgrains production during the First and Second Plans :

Commodity	1949-50	1950-51	1955-56	1956-57	1957-58	1958-59
Rice	23.7	20.9	27.1	28.6	24.9	30.4
Wheat	6.6	6.6	8.6	9.3	7.7	9.7
All Cereals	48.4	43.7	54.9	57.4	53.0	61.3
Pulses	9.2	8.5	10.9	11.4	9.5	12.2
Foodgrains (Cereals & Pulses)	57.6	52.2	65.8	68.8	62.5	73.5

(Source : Third Five-Year Plan—A Draft Outline)

In context of projected trends of demand for food, the target laid down in the Second Plan for the foodgrains was 81 million tons. At the meeting of the National Development Council held in May, 1956, some were of opinion—that food-

grains target was set at an unduly low level. Even then, the country has not achieved this moderate increase in food production through her planned effort, as the food production likely to be achieved in 1960-61, is only 75 million tons.

The food situation causes bitter disillusionment in 1957, when the rise in prices was witnessed despite higher production. The Government of India appointed a Foodgrains Enquiry Committee in June, 1957, to examine the rising trends of food prices and assess the likely trends in demand and availability of foodgrains over the next few years. The Committee submitted its report in November, 1957. According to the assessment made by the Committee "a large part of the rise in the general level of prices may be ascribed to a general increase in demand resulting from the increase in investment expenditure on public and private account accompanied by deficit financing and credit expansion. The demands for foodgrains during the First and Second Plan periods increased due to steady increase in purchasing power of the people, shift in the distribution of national income in favour of lower income brackets and the high income elasticity of demand for foodgrains of the bulk of Indian population who live on the marginal level."

It is evident that our attempt to achieve self-sufficiency in foodgrains has failed so far and India has imported 35,000,000 tons of foodgrains worth Rs. 17,000,000,000 between January, 1948, and May, 1960. During these years, our limited foreign exchange resources, which could have been spared for procuring necessary equipments for rapid industrialisation of the country, have been utilised for importing the foodgrains. It is really a very serious situation. An Agricultural Expert's team sponsored by the Ford Foundation, went on a tour of various States with a view to make a thorough study of all aspects of our agriculture and submitted its report in early 1959. An immediate and drastic increase in food production was considered by the team as India's primary problem of the next seven years. It further observed, "If India's food production increased no faster than at the present rate, the gap between supplies and target would be 28 million tons by 1965-66." The Expert's team recommended a rise of 8.2 per cent per year in food production for the next five years as compared with an annual average rate of increase of 2.3 per cent from 1949-50 to 1958-59, and an

average rate of increase of 3.2 per cent from 1952-53 to 1958-59 in order to feed a population of 480 millions by 1966.

It is true that agriculture was not given its due place in the Second Five-Year Plan on the presumption that the country had made rapid stride in food production. During the First Plan period, there had been substantial increase in total production of foodgrains mainly due to favourable weather. Consequently, in Second Five-Year Plan, the development expenditure on agriculture has been comparatively less due to more concentration on rapid industrialisation. Agricultural production has suffered a set-back mainly due to this inadequate allocation of funds. Today, towards the close of the Second Plan, it is felt that the food problem is as baffling as it ever was.

The Draft Third Five-Year Plan has, therefore, given agriculture the highest priority. It has been realised that rapid industrialisation is not possible without achieving self-sufficiency in food.

Moreover, it is generally agreed that the foodgrains occupy a pivotal place in the price-structure of a predominantly agricultural country

and if the price-structure has to be safeguarded, "the prices of foodgrains must be held stable at the levels within the reach of the poorer sections of the community. Even a moderate shortfall in the supply of foodgrains is likely under the Indian conditions to raise their prices more than proportionately, and a rise in cost of living and in all production costs all round""*

Thus the advancement of agriculture which is of exceptional importance for the production of food holds a key to rapid economic advancement of the country. With this end in view, the stress is being laid on maximum rate of agricultural development. During the Third Plan Period, the foodgrains production is proposed to be stepped up by 33 to 40 per cent. Success in this direction will mainly depend on the distribution of improved seeds, timely supply of chemical fertilisers, systematic use of irrigation water, fuller utilisation of man-power resources, organisation of maximum local efforts and re-organisation of village economy along co-operative lines.

*First Five-Year Plan—Planning Commission

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RELIGION OF MAHATMA GANDHI

By Prof. SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI

"Among saints he is a statesman, among statesmen a saint. Mr. Gandhi's greatest asset is his warm humanity."—R. G. Casey —**An Australian in India**, P. 61.

Mahatma Gandhi was born a Hindu. He died in the faith of his forbears. But he was a Hindu with a difference. He was an embodiment of some of the finest qualities of Hinduism. He has been called a saint by some. Others object. We may not know what a saint exactly is. But if sanity of thought, integrity of character, honesty of purpose, a spirit of dedication, liberality of views and catholicity of outlook are among the attributes of sainthood, even his worst detractors cannot possibly grudge him the appellation.

The essentials of Hinduism, according to Gandhiji, were :

(i) belief in the Vedas, the Upanishadas the Puranas and the entire range of vast literature known as the Hindu scriptures (ii) belief in 'Avataras' or Incarnations of God ; (iii) belief in re-birth ; (iv) belief in 'Varna' and 'Ashrama'; (v) belief in cow-protection; and (vi) belief in image-worship.¹

Hinduism claims no monopoly of truth or knowledge. It does not reject the truth in other religions. A true Hindu is never dogmatic. He is not expected to believe certain things to the exclusion of all others. He knows that one as Truth is, its names and manifestations are many.² As a re-

sult, the Hindu is never dogmatic or fanatical. "Live and let live", which implies respect for others, has all along characterised the Hindu philosophy of life. It is why Hinduism does not encourage proselytization. Pages of human history are blackened by records of Christian Crusades and Muslim 'Jehads'. But recorded history has no knowledge of any holy war, in the Muslim or Christian sense a war for the wholesale conversion or extermination of the followers of other faiths—fought by the Hindus. Disparaging the religions of others for extolling one's own was specifically prohibited by Ashoka Maurya in the 3rd Century B.C. Mahatma Gandhi's whole life was a living commentary on the sublime principle of "Live and let live."

It may be stated here that at the cost of a little digression religious toleration is not a monopoly of Hinduism. Islam and Christianity also speak of toleration. Christ considered "doers of good to be with Him even though they were not among His followers,"³ Many of the utterances of Mohammed also breathe a spirit of toleration. "Let there be no compulsion in religion," he exhorted.⁴ He says elsewhere, "Verily, those who believe (the Moslems), and those who are Jews, Christians, whoever hath faith in God and the last day (the Day of Judgment), and worketh that which is right and good,—for them shall be the reward with their Lord; there will come no fear on them; neither shall they be grieved."⁵

That Mohammedans and Christians have ignored the message of their respective religions is no fault of the founders thereof. Had they practised the toleration preached by Mohammed and Christ, humanity might have been spared the horrors of the Inquisition, the Thirty Years' War, the Crusades and the 'Jehads'. The cause of this deviation from the course prescribed by Mohammed and Christ is not far to seek. Islam and Christianity, judged by contemporary conditions in the countries of their origin, were revolutionary in character. As in all revolutions, the first stage in their growth was marked by "the triumph of reason, of the spirit of

criticism, the fight against prejudices and so on."⁶ But then deterioration set in and religion became the handmaidens of the Devil. It has been rightly said—perhaps by Renan—that when the Fate cannot ruin a great man, it sends him disciples. These latter, we may add, twist, distort and mutilate beyond recognition what the former stood and fought for.

To come back to the point. Gandhiji respected the religions of others as much as he respected his own. What is more, he was intensely human in spirit and his was, in fact, a religion of toleration and humanism, which Hinduism in the last analysis is. He believed that one should not close his eyes to the sorrows and sufferings of fellow-beings, that one must rather work for the uplift of the down-trodden. This attitude is in fact vedantic in origin and inspiration. We might call it practical 'Vedanta', taught through the ages by the Indian leaders of spiritual thought. Sayings like "The Lord is, where life is," "Service to men and animals is service to the Lord Himself," have been handed down to us from a remote antiquity.⁷ "Nriyajna" (Hospitality) and "Bhutayajna" (Feeding and taking care of lower animals) are among the five daily sacrifices, which a pious Hindu is expected to perform.⁸ The Bhagabadgita also emphasizes social duty. It says, "Great men like Janaka and others acquired supreme knowledge through action. You too, Oh, Arjuna, should go on working for the preservation of humanity."⁹ The Bhagabadgita makes it clear at the same time that one must work in a spirit of detachment—"Oh, Arjuna, the wise work in a spirit of detachment for the preservation of humanity whereas the ignorant work with an eye to the reward of their efforts."¹⁰ Chandidas, the great Vaishnava bard of medieval Bengal, exhorted "in his two lines of unclassified and unclassable sweetness":

"Hearken ye brother of humanity,
Man by himself is the Ultimate Truth,
than him none higher."¹¹

A genuine love for God, which every true religion in reality is, must be reflected in the daily life of a truly religious man.

Gandhiji actually told a Jain monk that his religion and worship must be reflected in his day to day life. This love and worship must manifest themselves in a loving service to God's creatures. It is why the great of the world are sensitive to its woes. It is why Buddha emphasizes *maitree* (amity), Christ preaches the brotherhood of men and Ramakrishna speaks of *seva* (services). It is why again Vivekananda proclaims :

"Where seekest thou the Lord
Ignoring the myriad shapes and forms in
 which before thee He is ?
He who serves the Lord's creatures
 serves Him (best)."¹²

It was the Swami's consciousness of this fundamental truth which led him to express the desire to be born again and again and to wipe at least one tear from one eye and to remove at least one thorn from the path of others in every incarnation. It is why again Tagore ungrudgingly gave his time, energies and resources to the rural reconstruction centre at Shreeniketan, perhaps, the first of its kind in India in point of time.

Gandhiji's heart bled for suffering humanity. As he was an Indian and as India was his field of work, it was only natural that the suffering millions of India became his first care. Duty, like charity, must begin at home. His crusade against untouchability, his campaign for the opening of the temples to the so-called untouchables, who were to him "Harijans", i.e., the Lord's own ones,¹³ his emphasis on "Swadeshi" (use of indigenous goods), on hand-spinning and hand-weaving, on the whole constructive programme, in a word, were all inspired by an honest and earnest desire to bring back the joys of life and of living to India's teeming millions neglected by the state and oppressed by the society for centuries. As Prime Minister Nehru puts it, "to wipe every tear from every eye" was the dream of his life. His death was a fitting climax and finale of a life. In the words of a recent biographer, "By meeting the assassin's bullet at the height

of his career and as a reward, as it were, for a life-time of service, without a trace of ill-will or anger in his heart and with God's name and prayer for the assailant on his lips till the last conscious moment, Gandhiji converted a tragedy into a triumph and a fulfilment....."¹⁴

If Gandhi was a true Hindu in his humanism, he was no less so in the catholicity of his outlook and in the liberality of his views. His was indeed a religion, ethical, moral and intensely human, a religion independent of theology and ritual. On the eve of meeting Mr. Jinnah after his release from the Aga Khan Palace, Poona, in 1944, he declared, "My Hinduism is not sectarianism. It includes all that I know to be best in Islam, Christianity, Buddhism and Zoroastrianism.....Truth is my religion."¹⁵ Gandhiji told a Reuter correspondent in 1931 that in the India of his dream all communities would live in harmony.¹⁶ He wrote years ago, "Religions are different roads converging to the same point. What does it matter that we take different roads, so long as we reach the same goal? In reality there are as many religions as there are individuals."¹⁷ This is the only rational and scientific view of religion. Shree Ramakrishna also used to say, "Paths are as many as opinions are."¹⁸ Romain Rolland explains the idea with a beautiful analogy. The Ultimate Reality, he says, is a mighty citadel invested by followers of various faiths from different directions. All of them have the same end in view : the capture of the citadel. But as they do not know one another, there is no co-ordination among them. Even when they meet by chance, they do not know that they are fellow-travellers. Religious discord, sectarian bickering and communal disharmony are the result.

As unflinching faith in the essential unity of all religions was the pivot of Gandhi's religious belief. "I believe," he declared, "Hinduism to be a religion of truth. But Islam and Christianity are also religions of truth." From your stand-point Christianity is true; Hinduism from my stand-point."¹⁹ The Holy Books of the Hindus say that God is one and that He has no second (*Ekamevadwityam*). "This," Gandhi-

ji says, "is the essence of the Quaran and the Bible as well."²⁰

The prayer at Gandhiji's "Ashrama" at Phoenix (South Africa) included recitations from the scriptures of different religions. The practice was followed in later years in India. "His Ashrama, wherever it was," writes the late Chandrashanker Shukla, one-time Secretary of the Mahatma, "was a world in miniature. Followers of many religions saw the best in their religions personified in him. He had learnt this liberality towards all religions from his parents as he avows in his autobiography."²¹ Sardar Patel once told Gandhiji jokingly, "You have a knack of pleasing all the gods." The latter replied with a smile that he had inherited the habit from his mother, who used to insist on his paying visits to the Vishnu temple as well as to the Siva temple at Porbandar. He added that after his marriage he and Kastur Ba were taken not only to all the Hindu temples at Porbandar but to the shrine of a Muslim saint as well.

Religion shows—it should, at any rate—the path to Truth. But Truth "cannot be shut up in a single trenchant formula." Nor is it "likely to be found in its entirety or in all its bearings in any single philosophy or scripture or uttered altogether and for ever by anyone teacher, thinker, prophet or Avatar. Nor has it been wholly found by us if our view of it necessitates the intolerant exclusion of the truth underlying other systems; for when we reject passionately, we mean that we cannot appreciate and explain."²²

The question may be asked pertinently. If Gandhi sincerely believed in the essential unity of all religions, why did he call himself a Hindu to the last? Why did he not call himself a Mohammedan, a Christian or a Zoroastrian? His reply was that he found Hinduism "to be the most tolerant of all religions Its freedom from dogma makes a forcible appeal to one. Not being an exclusive religion, it enables the followers of that faith not merely to respect all other faiths, but it also enables them to admire and assimilate whatever may be good in other faiths. Non-violence has found the

highest expression and application in Hinduism. I do not regard Jainism and Buddhism as separate from Hinduism."²³ Two of the leading thinkers of our age, S. Radhakrishnan and C.E.M. Joad also hold similar views on Hinduism.²⁴

With a firm faith in essential unity of religions, Gandhiji was no believer in the necessity of conversion in the sense of a change of religious labels. Though he had no objection to voluntary conversion, he categorically refused to recognise forced conversions. He was against the conversion of the "Adivasis" (aboriginal tribes), Harijans and the Hill tribes by the Christian missions in India and did not hesitate to express his opinion. Their large-scale conversion, we all know, is very seldom the outcome of a sincere conviction that Christianity is superior to their ancestral religions. These converts, on the contrary, are not unoften victims of false propaganda. Very often are they lured directly or indirectly by the prospects of possible material benefits of a change of the religious label.

There was no love lost between Gandhiji and Hindu orthodoxy. He was sometimes branded as non-Hindu or anti-Hindu by orthodox Hinduism. Nothing could be farther from the truth. God-realization or salvation (Moksha), which means freedom from the cycle of births and deaths is the ultimate goal of Hinduism. This is the journey's end. Gandhi is on record as having said, "If I have any passionate desire, it is only to reach God, if possible, at a jump and to merge myself in Him."²⁵ He believed that salvation is possible only through God's grace and after the elimination of egoism in man. He who can eliminate egoism becomes the "very image of Truth, or one may call it Brahma." Here is a clear confession of faith.

References.

1. *Young India*, dated, 6. 10. 21.
2. "*Ekam Sadvipra Bahudha Badanti.*"
3. Chandrashanker Shukla : *Gandhi's View of Life*, p. 158.
- Cf. "And John answered and said, Master, we saw one casting out devils in thy name; and we forbade him, because he followeth not with us, and Jesus said unto him, Forbid him not; for he

that is not against us is for us."—*Luke*, 9; 49, 50.

St. Paul also proclaimed the unity of mankind and the brotherhood of men.

Cf. "God that made the world and all things therein, . . . hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth. . . . For in Him we live, and move, and have our being; as certain also of your own poets, (i.e., the Greek poets) have said. For we are also His offspring."—*The Acts*, 17; 24-28.

4. *The Quran*, 2; 61.

5. Chandrashanker Shukla,—*op. cit.*, pp. 159-60. (Quoted).

6. Boris Pasternak,—*Dr. Zhivago*, p. 408.

7. "Yatra jeeva tatra Siva"; "Jeevaseva Madhavaseva".

8. The five sacrifices are:—(i) Brahma Yajna or Reading of the *Vedas*; (ii) Nri Yajna or Hospitality; (iii) Pitri Yajna or Offerings to the ancestors; (iv) Deva Yajna or Worshipping of the gods and goddesses and; (v) Bhuta Yajna or feeding of the lower animals.

9. "Karmanaiva hi samsiddhimathita Janakadayah

Lokasamgrahamevapi sampashyam
kartumarhasi."—*The Gita*,

III/20.

10. "Shaktah karmanyavidwamso yatha kurvanti Bharata

Kuryadvidwam statha saktas chikishurlokasamgraham"—*The*

Gita, III/25.

11. "Shuna-he manush bhai,

Sabar upar-e manush satya,

Tahar upar-e nai."—The English

translation is by Mr. Joges C. Bose, (Vide, *The Moedrn Review*, June, 1961, p. 450).

12. "Bahurupee sammukh-e tomar chhadi kotha khunjichha Ishvar?

Jiv-e prem kar-e ye-i jan se-i jan
sevichh-e Ishvar."

13. A biographer thus sums up what Gandhiji has done for the Harijans: "For thousands of years they (the Harijans) were the victims of superstition and orthodoxy, tyranny and obscurantism, living their lives in the filth and stench of a Dherwada and Kumbharwada . . . this embittered man (Dr. B. R. Ambedkar) will in his heart acknowledge that the social freedom which he enjoys today and which his class have to some extent acquired, is to be traced to the work of the Mahatma. . . . Dr. Ambedkar, knows that he owes some gratitude to the man who has made

it possible for him to be what he is today a free and equal man in the hierarchy of Hindu caste. The opening of the temples to the untouchables is symbolic of social as well as spiritual freedom. It is all part of the awakening—the first streaks of light that herald the new dawn".—D. F. Karaka—*Out of Dust*, pp. 191-92. (The book was published before the death of Dr. Ambedkar).

14. Pyarelal,—*Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase*, Vol. II, p. 781.

15. D. G. Tendulkar,—*Mahatma*, Vol. IV, p. 304, (Quoted).

16. D. G. Tendulkar,—*op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 141.

17. M. K. Gandhi,—*Indian Home Rule*; Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, pp. 23-24.

18. "Yata mat tata path."

19. Chandrashanker Shukla,—*Conversations of Gandhiji*, p. 85.

20. Chandrashanker Shukla,—*Gandhi's View of Life*, p. 168.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 155.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 162. (Quoted).

23. *Young India*, dated, 24.10.1927.

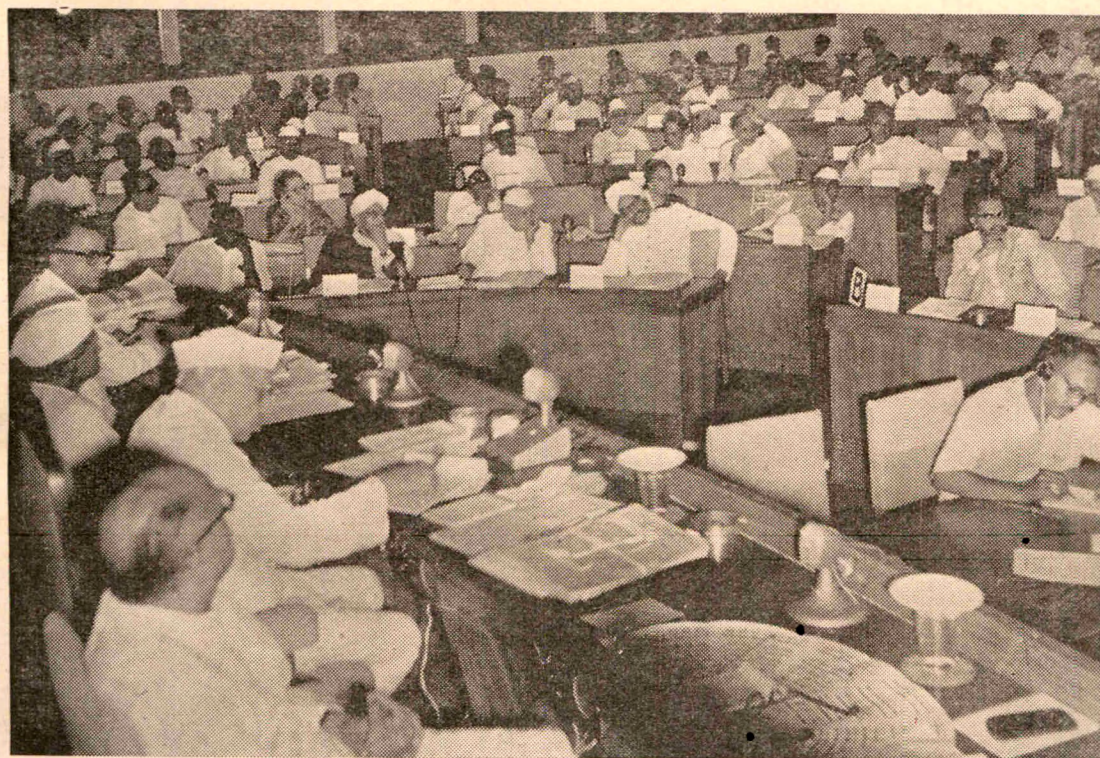
24. Cf. (a) "Hinduism developed from the first a wide-tolerance. Hindus do not proselytize; they do not lay exclusive claims to salvation, and they do not believe that God will be pleased by the wholesale slaughter of those of His creatures whose beliefs are mistaken. As a result Hinduism has been less degraded than most religions by the anomaly of creed wars . . . the history of Hinduism holds no parallel to the horrors of the Inquisition or the Thirty Years' War",— C. E. M. Joad,—*Counter Attack from the East*, pp. 217-18.

(b) "The attitude of the cultivated Hindu and the Buddhist to other forms of worship is one of sympathy and respect, and not criticism and contempt for their own sake. This friendly understanding is not inconsistent with deep-feeling and thought. Faith for the Hindu does not mean dogmatism. He does not smell heresy in those who are not entirely of his mind. It is not devotion that leads to the assertive temper, but limitation of outlook, hardness and uncharity. While full of unquestioning belief, the Hindu is at the same time devoid of harsh judgment. It is not historically true that in the knowledge of truth there is of necessity great intolerance",— S. Radhakrishnan,—*Eastern Religions and Western Thought*, p. 314.

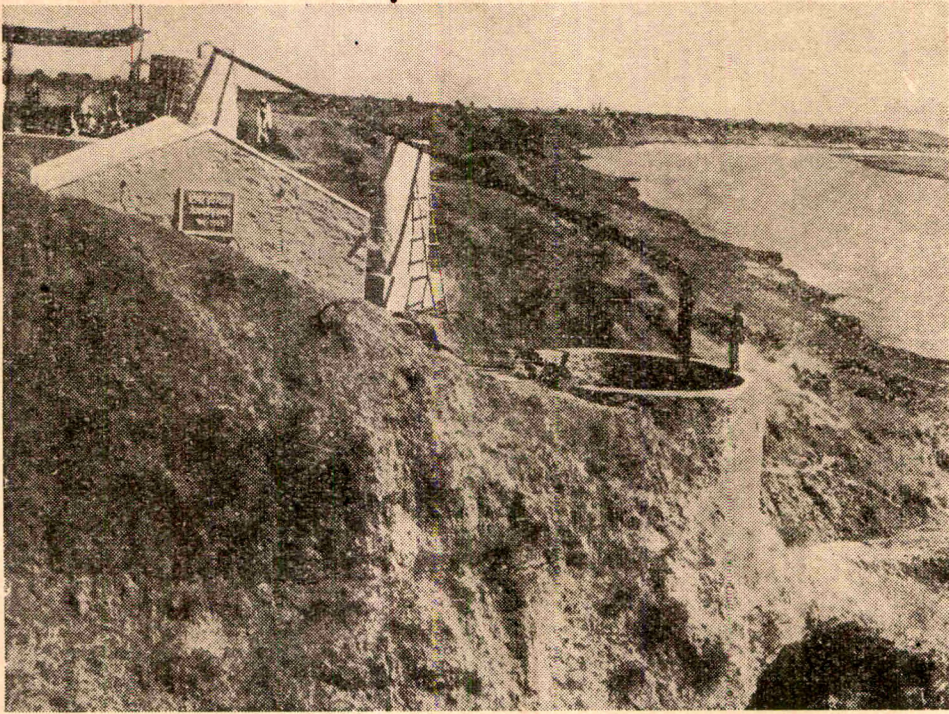
25. Chandrashanker Shukla,—*Gandhi's View of Life*, p. 55. (Quoted).



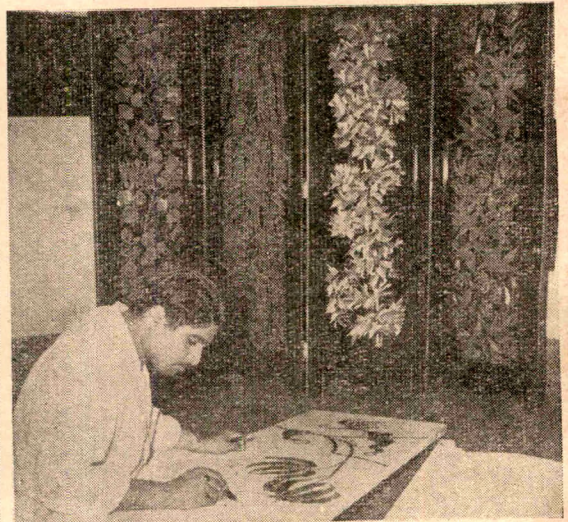
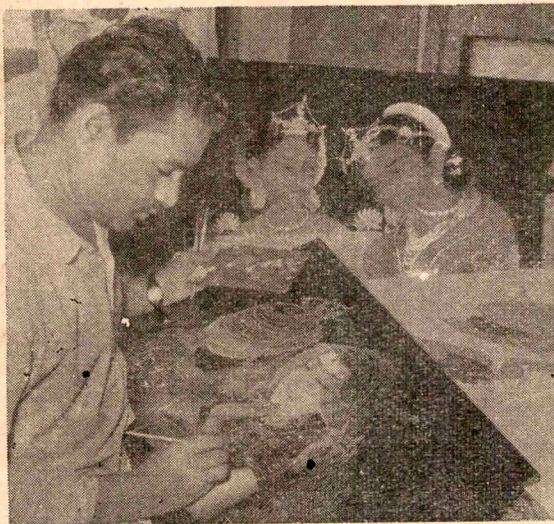
Major J. K. Lahiri of the 107 Anti-aircraft Regiment with other Officers and men of the Army marching through one of the main thoroughfares of Calcutta during the Ceremonial Parade



General View of the National Integration Conference held in Delhi



A view of the lift irrigation well built by the villagers of a community development block in Bombay State



Painting and Designing works by Nirmal Artists of Hyderabad

LANGUAGE PROBLEMS IN INDIA—QUEST FOR A SOLUTION.

By S. K. DAS

The language problems in India which have been sounding discordant notes have thrown the Government of India and the different State Governments out of gear. A fresh survey is, therefore, necessary to find out, firstly, what language may be expected to serve adequately the purposes of a National Language and, secondly, how may the languages of minorities in different multilingual states be given adequate protection so that the minorities might get free scope for the development of their native genius. In this connection it would also be necessary to examine how administrative difficulties and inconveniences, if any, arising out of such a policy, might be obviated.

It is well-known that, on the recommendation of the Language Committee, the President of India issued directives for the promotion and spread of Hindi so that eventually Hindi might successfully take the place of the National Language of India and replace English. But one wonders why a general impression should still persist that the policy pursued by the Government for implementing the above decision is one of vacillation. Moreover, everyday experience confounds the observer at the lack of spontaneous response welcoming the decision that is being noticed in the people in non-Hindi-speaking areas. A probe for ascertaining the causes which have led the country to such a predicament should be helpful in finding out the remedy. An immediate tackling of the situation is urgently called for in order that India might, with alacrity, march from progress to progress and take its rightful place in the comity of nations. It is needless to emphasise that it is not compulsion but spontaneous response that is imperative to make a national language fulfil its onerous responsibilities and the sacred trust placed on it.

We might, first of all, inquire why the Government of India's approach for placing Hindi in the honoured place which it is destined to occupy lacks determination. The intelligentsia often ascribe it to the diffidence that pervades about the feasibility of Hindi making that stupendous progress im-

perative for meeting even the present-day needs of science, technology, etc.; further, in order to play the role successfully, Hindi would be required not only to make up the leeway but would have, "pari passu", to keep pace with the modern scientific developments which are advancing everyday at a tremendous pace.

If again one goes deep into the problem and makes a searching inquiry underlying the indifference and the casual manner of approach for ramifying Hindi that is being noticed in the literary world in India, one might find that the lethargy in the literary world has also its roots in that very diffidence which is apparently restraining Governments' enthusiasm. Even the ultra-optimists fear that where there is practically no scientific literature and no scientific vocabulary in an age of highly developed science,—the supersonic age and the sputnik age,—even an all-out effort with all seriousness would take at least 50 years or even more for Hindi to attain the minimum standard necessary to meet even the present-day requirements; and, it is feared, that by that time science, technology, etc., will have advanced by, say, 200 years or more with the consequence that adoption of Hindi would have the effect of carrying an ever-increasing back-log for which the nation would desperately grope about for an answer. In this connection, it must be remembered that even sustained, determined, and extensive efforts must as well submit to the inexorable law of development of languages.

Accordingly, if English were replaced by Hindi, it would jeopardise studies in medicine and public health which would have an adverse effect on the national health and sanitation, whereby in the world standard they are already undesirably low; it would baulk scientific and engineering studies and thereby impede and retard the ambitious development schemes envisaged in the five-year plans for raising the standard of living of an underdeveloped country. Similar drawbacks would halt progress in almost all other fields which are, as well, badly in need of immediate development what is more is

that such a move would lead to an undesirable situation in which India would, perforce, be required to continue indefinitely to be dependent on foreign aids in technicians, industrial machineries, scientific instruments, capital goods, etc., in a world of nation-states where, but for the ideological cold war that is going on in the present age, no nation could be expected to continue such help for an indefinite period; nor is such continued help desirable in the best interest of the country. A child, if it were to prosper in life, must learn to depend on its own legs and find out its own strength and genius; for, continued dependence on helping hands would cripple its growth leaving no choice but to continue to be a mere tool in the hands of its guides.

One might ask here why should one be so diffident and consider it not feasible for Hindi to attain that high standard deemed imperative for elevation to the honoured place. He would naturally argue why with an all-out honest effort cannot Hindi be expected to attain the required standard, when so many Western languages have developed such rich literature and vocabulary for successfully meeting the increasing demands of the scientific world? One must not here forget, that the Western languages were already in an advanced stage of development when science was in the incipient stage. Those languages had, therefore, the advantage of gradual and progressive development from the day science was in swaddling clothes to the present day, when it has attained the full stature of an adult bursting with energies and confident of his own creative abilities. To expect Hindi to make up grounds almost from the cradle and at once keep pace with the present-day scientific activities which are advancing with bewilderingly rapid strides, can only be called a pipe dream.

In this connection we must meet the arguments of those who have a penchant for "Bengali", or for "Tamil" or "Marathi", etc., on the ground that more advanced literature and better vocabulary exist in those languages. They contend that a language cannot lay claim to be considered for a national language and be the vehicle for studies in science, technology, industry,

etc., and for work connected therewith, simply because, by a show of hands it gets the largest number of votes for its adherents. They hold that the national language, if it were to meet the aspirations and ambitions of the people, should have attained a standard capable of discharging its onerous responsibilities satisfactorily; if not, in a highly-developed world where scientific and technological developments are progressing everyday with confounding rapidity, an intransigent nation, hugging fondly to a language which has not yet left the cradle, would unwittingly lend its hands to muffle the cries of the helpless child. This would recoil with violent repercussions and deleterious effect on the national life, and will halt all progress. An impartial and unbiased scrutiny will no doubt convince everybody about the drawbacks of Hindi; but at the same time it must be admitted, that no other Indian language can claim to have attained a standard that can touch even the fringe of the problem in spite of all the richness which its protagonists might attribute for advancing its cause. Moreover, if one would only keep one's eyes open to the emergent reality and ponder over the poverty in progress shown by the different Indian languages during these fourteen years since Independence, one, it is regretted, would find nothing but despair in store.

Then again, we must meet the arguments of those who advocate the cause of the classical language Sanskrit, before we yield the place to English. It is no doubt true and universally admitted that Sanskrit has a very rich literature and grammar, as well as, advanced treatise on philosophy, medicine, etc. But the fact must not be lost sight of, that it lay dormant for hundreds of years and that its creative activities ceased some centuries back. It never came in touch with the modern science. In the circumstances and for identical reasons stated in connection with the other Indian languages, Sanskrit cannot be expected to fill up the vacuum were English given the proposed good-bye.

If then one would weigh the above facts and be on the "qui vive" against being swayed away by mere sentiments, one would arrive at the inescapable and un-

happy conclusion that, in the present circumstances, there is no way out but to continue English for the above purposes. Any attempt for replacing English by any Indian language in the near future would, therefore, be a rash adventure and an egregious folly. One might, however, say that the more for giving the pride of place to a language of foreign origin is incongruous and cannot, therefore, be supported. A perusal of the above discourse will show that the sole object underlying these arguments has been the urgent necessity for a drive in quest of a language that might be expected to serve adequately the purposes of a national language, i.e., the cause of national advancement and not for finding out on what Indian language might the crown be placed without regard to its merits or of its ability to discharge the onerous responsibility. Since English is not one of the native languages of India, it cannot, obviously, be considered for the honoured place of the national language. It is the vital need for progress that has urged the move for retention of English for certain purposes. It may, therefore, be designated as the "Utility Language for India" or be given any other suitable name.

When such is the situation, the Indian people will naturally have to confront the very delicate question,—now without a national language of its own could the logic of the situation warrant it an honoured place in the comity of nations. There can be no two opinions that such a drawback would put India at a disadvantage. But one need only be reminded with regret about the arguments already put forward that, in the interest of national advancement and in the present state of things brought about by force of circumstances, India is left with no other choice but to retain English. It must at the same time be remembered, that it is not worthwhile buying such a prestige at the cost of India's vital needs. A nation, backward in education, public health, technology, industry, etc., showing no promise of extricating from the morass, cannot be expected to draw respect from other advanced nations, simply because, it possesses a national language of its own. Even though, admittedly it was by force of circumstances that English, a

foreign language, captured all the fields of technical studies and work in this country, one would hardly have any defence and little justification for throwing overboard such a rich language at the cost of progress, when one sees before one's own eyes that the Indians are everyday becoming more and more westernised in their habits, manners, customs, etc. We hold conferences over dinner tables and tea tables; we entertain the Western national in Western fashions and accommodate them in hotels established in the latest Western styles, although the Westerners do not accommodate the Indians in the Indian style while away in the Western countries. What is more, most of the Indians with Western education as well as a large section of the urban population use the European dress, etc., even in their own country and do not consider it derogatory to discard their own native ones. I need not multiply instances to show to what extent the urban people in India have become Westernised in their everyday life. What I mean to say here is not whether adoption of such Western manners, customs, etc., is good or bad, desirable or undesirable; for, that is, a different issue and does not come within the purview of the present discourse. What I mean to emphasise is that the Western style of living, association, etc., have, after all, come to stay. It does not require arguing to convince anybody that Indians should have less cause for shame in retaining English, vitally needed for its advancement, although it is a foreign language, than for forsaking Indian ways of living, customs, manners, etc., and adopting the Western modes which are not indispensable and which could very well be discarded without detriment to national interests.

There is also a vocal section which objects to the continuance of English on the ground that it was the superiority complex arising out of English education that created a gulf between the educated elite and the common people; and, they fear that retention of English, would perpetuate that undesirable and invidious distinction to the detriment of national interests. To counter the above argument, one need only observe that it was not English education but the

disparity in the standards of living added to the policy of keeping the educated people away from the masses which the ruling foreign power believed imperative for keeping a subject people under control, that created the gulf. The Government of India has already taken up seriously the task of raising the standard of living of the common man; now, if it could as well create an atmosphere in which no one found wanting in those positive qualities which make one useful to the people and the country might thrive and receive recognition and appreciation, simply on the ground that he could boast of having acquired or rather successfully imitated those shoddy glories,—the most up-to-date sophisticated Western manners, customs, etc.,—when interests for foreign imperialism have already ceased to exist, it will have solved the difficulties and removed the gulf.

The next question and a moot one is whether Hindi or any other Indian language satisfies the basic requirements for a national language which might justify its claim as the national language of India. A national language presupposes the existence of a nation. Can we assert incontrovertibly that the whole of the Indian people ever constituted a single nation? If not, have they since forged into an organic whole and have formed an Indian nation? We may profitably recall here the observations made by Ernest Renan that a nation is more than a group of people; it is a spiritual entity with a soul of its own. When one ponders in retrospect, how such a vast country with such a big population could have been conquered by the Muhammadan invasion or by the subsequent British adventure with only a handful of men at a time when armaments were still in an undeveloped stage, the glaring fact that the different nationalities in India never formed a single nation by submerging their individualities, becomes too apparent. The spectre of new states as a sequel to fissiparous tendencies, the narrow sectarian outlook, the quiescent hostility, the warring mentality over language and boundary issues, etc., that are at present being freely shown by different sections of the people in different

states without the least concern for the larger interest of the country as a whole and to the detriment of relations between neighbouring states, only prove too truly that the soul is still missing, and bring into bold relief the bitter fact that the different nationalities in India have not yet forged into a single nation; they are in fact still in the melting pot and have not yet come out of the crucible and taken shape. Moreover, since the different nationalities in India do not come from the same stock, they do not constitute a single nation when considered even from an ethnic point of view. At this stage, it would, therefore, be premature to thrust upon the people any Indian language as the national language of India, when the nation itself is, in fact, in the process of evolution.

It, therefore, follows that India is, after all, a mosaic of humanity and may, accordingly, rightly form a federation of nations. It was the geographical situation of different states inhabited by different nationalities, the development of communications, etc., added to the vital question of survival in the face of impoverishment caused by foreign interests, that impelled these nationalities to combine for a fight against foreign imperialism, historical necessity in the march of events. With the departure of the British and consequent removal of the threat, every nationality in India has fallen back on its old insular moods and prejudices. Judged from the point of view of area, population, or on ethnic consideration, there should be little cause for compunction or for feeling humiliated in admitting that the Indian people do, in fact, constitute a federation of nations and not a single national entity, when it is remembered that the Western people do not consider it a slur where the European continent, even excluding Russia, contains so many nations and states. One need also remember here that never did India undergo such experiments as Europe had since 1648, which led to the formation of nation-states in Europe through the inexorable forces set loose by war, revolution, and diplomacy; and, even those nation-states disintegrated at the end of subsequent wars and "post-bellum" conditions led to the

formation of new nation-states by realignment. The view expressed by Dicey that a federation is designed for a people that desires union but not unity reflects too truly a correct picture of the Indian continent, where disturbances on language, boundary and other issues, have become too common since Independence.

We may now turn our attention to the second question about the languages of minorities in multilingual states. The suggestion made in some quarters that almost all the languages should be recognised and necessary arrangements made at government levels for translation of communications, etc., does not appear to be a practical proposition. The reasons are obvious. Firstly, in a country where the percentage of literacy is so small that an adequate supply of teachers is not available even for extending the scope of primary education which is already very meagre, it is idle to expect that the governments in India would be able to find and muster a sufficient number of qualified men to man such departments. Secondly, a poor and backward country which has primarily to depend on foreign aids for its vital development undertakings can hardly be expected to find the necessary money for financing such a scheme. On the other hand, if on consideration of the overwhelming reasons given above, the country agrees to maintain English for the necessary purposes, the difficulties will automatically melt away. In that case, all primary and other education may be given in the mother-tongue for which necessary literature might be available in that language, and the rest taken up by English. We should then say, that three languages, viz., the mother-tongue, English and Sanskrit should be made compulsory in schools; but in regions where, for reasons beyond control, it might not be practicable to impart education to the children in their mother-tongue, the regional language should take its place; the onus of educating in the literature of one's own mother-tongue should, in such cases, rest with the parents and the neighbours belonging to the community, and for which the government should render all possible help. The wisdom of including Sanskrit lies in

the fact that it will open out the scope for access to the universally admitted stupendous ancient literature, philosophy, medical science, etc., a rich heritage handed down from generations and which the nation could ill-afford to lose or even to stow away. A critical study of the learned treatises impelled by an objective approach will help in researches in humanities and certain sciences that will broaden the horizon of knowledge and add to the welfare of mankind. The children and the students whose mother-tongue is different from the regional language will acquire a smattering knowledge of the local language as they mix with the local students and the local people. The professional men, of necessity, must learn the regional language. This would, as well, obviate the alleged inescapable difficulties arising out of what is regarded as an unavoidable situation in the present context leading to the overburdening of the very young school children with too many languages, an undesirable tendency shown by many educationists and politicians.

It must not also be forgotten that in order that every native of India might get free and unfettered scope of developing his native genius, the languages of minorities should also be allowed to function in all spheres where possible. This is all the more necessary in the present situation, because, any intolerance shown here would exacerbate feelings, snap harmonious relations, and jeopardise the much-sought-for growth of the national outlook, a "sine qua non" for forging the people into a single Indian nation.

In this connection there is one more question of importance that requires serious consideration. The political leaders urge and put special emphasis on the necessity of learning a second Indian language; they contend that this would facilitate inter-state understanding and cultural exchanges and, at the same time, would be of tremendous help in forging different nationalities into an organic whole,—the Indian nation. This point of view may be met if the knowledge of a second Indian language, other than the regional one, is made compulsory in respect of all service

personnel in every establishment of considerable magnitude, whether in the public or in the private sector. Such a language may also be made compulsory in Colleges. The standard of knowledge required should not be placed high; for, insistence for a high standard will sap energy and hamper more important work and studies in technical subjects. Such a policy will have the added advantage that it will keep the scope for higher studies in the second Indian language open to those who might find an interest in its literature; this might further inspire one to such creatives as would be of positive help towards further development of that language. The minimum standard of knowledge acquired will meet the requirements of understanding and of cultural exchanges. The imposition of a second Indian language on school children of tender age is undesirable for the reasons already stated. The special stress laid here on a language other than the regional one is deliberate; because, everyone living in any multilingual region will, perforce, acquire a smattering knowledge of that regional language as already stated.

Lastly, there are some who fear that development of native languages would suffer if English were continued and a secondary place assigned to these languages. This is no doubt true; but, as already observed, it must be admitted that in the existing situation the country is left with no other alternative. If, however, the love for one's own language is consuming, the protagonists advancing the cause of native language must rise to the occasion and brave all difficulties to carry on relentless efforts to enrich these languages so that they might, some day, qualify and compete for the coveted position. All State Governments will no doubt give extensive help for realisation of the peoples' aspirations as well as take active measures for developing regional languages. It must be remembered that in a democratic set-up the people are in a happy position, inasmuch as they can force the hands of governments to take whatever measures they might deem necessary for realisation of their national aspirations. If the genius and industry of any

nationality can bring any Indian language to the required standard, it need not entertain any misgivings that its efforts will go unrewarded; by a general consensus it will then surely be given the pride of place hailed as the national language for India. Moreover, if this aspiration could be brought to fruition, it would as well put a stop to the proclivity for unhealthy and unwholesome rivalry of pushing one's own language for the honoured place irrespective of its merits, and pave the way for forging all Indians into a real single Indian nation with a soul of its own.

In this connection it is pertinent to note that the procedure adopted by the "pundits" in attempting to find out equivalent terms in the regional languages for every scientific and technical term appears to be defective. Apparently, it would be more wise and more helpful if the prevalent scientific terms were accepted and absorbed without any attempt to find their equivalents. Scientific and technical terms have a history behind them which their equivalents prepared in regional languages would lack. It would, therefore, become more difficult for these equivalent terms to convey the precise meaning and get easily absorbed in scientific literature. It has been proclaimed that the search for equivalent terms is being made extensively from Sanskrit whose grammar and literature are regarded a perennial fountain from which a never-ending supply can be drawn. In this connection it is worthwhile to remember that scientists and technologists cannot be expected to be well-versed in the niceties, subtleties, and precise connotations of Sanskrit words or in its voluminous grammar; nor the erudite scholars in Sanskrit or any other language can be expected to comprehend properly the precise connotations of the complicated scientific and technological terms. Accordingly, apart from the other drawbacks already pointed out, the equivalent terms that might be prepared cannot but be expected to be lame. If, therefore, one would only remember that a language grows by assimilation and consider the drawbacks pointed out

here, one should cease all attempts to hunt for equivalent terms in regional languages. It is very doubtful if production of scientific literature in regional languages would at all make any appreciable headway and whether such literature when prepared would be of real help to the students of science, if the present procedure were not abandoned and scientific and technical terms absorbed in their present form.

The above discussions should convince all reasonable men of the inescapable conclusion that in the present situation English should continue as the medium for the purposes mentioned above and that an increasing use of all regional languages as well as the languages of minorities should be made in ever-widen-

ing spheres. We might only fondly hope that the industry and genius of the people would, in the near future, carry some Indian language to such a height of development that it would successfully displace English and occupy the honoured place by a general consensus. If Hindi can fulfil the requirements for a national language and be first in the field, it would be unnecessary and naïve to inquire what variant of Hindi is widely spoken of in the north of the Vindhya and to what extent; nor would it be necessary to inquire why Hindi could not make a dent in the South. In that case, the fears often expressed in some quarters about Hindi hegemony should be unceremoniously brushed aside.

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RABINDRANATH TAGORE IN AMERICA

By PRAFULLA C. MUKHERJI, *Executive Secretary,*

/ Rabindranath Tagore Centenary Committee in America

LONG before the end of the nineteenth century the fame of Rabindranath Tagore as a poet and a thinker was well-established in India and other parts of Asia and only among limited circles in the Western world. It was not until 1913, when he received the Nobel Prize in Literature that he became well-known throughout the world. The English translation of *Gitanajali*, *Gardener*, *Sadhana*, *The Crescent Moon* and others were received with acclamation.

Between 1912 and 1930, Tagore paid five visits to the United States, giving lectures, recitations and interviews. The *Current Opinion*, of January, 1914, remarked, "The literary event of the year's end was the Swedish Academy's award of the Nobel Prize for the most literary work to an Asian, the great Hindu poet and philosopher, Rabindranath Tagore. He stands pre-eminent in the present renaissance of Indian literature, its master poet, the revered singer and philosopher."

Tagore's international significance is most appreciatively described by May Sinclair in *North American Review* of April, 1913. Miss Sinclair said: "I have heard some of these songs of

Gitanajali sung and recited by the poet himself. Though the beautiful music of the original poems is lost to us, Tagore's translation preserves not only that is essential and eternal in his poetry but much of its magic. Indeed, the substance of it is of such supreme value and vitality that no translation could have killed it."

Review of Reviews of August, 1913, said: "The East and West meet in deep appreciation of the supreme literature of Rabindranath Tagore, India's greatest lyric poet and singer and spiritual and patriotic leader. Tagore, at the present time, is in America, where he has already gained a large constituency of admirers, although but a comparatively small portion of his work is available in translation. His influence on India for the last thirty years has been enormous; he has practically reconstructed the rational ideals of the masses through a wide dissemination of his poetry. Even the Western men of letters have felt the force of his genius."

Commenting on *Gitanajali*, Ernest Rhys in a long article in the *Nineteenth Century* magazine of April, 1913, said: "So far, as one may ven-

ture on a contemporary estimate from this side of the world, it may be said that nothing has come to these shores of late years in the way of poetry from abroad that can compare with these Indian songs. Their imagination and melody, touched with human feeling and spiritually fired, are of a quality unlike anything we have had in this or the last generation. Indeed, one is tempted to go further and to say they are among the few really important things that have happened in poetry within the overlapping terms of the two centuries, the nineteenth and the twentieth; the message they bear to the Western world amounts to a spiritual revelation."

Mr. Montrose J. Moses talked about Tagore as the *Wise Man From the East* and in an article in *St. Nicholas* magazine of February, 1917, said: "This man, so rich in his vision, has been telling us in America all about India, about the many kinds of people living there under English rule. To most of us only Kipling's India is known. But Tagore speaks of the people that are close to him in everyday life—the workers on his estates, the merchants in the large cities, the princes of the land and the children of his school. He has a message for grown up people, but perhaps what makes him even more loved is that above all else he is happiest with children. His volume of verses, *The Crescent Moon*, contains poem after poem as full of young folks ways as Stevenson's "*Child's Garden of Verses*."

Ezra Pound, the poet, in discussing the poetry of Tagore describes a pleasant incident in an article in *The Fortnightly Review* of March, 1913: "When I leave Tagore I feel exactly as if I were a barbarian clothed in skins, and carrying a stone war-club, the kind, that is, where the stone is bound into a crotched stick with thongs. Perhaps you will get some hint of the curious quality of happiness which pervades his poems from the following incident:

Mr. Tagore was seated on a sofa, and just beginning to read me in Bengali, when our hostess's little girl of three ran into the room, laughing and making a most infernal clatter. Immediately the poet burst into laughter exactly like the child's. It was startling and it was for a moment uncanny. I do not attempt to explain it. Was he in some sudden and intimate connection with the child's gaiety, or was it merely some Oriental form of super-courtesy to prevent our hosts from guessing that the child's mirth was

quite as important in the general scheme of things as was our discussion of international aesthetics?"

Shortly after the death of Tagore, S. K. Ratcliffe, the well-known former editor of *The Statesman* of Calcutta, wrote in the *Nation* of September 6, 1941: "Rabindranath Tagore was the only man of letters, the single public figure, who could be regarded as a personal bridge between the West and modern Orient. During the past forty years, from, let us say, Yoni Noguchi to Lin Yutang, a number of Chinese and Japanese writers have gained recognition in the English speaking countries. Tagore's achievement went far beyond that. Within a very short term of years he conquered a world audience, was translated into a score of languages, addressed meetings in three continents, collected honorary degrees, and in English, not always in translations, made a reputation in various fields besides poetry, drama and prose fiction. There are very few critics in Europe competent to judge any imaginative work in his native tongue, Bengali. These few, however, affirm that Tagore belongs to the company of truly great poets."

But the reaction has not always been one-sided. There had been some adverse criticism also. Mr. Paul E. More wrote in the *Nation* of November 30, 1916: "Whatever Tagore may be, and whencesoever, he draws his inspiration, he is in essence everything that ancient India, philosophically and religiously, was not. At heart, in its inner meaning, the world of Tagore is as far from that of his ancestors as if he has born under the sky of contemporary France or England. His very imitations of that remote past are a sly betrayal of its spirit. . . . Tagore is nice and he is pretty, but he has no more relation, in essential matters to the great and grave faith of old than has M. Maeterlinck or Fiona Macleod or W. B. Yeats or any other of the nice and pretty writers who have been filling our Western world with a saccharine imitation of mysticism. A protest is due against taking this effeminate Romanticist with solemn seriousness as the bearer of a religious message in these deeply troubled times."

In contrast to Mr. More, Prof. Edward C. Dimock of Chicago University, wrote in the *Journal of Asian Studies* of November, 1959, an article on "Rabindranath Tagore, the Greatest of the Bauls of Bengal". He said: "After many

years of relatively little notice and on the eve of his centennial, the name of the great Bengali poet is being heard again. And the question is being asked again: What is the extent of the influence of Indian tradition—of the *Upanishadas*, of Kalidasa, of the Brahmo Samaj? What is the extent of the influence of the West—of Shelley, of Keats? It is clear that at least we have come a step or two beyond the misconception that anything great must be primarily Western and that the sole meaningful doctrine of Indian philosophy is the “impersonal, imperturbable absolute” of the *advaita* (monistic) systems. In view of the fact, therefore, that the question seems to be a living one, I should like to contend that Rabindranath as a poet and as a thinker lies well within the tradition of a long line of Indian poet-saints, and that his roots are far more deeply buried in medieval Bengal than they are in the West. This is not to say that Rabindranath was uninfluenced by Western thought and literature. I do feel that he lives today in Bengal as he did fifty years ago because he is first and foremost a Bengali poet and speaks out of a tradition of Bengali poets. He is great because he had profound insight and rare lyric genius. These are the exclusive properties of no language or tradition. He is great to non-Indians perhaps because the tradition out of which he comes is not the highly complex Sanskrit classical tradition which speaks primarily by the educated and sophisticated people of India, but the simple, personal, emotional tradition of the poet-saints who wrote for the people.”

The Literary Digest of February 10, 1917, quoted *New York Sun* in a bit of sarcasm: “Great treasures have come from the East, spices, silk and jewels and things rare and precious, even to the barbarians of the unspiritual West, but nothing so rich as the sirapy concoction of this simple-minded Indian, the melted pearls of his gentle philosophy.”

In the same vein, the *New York Times* of November 15, 1913, writes under the headline: Our case is not desperate: “As a result possibly of prejudices somewhat parochial in their nature some of us feel a surprise more than faintly tinged with resentment at an award of the Nobel Prize for Literature that passes over all Occidental writers of prose and poetry and falls on a Hindu bard with a name hard to pronounce and harder to remember. This may be all right, but it seems a bit hard and it goes against the instinct so

deeply implanted in all of us—except the Nobel judges—that money and other good things including glory, ought to be kept in the family. Considering the case more carefully however, one discovers in it several consoling features. Rabindranath Tagore if not exactly one of us, is as an Aryan, a distant relation of all white folk. Moreover, though of Eastern birth, he is of Western education and translates his verses into good sound English before submitting them to the large public which alone can crown or condemn with authority.”

It was with considerable relief, therefore, one read in the same *New York Times* of May 6, 1961, at the Centenary of Rabindranath Tagore, “He died twenty years ago, too soon to see the British flag flutter down at the Red Fort of New Delhi and a new flag go up into the Indian breeze. Tagore had no violence and no fear in his make-up. He had no hate. Poet, dramatist, philosopher, teacher, painter, writer of songs, his heart was large enough to encompass the many races and the two great governments that now control the Indian peninsula, and the lasting influence of his spirit has led to observances of his centennial this year—in many parts of the world, including our own. One of Tagore’s plays, ‘King of the Dark Chamber,’ was performed in the New York Living through a time of great material progress and dying on the eve of an age of turbulence and terror, he spoke for the gentleness of brotherly love and the spirit of beauty. One finds some essence of his thought in the lines:

Where the mind is without fear and
The head is held high;
Into that heaven of freedom
Let my country awake.

The future lies rather with Tagore than with the prophets of disillusion.”

Norman Cousins, the Editor of *Saturday Review*, in paying tribute to Tagore, said, “In a century which makes fetishes of labels and categories, Rabindranath Tagore defies being labelled and categorized. We may call him poet, philosopher, dramatist, artist, educator, and social thinker; but we know in our hearts that he is more than the sum of these things. He is, indeed, a sublime integer.” Why is it that Tagore still holds in sway the imaginations and intellects of men and women living a world away from India? The

main reason, I would submit, is that Tagore's genius was not only deep, but it was many-sided.

Like Tolstoy, Thoreau and Ruskin, Tagore took the concept of brotherhood out of the merely rhetorical and gave it a singing, everyday affirmation. In speaking to every man's eternal quest for liberty, he created a vital mood that connected India's struggle with the general human struggle. . . . I predict that Tagore's fame will grow even greater in the United States. For those who do not know Tagore his discovery will be an exciting event; those who know him already will have the thrill of rediscovering him in the light of recent world developments—for they will find that, like a many-faceted jewel, his work responds brightly to light flashed upon it from different directions.

In November of 1930, a reception and dinner were arranged to welcome Tagore at Hotel Biltmore in New York City. Former Ambassador Henry Morgenthau was the Chairman of the Reception Committee and among the members were former President Calvin Coolidge, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jane Addams, Carrie Chapman Catt, Mrs. J. Borden Harriman, Miss Anne Morgan, Mrs. Margaret Sanger, Mr. John W. Davies, Mr. Abram Elkus, Mr. Alfred P. Sloan, Mr. Arthur Sulzberger, Myron C. Taylor and others. Mr. Morgenthau introduced the guest of honour as "the beautiful product of thought and pen." The poet recited some of his poems in Bengali and in English. The same month he was received by President Herbert Hoover at the White House. Soon after Tagore addressed a large audience at the Carnegie Hall in New York City on 'Personality'. Hundreds of people were unable to gain admission. He implored the people of America, for whom he had great admiration, to use their great creative genius not only to create machines but also Men.

Though essentially a poet and a dreamer, Tagore was not a dreamer on an ivory tower. As he sings in *Naivedya* :

"Bhaber lolit krorey na rakhi nileen
Karma kshetre kori dao saksham swadhin"

"Leave me not in the soft lap of comfort
and vain dreams
But make me fit and free in the field of
action."

Again in *Gitanjali*, he says:

"Leave this chanting and singing and
telling of beads,
Whom dost thou worship in this lonely
dark corner of a temple
With doors all shut,
Open thine eyes and see thy God is now
before thee.
He is there where the tiller is tilling the
hard ground
And the path-maker is breaking the stones
He is with them in sun and in shower,
And his garment is covered with dust.
Put off thy holy mantle and even like Him
Come down on the dusty soil. . . .
What harm is there if thy clothes become
tattered and stained:
Meet Him and stand by Him in toil and
in the sweat of thy brow."

Perhaps it is this feature of the poet's life that attracted the people of America. His International University of Visva-Bharati attracted many scholars and idealists from America, such as Prof. Goodrich of Columbia University, Rev. John H. Holmes, Prof. Merle Curti of Wisconsin University and Prof. E. Burt of Cornell University. Today, twenty years after his death, America joins the rest of the world in paying tribute to Rabindranath Tagore, a path-finder of a new age.

In appreciation of his universal appeal, in the winter of 1958, the Rabindranath Tagore Centenary Committee was formed in America by a group who, in this troubled time, wished to present a new Tagore's ideals of international co-operation and understanding. It is gratifying that many persons in the educational, religious and cultural life of America have become associated with this Committee. The Committee has Miss Pearl Buck, a Nobel-laureate in literature and Norman Cousins, Editor of *Saturday Review*, as Honorary Chairman, Prof. W. Norman Brown of Pennsylvania University and a well-known Indologist, as Chairman, Prof. Taraknath Das, (now deceased), Prof. Amiya Chakravarty of Boston University, Prof. L. Carrington Goodrich of Columbia University, Prof. Richard Park and Prof. Robert Crane of Michigan University, Prof. Merle Curti of Wisconsin University and Prof. F. C. Northrop of Yale University, Prof. Stephen N. Hay of Chicago University and Mrs. G. J. Watumull of Watumull Foundation as Vice-

Chairman and Prafulla C. Mukherji, a retired metallurgist, as Executive Secretary.

The Committee felt a sense of great sorrow and loss at the sudden death of Prof. Taraknath Das who, from the beginning, took a leading part in its activities. In spite of many handicaps, the Committee has been able to accomplish a few significant things. The following may be mentioned among them :

1. Literary field :

- (a) *A Biography of Tagore*: by Krishna R. Kripalani, Secretary, Sahitya Akademi. Mr. Harvey Breit of New York is the sponsor of this book, which is now in the hands of publishers.
- (b) *A Tagore Reader* (an Anthology of Tagore's works). Hazen Foundation of New York, sponsored this book. It is now for sale. Prof. Amiya Chakravarty is editor of this book.
- (c) *Tagore and the West*—a collection of essays: by Prof. Stephen Hay, Prof. E. Dimock, Prof. Stella Kramrisch and others. These essays were read at the Annual Conference of the Association for Asian Studies held in Chicago last March. This volume should be ready by next fall.

2. Annual Tagore Lectureship :

In co-operation with Harvard University and the universities of Pennsylvania, Michigan, Wisconsin, Chicago and California, a Rabindranath Tagore Lectureship has been established. A distinguished scholar from India or elsewhere will be invited each year to give a series of lectures on some aspects of India for about two months a year. These lectures will be published by these universities in a volume each year. A special committee has been formed to handle the project. Prof. Sushil K. De of Calcutta University has been chosen as the first lecturer. The program will start next October.

3. Drama of Tagore :

Several universities have produced Tagore dramas during the centenary week, amongst them are: *Chandalika*—Harvard University in Washington and Chicago University. *Chitra*—University of Washington at Pullman. *Post Office*—Yale, Hawaii University, Antioch College. *King of the Dark Chamber*—Lowa State University, Jan Hus Theatre. *Valmiki Pratiba*—Wisconsin University and Illinois University.

4. Cultural Programs :

- (a) On May 6, The Tagore Society of New York in co-operation with Indian Students' Association and International House gave an elaborate program of Tagore Music, recitations, dance, dramatic sketches and tableaux.
- (b) Hadassah, a noted Israeli dancer, trained in India, gave a concert of Tagore dances under the auspices of Tagore Centenary Committee, at the Hebrew Association Auditorium, on April 25.
- (c) On May 11, the Tagore Society of Philadelphia in co-operation with Public Library, arranged a public Tagore cultural program with Mrinalini Sarabhai as the principal dancer.
- (d) Cornell University Tagore Society arranged a variety of programs for four days.
- (e) The Centre of Asian Studies in San Francisco in co-operation with the Consulate of India, arranged cultural and lecture programs for two days, May 7 and 11.
- (f) India-America Cultural Association of Los Angeles arranged a cultural and lecture program. With the money they raised, they bought a complete set of Tagore books in English and presented it to the University of Southern California. Mr. Norris Poulson, Mayor of the City of Los Angeles has given the following proclamation: "As Mayor of the City of Los Angeles, I proclaim the week of May 1-7, 1961, as Tagore Week, and I call upon all citizens to familiarize themselves with the work of this great and honored poet whose 100th anniversary of birth will be celebrated during this period."

Col. Edmund G. Brown, Governor of California, sent us the following Message: "I join with my fellow Californians, the people of the United States, and lovers of freedom throughout the world in celebrating the centenary of the birth of Rabindranath Tagore. The life of India's great poet-philosopher serves as a beacon throughout the world. Rest assured, the people of California who know the greatness of Tagore will pause on May 7, to honor his memory."

Similar cultural and lecture programs were given in many colleges and universities and even

in some public schools. For sometime past we have tried to train young American students to sing Tagore songs and recite Tagore poems. It is a thrilling experience to hear young American High School boys and girls and young church people sing Tagore songs in Bengali and recite :

"Where the mind is without fear
And the head is held high,
Into that heaven of freedom
Let my country awake."

I believe with little organized effort these can be extended throughout the country. They should take root, because these songs are beautiful and the poems, like the Gettysburg Address of Lincoln are universal and ennobling.

5. Lectures and panel sessions :

- (a) On March 27-29, in connection with the Annual Conference of the Association for Asian Studies, held in Chicago, two sessions were arranged to discuss various aspects of Tagore's life. These sessions were well-attended and created great interest. Prof. Richard L. Park of Michigan University and Vice-Chairman of the Tagore Centenary Committee, presided at the first session. Prafulla C. Mukherji, Executive Secretary of the Committee, spoke on Tagore's personality. Prof. T. W. Clark of London University and at one time a visiting professor at Visva-Bharati, spoke on Tagore's humanism. Prof. Stella Kramrisch of Pennsylvania University, who taught at Calcutta University for a long time and had visited Santiniketan frequently at the invitation of the poet, spoke on Tagore as a painter. Prof. Stephen Hay of Chicago University and a Vice-Chairman of the Tagore Centenary Committee, who also did research work in Calcutta and paid occasional visits to Visva-Bharati, spoke on Tagore in America. Prof. Edward Dimock of Chicago University, and well-versed in Rabindra Literature both in English and in Bengali and who just a short time ago wrote a scholarly article on 'Rabindranath the greatest of the Bauls of Bengal,' presided at the second session. Prof. Amiya Chakravarty of Boston University and editor of 'A Tagore Reader,' spoke on Tagore as a poet. Prof. Buddhadeva Bose of Jadavpur University and a visiting professor at

New York University, spoke on Tagore Literature, and Prof. Naresh Guha also of Jadavpur University and now a visiting professor at North-western University, spoke on Tagore and the West.

- (b) On April 18, at the Asia House of New York there was a symposium on 'Abundant genius of Tagore.' Prof. Amiya Chakravarty and Mr. Chadbourne Gilpatric of Rockefeller Foundation, participated in the program. There were recitations of Tagore poetry both in English and in Bengali.
- (c) On April 19, at the New York Town Hall at a public meeting Robert Frost, the well-known poet of America and Norman Cousins, the Editor of *Saturday Review* and Honorary Chairman of the Tagore Centenary Committee, paid tribute to Tagore. John D. Rockefeller, 3rd, presided. President Kennedy and Prime Minister Nehru sent special messages for this meeting. Frost in paying tribute to Tagore, said that Tagore was an artist in the real sense of the word and that he was not afraid to live for arts' sake. He also said that ineffable is the proper word to explain Tagore's poetry and his search for something beyond, endless, great. Norman Cousins said that Rabindranath Tagore was a world figure and not only a national figure, that he was a universal man. According to Mr. Cousins, Mr. Nehru was more influenced by Tagore than by Gandhi; Gandhi made him look within but Tagore gave him a sense of history. Mr. Cousins concluded by saying, "Tagore tried to connect man to man, nation to nation and yesterday with today and tomorrow. He spoke to all men, not to one man."
- (d) On May 4, Senator J. W. Fulbright, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, and Senator John Sherman Cooper paid tribute to Tagore from the floor of the Senate of the United States. On the same day Congressmen Emanuel Celler of New York, Frank Thompson of New Jersey and James G. Fulton of Pennsylvania also paid tribute to the memory of Tagore from the floor of the House of Representatives.

- (e) On May 7, a Tagore Memorial Service was held at the Community Church of New York. This is the church where Rev. John Haynes Holmes, a long-time friend of Tagore, is the pastor emeritus. Unfortunately, on account of very feeble condition of his health, he was not able to attend. The present Minister Dr. Donald Harrington in association with Swami Nikhilananda and Swami Pavitrananda of the Vivekananda Society, officiated at the Service. The Tagore Society rendered Tagore hymns. The Service was well-attended by Indian and American friends.
- (i) On May 8, at the Grand Ball Room of Astor Hotel of New York a public dinner meeting was held. The Tagore Society, The Indian Chamber of Commerce and the Indian Consulate co-operated with the Tagore Centenary Committee to make the function a great success. Prof. T. W. Clark of London University was the principal speaker. He was followed by a cultural program. Hon. S. K. Roy, the Consul-General of India, presided and Dr. Rose Mukherji acted as Mistress of Ceremonies.
- (g) At Cornell University, on May 5, Prof. Edwin A. Burt of the Philosophy Department, made a Radio Address on Rabindranath Tagore. And on May 10, Prof. Amiya Chakravarty gave a lecture on 'Rabindranath Tagore—his Art and Philosophy' in the Alice Statler Auditorium.
- (h) On May 25, a public meeting was held at the Auditorium of the Smithsonian Institute in Washington. Among the audience were many distinguished persons, high officials, senators and congressmen and diplomats. Supreme Court Justice, William O. Douglas presided. He remarked: "Rabindranath Tagore born a century ago, distilled the essence of Indian civilization and put it in endearing forms before the world. Tagore was among the first who saw how awesome force would become, how absolute the cult of war. It was he who put the challenge to the present generation—the call to political action, the summons to co-operative programs among men of all continents. The most

singular honor that came to him in his life-time was not the Nobel Prize, but the fact, boatmen on India's rivers and drivers of bullock-carts on India's roads sang his songs without knowing that it was he who plucked them from the soul of India." Amongst the speakers were Prof. Amiya Chakravarty, Ambassador M. C. Chagla, Mr. Herman A. Sieber, a poet, and Mr. D. N. Chatterjee, Minister. Ambassador Chagla said, "that Tagore acted as a bridge between the East and the West and between the past and the present. He wanted his own people to realize what a great cultural heritage India possessed and he set out to be the interpreter of that culture to the West. Deeply dedicated to India, he was not parochial in his outlook. In the true sense of the word he was a citizen of the world who wanted the Indian Mansion to be built with all its windows open to all the winds that might blow from any and every direction." Prof. Chakravarty said, "In some ways it is uniquely appropriate that the Centennial of Tagore's birth should be celebrated in universities, religious centres and other great institutions all over the United States. For, like India, this country owes its strength to a chromatic, multi-cultural inheritance which is being woven here, as in all other civilizations into the still finer fabric of unity. Tagore loved this country, which he visited five times and he loved the people, poets, writers, workers and thinkers of this land. Journeying in the West and the East, Tagore proclaimed the participation of all races in the great adventure of man. In a divisive epoch, torn by violence and intolerance, he held the horizon in his vision. Thus he was able to sustain his purpose and substitute it by untiring work in the fields of education, rural welfare, and international living at Santiniketan. His songs were a victory of the spirit of man."

- (i) Similar lecture meetings have been reported from many colleges and universities, Harvard University, Syracuse University, Erie College, Pomona College, Rutgers University, Brooklyn College,

Ethical Culture Society of New York and others.

6. Exhibition of Tagore Books and Paintings :

- (a) The Orientalia Division of the Library of Congress, under the direction of Dr. Poleman, exhibited all the works of Tagore in English and other languages. It also issued a special bulletin with an annotated bibliography. The exhibition lasted two months.
- (b) New York Central Public Library under the direction of Dr. Misch, exhibited all the works of Tagore with several portraits for the months of May and June.
- (c) Cleveland Central Public Library also exhibited all of Tagore's works and issued a special bulletin.
- (d) Chicago University, Harriet Monroe Library, exhibited all Tagore works with many portraits and manuscripts, under the direction of its curator, Mrs. Judith Bond.
- (e) Similar exhibitions were held in Philadelphia Public Library and libraries of many cities and colleges.
- (f) Forty of Tagore paintings in collotype, produced by Ganymed Press of London for the Government of India, were exhibited by the Indian Embassy in Washington. The Asia Society of New York has secured a set. As soon as they are properly mounted, they will be put on exhibition and later circulated throughout the country—mostly in universities.

7. Tagore Societies have been formed in New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Cornell University, Los Angeles, San Francisco and other places. They have been organizing lecture meetings and cultural programs. Their aim is to make Tagore poetry, drama and songs familiar to youngmen and women in American Colleges and High Schools. We are hoping to extend this work throughout the country. The response so far has been encouraging. It is greatly to be hoped that Indian students in this country and other Indian residents will co-operate with this work.

8. Documentary film on Tagore, produced by Satyajit Ray, have been shown in several places in New York and Washington. They will be circulated throughout the country in the fall.

9. Materials on Tagore's several visits in the United States, have been collected from libraries and private sources.

10. Tagore's *King of the Dark Chamber* in New York's Off-Broadway Theatre.

Some of the dramas of Tagore have been occasionally played on College stages in America but until now never on a professional stage. In 1916, the Stage Society produced *CHITRA* for one night with Alla Nazimova playing the title role. Tagore attended that performance. We had always hoped that Tagore's dramas would regularly be played in America on professional stage. It was, therefore, with great expectation that the Rabindranath Tagore Centenary Committee in America accepted the opportunity to sponsor *King of the Dark Chamber*, one of Tagore's dramatic and philosophical plays, which Krishna Shah, the talented and earnest young artist from the Indian National Theatre, agreed to direct and Patricia Newhall, Harold Leventhal and Van Joyce offered to produce in an Off-Broadway Theatre.

Jan Hus Theatre in New York City was engaged and the play opened on the 9th of February. It was an eventful night for some of us. It was rather a select and critical audience which packed the hall. Those of us who had followed the rehearsals, had no doubt about the success of the play, and at the end of the final scene it was evident from the reaction of the audience that it had made a great 'hit.' After midnight when the early editions of New York newspapers started to come out in the streets, our optimism was vindicated. All the papers of New York, without a single exception, acclaimed *King of the Dark Chamber* as a great play and that it was well-directed and played.

At this writing, the play has been going on for almost five months with eight performances a week and almost full house for each performance. We are very happy not only for the success of this particular venture but also for the feeling that the ground has been broken and that other dramas of Tagore can be played on professional stages of this country with confidence. It is our belief that close co-operation from the Government of India and the Indian Chamber of Commerce will encourage future producers. We also believe that Indian nationals in foreign countries should co-operate with such cultural undertakings. It should be mentioned here that Mr. S. K. Roy, the Consul-General of India in New York, and his associates, gave active co-operation to the Tagore Centenary Committee.

On the eve of the opening night of the play we were heartened by a cablegram from Mr. Ellsworth Bunker, American Ambassador to India. It said: "The occasion of the New York premiere of Tagore's *King of the Dark Chamber* offers an unusual opportunity for many Americans to share in the Tagore Centenary Celebrations. My best wishes for the success of this venture go to the American Tagore Centenary Committee, to the producers, to the members of the cast and to the director who made this production possible."

We are specially grateful to the producers for their earnest effort and steadfast faith in the ultimate success of the venture; to the director Krishna Shah, who with considerable personal sacrifice and under unfavorable circumstances, worked diligently to make this play a success, and to the members of the cast whose hearty co-operation and best efforts made this success possible.

The main cast consists of twenty players and the under-studies and technicians will make the total of about thirty-six. Of these only four are from India. In India the name of Bhaskar, the well-known dancer and actor should be familiar. He is the son of the noted sculptor and painter Debi Prasad Roy Chowdhury. He made an excellent Thakurdada, the old wise-man of the kingdom. He not only choreographed the dances in the play but also interpreted faithfully his part. His song "My beloved is in my heart" is most effective. Bhaskar has performed in Carnegie Hall, New York Town Hall, Brooklyn Academy of Music, Radio City Music Hall, Jacobs Pillow, etc.

Surya Kumari—(Queen Sudareshana) is charming and talented. She is from Madras. She had previous experience on the stage and the screen in India. She is an accomplished singer and dancer. In New Delhi she played the part of the heroine in Tagore's *Chitra*.

Rahila—(Surangama, the maid of honor) comes from Calcutta and as Surangama makes a very good maid of honor. She is subtle, sensitive and graceful and is a good actress. She comes from a good theatrical family. She has played in Repertory Companies in India, England and Ireland.

Madhur Jaffrey—(Rohini, the Queen's maid) is from New Delhi. She is vivacious and follows the mood of the play intelligently. She

started on the professional stage at an early age. She continued her training at the Royal Academy of Dramatic Art, London and with Martin Browne, of the British Drama League.

Brock Peters—(King of the Dark Chamber) is an American Negro, born in New York. He is an accomplished actor with considerable experience. With his deep baritone voice and meaningful gestures, he makes an excellent King. He just seems to fit into his part. With Krishna Shah's stage setting and interpretation and Brock Peter's acting the King of the Dark Chamber became a meaningful and really an exciting play. Brock Peters has played leading parts in 'Porgy and Bess,' 'Anna Lucasta,' 'My darling Aida,' etc.

Among others Bruce Glover as King of Kanchi and Noel Schwartz as Suvarna, the false king have drawn applause from the audience. Bruce Glover is a graduate in Theatrical Arts from North-western University. He is an experienced actor, and does credit to the cast.

Krishna Shah (Director)—is from Bombay. Though young, has considerable experience. He graduated from the Indian Academy of Dramatic Arts. He has played and directed plays there. Sponsored by the Indian National Theatre, he came to this country. He received M.A. in drama from Iowa State University, where he first produced *King of the Dark Chamber*.

Patricia Newhall (Producer)—is an accomplished actress and producer by profession. She has produced such plays as 'No Exit,' 'Blood Wedding,' 'Riders to the Sea' and 'La Ronde.' She also played in some of them. Miss Newhall and Hans Weigert have translated 'La Ronde' which shortly will be published by Random House. Two years ago she, assisted by Krishna Shah, produced *Shakuntala* in an Off-Broadway Theatre.

Nobody comes out of the theatre without a feeling of satisfaction. It is a wonderful blend of classical and folk dramas of India. Tagore has introduced in the play both humor and sarcasm, disappointment, anguish, sorrow and cunning intrigue; at the same time there is childlike simplicity, faith and above all love, so that in the end untarnished truth and love triumph. After the play *Herald Tribune* of New York, remarked, "It is the drama at its height when the lights are low in *The King of the Dark Chamber*, an Indian play by Rabindranath Tagore, at the Jan Hus Theatre." *New York Times*, after the

opening night said, "The Classic Theatre of India, as transmuted by Rabindranath Tagore, in *The King of Dark Chamber* is an unusual experience. For theatre goers it is venturesome enough to expose themselves to the unfamiliar and unconventional. *The King of the Dark Chamber* is a striking amalgamation of mind, song, dance and poetry. Its appeal is to the mind as well as to the senses. Its ancient eastern wisdom has meaning for all. Tagore's vision is expressed by a blending of all the arts of the theatre."

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DR. ANNIE BESANT **Maker of Modern India**

By P. RAJESWARARAO

It is nearly three decades since Dr. Annie Besant, one of the foremost makers of modern India, was released from the mortal coil at the age of 86 in Adyar and ascended into the higher regions of immortality. 1st October, the date of her birth and 20th September, the date of her demise have more than passing significance to all patriotic and grateful Indians. Rarely do members of a ruling race interest themselves in the welfare of their subjects. To fewer still is given the good fortune of identifying themselves with the subject-race, guide and assist them during the dark days of struggle and misfortune.

She had come out to India in 1893 at the age of 46 having joined the Theosophical Society in 1889. She clearly saw the political dominance of the British, the imitation by some classes of people of what they regarded as Western ways of life and thought and finally the feeling in other classes that there was nothing left in the world that was worth having and that they must withdraw themselves into a shell, adhere as best as they could to the old ways. She tried to solve all these problems in the midst of all clashes and conflicts of time.

She told us that India was the homeland of invisible powers that rule the destinies of men and nations and that our ancient scriptures made us the teachers of the world. She made a careful study of all our sacred books and was always quoting chapters and verses as she delivered her

great orations. Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Gangadhar Sastri rightly described her as "Sarvasukla Saraswati." Her purpose was to wean all those who, due to the ignorance of their past, and unable to withstand the blinding light of the present were most unwisely thinking that there was nothing good in themselves or their ancestors. Naturally persons who were drawn away from their old moorings were induced to stop and to think, for these words came from a Britisher who had no axe to grind.

She founded the Central Hindu College, (which was later developed into a University by the late Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya) at Banaras, a place sacred to memory consecrated by legend and immortalised by history. Here the students were taught the literatures of the East and the West alike. Modern science was a part of their educational syllabus the teaching of ancient religion, philosophy and ethics also formed an integral part thereof.

The students of her hostels inter-dined with each other and she would not admit married students thus discouraging early marriages. Britishers, like Dr. Richardson and Dr. G. S. Arundale, who came to help her in her work mixed freely with the students and their Indian colleagues. Thus all racial discrimination was eliminated. She established schools for girls which were little known and less popular at that time. She encouraged and actively helped those of her students who could go abroad for further studies. Thus she brought about

a great deal of spontaneous reform without any hostility.

She wanted full freedom for India as a member of the Commonwealth (She used the word 'Commonwealth' for "Empire" for the first time). Now she stands vindicated since India chose to continue voluntarily as a member of the Commonwealth even after becoming a Republic. She gave the first flag to the Congress which was green and red—to represent the Muslims and the Hindus—to which a white portion with a spinning wheel was added later on to denote the minorities and to emphasise the importance of cottage industries. It was under her inspiration that for the first time that an official title like knighthood was discarded by Dr. S. Subrahmanya Iyer, Ex-Judge of the Madras High Court, who made history by sending a letter to President Wilson of the U.S.A., on Indian situation. It was due to her that first boycott of educational institutions took place when a woman medical student (Mrs. Sivakami) withdrew from a college in Bombay. To her, like William Blake, "Religion was politics and politics was brotherhood."

She entered active politics in 1914, when she started her "New India," a daily and "Commonwealth," a weekly in Madras which synchronised with the first world war. Mrs. Besant's slogan was "England's difficulty was India's opportunity." Her "Home Rule" movement attracted stalwarts like Lokamanya Tilak, Mr. M. A. Jinnah and Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer. By 1915, she became a force to be reckoned with. In 1916, she was being canvassed for the Presidentship of the Indian National Congress. She actually became the President of the Congress in 1917, at Calcutta. She gave a new turn to the organisation and established necessary and desirable conventions. She had undergone three months of internment during that year for her political activities along with her colleagues Arundale and Wadia.

At the Nagpur Congress of 1920, Gandhiji came to his own and from that time onwards he was the undisputed leader of political India. Dr. Besant's appeal was

more to the educated middle class while Gandhiji's was to the vast masses of the country. In short, hers was to the head and his was to the heart. In a way she was more human, for she made allowances of human nature and the failings of the flesh in others, while Mahatmaji found it difficult to do so. Thus the drift between them was complete.

She had some very remarkable characteristics. She was punctual to a fault. She personally replied to every letter addressed to her. She was a woman of great repose of mind even when she was the busiest. She was very keen on proprieties and would follow the customs of the place. She would not let go any occasion to say publicly a good word for any who helped her and her work in any way. She inspired the deepest affection for herself in those who were associated with her. Dr. Bhagavandas, a calculating and unemotional type of a man, who was working at Allahabad as Magistrate went to the station to receive her. They talked to each other. He resigned the Government service and joined Dr. Besant in her work for the Central Hindu College and the Theosophical Society. She nursed him continuously for days during one of his fatal illnesses. She did not care what the world thought of her close association with Charles Braadlaught. Thus she was capable of deepest affection without any thought of sex.

Her fidelity to her friends was also of the highest order. She would never say a bad word about them nor hear even the mildest criticism of them. She boldly and even recklessly defended Madame Blavatsky when charges of charlatantry were levelled against her. She left no stone unturned to protect Messrs. Krishnamurthy and Nityanandam when her guardianship of them was challenged and aspersions and insinuations of all sorts were made against her and her colleagues. She valiantly defended the marriage of Arundale with Rukmini Devi. Her faithful stand by the side of Mr. C. W. Leadbeater through thick and thin is a remarkable example of courage and true affection. In her will her personal servants Lakshmana and Bhaglu received

annuities, enough to enable them to live comfortably.

Dr. Besant had an amazing grace almost regal in its dignity for special occasions. While introducing a lady student to Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Iyer, the then Vice-Chancellor of the Banaras Hindu University, for the grant of the requisite degree she took off her academic cap and made a tremendous bow. She had great respect for persons born to rule. She often proposed that a member of the Royal family should come out to India as the Viceroy, so that Princes of India may not suffer the indignity of having to take a lower place than a person of less exalted birth. Her wish was posthumously fulfilled when Lord Mountbatten came to India as the last Viceroy.

By her life and work she became the precursor of Mahatma Gandhi. It was she who recognised at first the intrinsic merit in Gandhiji and styled him as Mahatma in politics. At the same time she refused to surrender her judgment and to compromise on fundamentals. She openly differed from him when he initiated the Civil Disobedience movement. Gandhiji also, in spite of his differences with her, greatly respected her. When she attended the Belgaum Sessions of the Indian National Congress in 1924 over which Gandhiji presided, he stood up as she entered the Hall and the audience standing up with him bade her a right Royal welcome. When she handed over a slip expressing a desire to address the gathering Gandhiji immediately stopped all proceedings, invited her to speak and appealed to the audience to give her a most respectful hearing.

But she had to face calumny and ingratitude. Mr. Kaparde, the Maratha leader, pungently addressed her as 'Putana.' Dr. T. M. Nair, one of the founders of the Justice Party caricatured her most cruelly and without any sense of decency. When pressed by Sri Sri Prakasa to point out the defects which prevented us from rising and

kept us down Dr. Besant answered unwillingly and with sorrow that we were not a generous people and told him how our leaders did not encourage the younger section in the rank and file and how they put down talents. How jealous we feel of any one coming up, is a matter of common experience. Dr. Besant evidently spoke the gospel truth about our national defect.

We have had a number of distinguished persons undoubtedly famous and great in their own way in their own times and in their respective spheres, but small in stature when compared to this dynamic woman. She touched life at many points. Starting as an atheist she became a leader of theosophy. Besides she was an ardent social reformer, an eminent educationalist, great journalist, foremost orator, upholder of all just causes and a friend of the princes and the poor alike. Her memory is dearer to one and all. In the words of Dr. Mohammad Alam, she was the mother of Mother India. "The memory of the magnificent services rendered by her to India, Gandhiji said, "will live as long as India lives." "Her radiant spirit," observed Mrs. Sarojani Naidu, "rekindled India's faith in her own ideals and destiny." Rt. Hon'ble Sir V. S. Srinivasa Sastry was right when he said that "If they named any three or four of the other great people in India, the sum of their achievements and the aggregate of the benefit that they had rendered to this country would not exceed what stood unquestionably to her credit." Though she is no more, her spirit will probably be hovering over India watching our progress from "Swaraj" (self-government) to "Suraj" (good government) in every walk of life with sympathetic interest. The present generation in India can only pay its homage to her sacred memory and regret that they were not her colleagues in work or contemporaries in life.

NIRMAL CRAFT OF ANDHRA

Steady Progress At A Traditional Craft

The hill-locked forest-bound small village of Nirmal, in Warangal district of Andhra Pradesh, hardly looks like the home of a flourishing industry. Yet, working in the seclusion of the village, the craftsmen of Nirmal make wares and toys which are sought after by people all over India and abroad as well.



A Craftsman of Nirmal grinding wooden vessels

Legend has it that Nirmal got its name from Nimma Naik, who belonged to the Andhra Kakathiya dynasty of Warangal and was, at one time, the village headman. In those days, the master craftsmen of Nirmal made "gold" from herbal juices which was as effective and as enduring as real gold. Even colours were derived from gums and stones.

The beginning of the fascinating toy industry at Nirmal, however, owes its origin to the Velamas of Warangal and was practised by a community known as "Jeengars" who were adept at portrait painting. The subjects employed were mostly inspired by mythology and depicted characters and scenes from the Ramayana and Mahabharata.

The Toy Industry

The mainspring of the toy industry is, of course, the abundance of light wood in the surrounding forests and the gums and stones in the hills nearby. The generous patronage of the local nobility, however,

greatly stimulated the growth of the industry. The earliest names to be associated with the industry were those of Somaya and Limbiah who commercialised the craft about 150 years ago.

As years rolled by, other articles like trays, card-boxes and decorative panels came into vogue and got incorporated in the Nirmal craft. Besides the light punki wood, teak was also used to make certain types of articles. Among the large variety of utilitarian articles made in Nirmal now are furniture, salad bowls, card, cigarette and trinket boxes, lamps and ash trays. These are in addition to wall plaques, round plates and table plaques in different sizes, colours and designs.



Artists of Nirmal painting on Trays, Lamp-stands and other ornamental pieces

The wood used in making Nirmal articles is teak. After it has been cut in the required shape and finished on a lathe machine, the article receives coatings of nitrocellulose compound for giving it an even surface. This is followed by a Duco spray paint. Afterwards, designs are traced and perforated and chalk powder tied in a piece of muslin is passed over it. This process leaves a clear imprint of the design on the article and facilitates its paintings. After the painting is complete, the article receives a coat of Necol clear varnish which makes the colours permanent and gives a finish to the article.

Besides painting, figures are also drawn in "Kathil" or lead. This lead is beaten

along with glue on a hot stone to make a liquid. The figures are painted in this liquid and are finished by rubbing agate stone on it. The effect is strikingly silver and makes pleasing outline figures. For a gold effect, chemical gold is sprayed.

Marketing goods worth over Rs. 2 lakhs in the country and abroad, the industry is well on its way to a steady foreign exchange earner. Nirmal artware has an international market and is particularly popular in the United Kingdom and the United States of America. This medium has been successfully employed by the craftsmen of Nirmal to recreate the world famous Ajanta figures, Moghul miniatures and traditional oriental designs. The latest

inspiration for the Nirmal artists comes from the Lopakshi Temple paintings and the bronzes of South India.

During the last decade concerted efforts have been made by the Andhra State Government to develop the industry and perfect the techniques and implements employed in it. An expansion scheme for the industry is now proposed to be undertaken which will help to meet the growing demand for Nirmal ware. A market research project has shown that the products are admired and are catering to the middle income groups also. It has also revealed that new designs which are simple and striking at the same time are desired by the customers.

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DURGA WORSHIP IN ECONOMIC PERSPECTIVE

By J. GHOSH

With **kalparambha**, the preparatory worship, continuing for five days until **panchami**, the fifth moon, invocation of Goddess Durga takes place on **sasthi**, the sixth. Following **mahasnan**, the ceremonial holy bath, the Goddess comes to earth on **saptami**, the seventh. She stays for three days until **nabami**, the ninth moon, and in the morning of **dasami**, the tenth, she returns to Kailash. Celebrated with all pageantry and splendour in autumn, the Sakti worship in India has its importance not from religious viewpoint alone.

Of **kalparambha**, the preparatory, **nabapatrika** is an interesting feature. On the first moon is built an abstract human figure composed of plantain and certain other plants, herbs, clusters, and bark, assembled together with jute and coloured cotton thread. Formed thus of green fresh leaves of autumn, the structure is **nabapatrika**, the popular "**Kalabou**". She represents energy in Nature, from where we draw ours.

Panchagunri (five colours: white, red, yellow, green and blue); vermillion; **panchapallav** (clusters of mangoes, **pakur**,

banyan, pupil, and **jagmadumur** trees); **pancharatna** (five valuables: gold, diamond, emerald, ruby and pearl); **panchashashya** [five essential cereals: rice, maskalai (a kind of pulse), sesame, mug (pulse), and wheat]; **panchagobya** (five useful materials obtained of cow: milk, curd, **ghee**, cowdung and the urine); earthen pitcher; **kumbha-hanri**, a specially decorated sacred pitcher; mirror; **tekatha** (bamboo spool used by Indian weavers); arrows; sunned rice; green cocoanut with stem; cotton wears as **dhuti**, **sari** and napkin; flowers; sugar; **bara naibedya**, consisting of rice, sugar, vegetable and sweets; **kancha naibedya** to consist of fruits, sweets; etc.); gold-coated silver ring; brass, copper and bell-metal utensils are the general worshipping requirements at this preparatory stage.

The legend goes that the autumn celebration of Durga worship began from the time King Rama had worshipped Sakti for defeating Ravana and recovering his beloved wife Sita whom Ravana had stolen away. Sita, it is said, was got of soil in course of his father Janak tilling land. Apparently, Indians by then had learnt to



Goddess Durga in full glory killing the Demon Mahishasura

use land for producing the essential cereals enumerated under **panchashashya**, appreciate the superb excellence of gold, silver and precious stones found in Nature, and visualise the prospect and possibilities of **pancharatna** as stores of enormous value.

Of all the earthly wealth in all parts of the globe, cattle enjoyed a respectable position in Indian philosophy, and obviously for the economic utility attached to the things and services received of this docile animal, **panchagobya** occupied a prominent place. Referring to body or mind, the English equivalent to **sakti** is "force" or "energy." In making good physical wear and tear and regaining energy, significant are the **panchashashyas**, and the **panchamrita**, consisting of honey and sugar added to the three edible items under **panchagobya**: milk, curd and ghee.

Kalabou belongs to fair sex, and among

her special requirements, cosmetics are not omitted. She is served with hair-cleaning rose-water on the first day. On the second day she needs hair ribbon; for this, raw jute is prescribed. On the third are served mirror, vermilion and lacquer dye used for adorning ladies' feet in India. On the fourth is supplied lamp-black for eyes, and for personal bedecking on the fifth, she needs clothings, jewellery and decorative articles.

On merit and aptitude, Lord Krishna in Gita was said to have grouped people into four: Brahman, Kshyatriya, Vaishya and Sudra. These are the four **varnas** referred also in the **Rig Veda**. In India's ancient social framework, the jurisdiction of each was restricted by deadlines based on economic divisions of collective labour. The first autumn celebration of Sakti took place in Lanka. To celebrate the worship on that isolated island, Rama, a **kshyatriya**, is said to have had no other course than to depend

on his very enemy Ravana, a **Brahman**, to work as his priest.

There is in India hardly a place not worshipping Goddess Durga, in some form or another. By requisitioning their goods and services, the occasion is marked for its balanced support to numerous craft and professional communities forming distinct caste groups with common class interest not necessarily falling under the four-fold Vedic division of **Varna**. The celebration, for instance, depends on the priest, the organiser; and the barber to help him; on jewellers for jewellery and precious stones; on peasants for crops; on **Gope** or the **Goala** for milk products; on potter for pitchers and clay images; on weavers for clothings; on blacksmith (**kamar**) for iron and arrows; on **Malakar** for jewellery and decorative ornamentations for the idols; on **kansaris** (non-ferrous metal workers) for metal and alloy utensils; and on **Dhulidars** for beating drums. These castes and sub-castes needed a planned economic backing of the kind broadly covered by these religious requirements. By custom, again, people on this occasion should start afresh with everything new, including wears.

In idolatry, the deity for worship is given a positive form, usually human. To the idols are offered the wide range of economic goods produced or collected from Nature for meeting their own wants, comfort, luxury and adornment. In days when economy was purely manual, market localised, and publicity means unknown, religious festivals afforded artisans and professionals a scope to present their best talent and skill before the crowd assembling on such occasions. The offerings and equipments presented before the deity, thus, served as specimens of the work they could turn out. Moreover, there was the popular belief that to avoid divine displeasure, goods intended for religious use must conform to a very high standard of craft-skill, imagination and beauty.

Thus, in India's religious practice, art played an important role. Idol, **daksaj** (decorative jewellery and ornamentations for the idols), equipment, accessory or utensil, things connected with the celebration of a diety must exist. Structurally and

ornamentally too, these in consequence were remarkably rich in all the elements of art and utility. The **panchagunri** used in **alpna** drawing consists of white, red, yellow, blue and green colour. It is interesting to observe that red, yellow, blue and green are the basic colours from which are obtained all the rest.

While the preliminary worshipping in **Kalpambha** mainly dealt with Nature, agriculture, extraction, cattle, and early wealth in their perspective to questions of human living and requirement, at the end of this preparatory period on **sasthi**, the sixth moon, we step forward in the history of economic progress. Here, we come across industrial metals as iron and copper, and a life more comfortable, evidenced by the **shorashapachara** needed in connection with the reception of Goddess Durga. A **shorashapachara** consists of land, seating equipment (**asan**), water, clothings, lamp, rice (**sabhojya**, i.e., with pulse, vegetable, etc.); betel leaves, umbrella, perfumery, garland, fruits, bedding equipments, footwear, cow or value, gold, and silver. These are all articles of daily use men could collect and produce by efforts resources obtained from Nature. For their special virtues of storing value to function as the medium of exchange in the future, gold and silver were also included. Another interesting item met here is a **chamar**, the ingenious worshipping fan made of animal hairs provided with a nicely built wooden handle.

Prior to their being enlivened by invocation, the images undergo a ceremonial holy bath, technically known as the **mahasnan**. For this **mahasnan** have been prescribed: mustard oil, haridra (an anti-septic agricultural produce used as soap), tooth-stick (for cleaning teeth), **panchakashaya** (bark of five specific trees having pharmaceutical value), dews, cane-juice, sesame and vishnu oil, cocoanut water, **sarbousadhi** (panacea, consisting of ten particular medicinal herbs), **mahousadhi** (eight kinds of different herbs), camphor, **kumkum**, rain-water, water and earth from various different sources.

The elements, of which water for the **mahasnan** must compose are: water in which **pancharatnas** have been im-

mersed; water drops depositing on lotus; rain-water; coconut water; water from river Saraswati; from a fountain; and from the seven seas. Thus the holy bath on this occasion is a pointer to the various sources from which water is found, to its constituents, nature, and difference in their quality, and to the value of this essential supply which a British economist had gone to the extent of counting as wealth. In procuring water from all the seven seas for the holy bath of this Goddess in India, she exchanges with the rest of the world a mission of peace and goodwill, for which, again, navigation was an essential prerequisite.

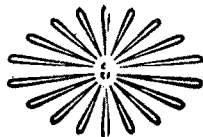
Earth, from places dug by the elephant, boar and the bull with their trunk, teeth and horn; from the river Ganges; from a point at which two roads have crossed; from the royal palace; from earthen-homes built by white ants; from a hill; and from both banks of a river are among the earth requirements for the **mahasnan**. Unless backed by means and ideas, mere necessity does not lead always to invention. It is not unlikely that for the first time in our economic evolution, elephant, boar and bull, digging earth by their trunk, teeth and horn have led to the discovery of tools and implements suitable for agriculture and extraction. Curious to mark, there is a typical similarity between an elephant's trunk and the Indian plough, between the curves of a bull's horn and of a spade.

The habitat of white-ants is an instance of how earth could be used as the raw material for building living homes. Collecting earth from both the banks of a river in autumn, following monsoon, presents difficulties not easily surmountable. Success in **sakti** worship lies, however, in making miracles possible, and they do. The urge to overcome the barrier of water, river or sea, boats, ships, bridges and barrages are built.

The need for roadways grew as a simultaneous process, earth from a crossing of two roads, forming an ingredient to elements for the **mahasnan**, is given the importance of transport as the means of communication. The earth from the royal palace reminds one of one's obligations to the king, the sovereign power, obedience to whom was emphasised also in religious preachings of the country.

Built by potter of wood, straw and clay, the idols appear on spot by **saptami**, the seventh moon, adequately ornamented with costume, background, jewellery and headwear. They carry the symbols. Saraswati, the goddess of learning, is provided with study and writing materials, To Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth, a casket is the special offer. The traditional casket presented to the goddess of wealth is an excellent form built usually of cane, with surface richly decorated with cowrie, money used as the first medium of exchange. As store of riches, it must not remain empty; gold, silver and some paddy are the things it contains. Head of militia at the heaven, Kartick, is armed with bow and arrows; and Ganesh is the god of success, needing priority worship.

Speared at the chest and furiously attacked by lion, the symbolic carrier of Goddess Durga, the muscular Mahishasura, depicting ruthless misuse of force for oppression, succumbs kneeling to the Goddess. Standing by Her side, Her two daughters, 'Wealth and Knowledge,' and Her two sons, 'Reasoning and Will.' Unlike, as in Chamunda where, **Sakti** is 'force,' aiming at violence and ending in destruction, the **Sakti** here is suggestive of energy for productivity diverted to creation of wealth and welfare. Follows on, the full moon a few days later, the ceremonial worship of Lakshmi, the Goddess of Wealth, connecting the two almost together.



THE PANRS :

An Ethno-Socio Study of a Small Community

By AMAL KUMAR DAS

THE term "Community" connotes the maximal group of persons who normally reside together in face to face association. In other words a community can be simply defined as a number of people having common ties and or interests and living in the same locality. The community and the nuclear family are the only social groups that are genuinely universal. They occur in every known human society, and both are also found in germinal form on a sub-human level. Loosely speaking the term community may be applied to any group which holds together long enough to develop a culture. Historically seen, this term has evolved from a simple to a complex conception. Originally the term was used by sociologists but recently Anthropologists became more interested in the study of community organisation and noteworthy contributions in the initial stage were made by J. H. Steward, ("The Economic and Social Basis of Primitive Bands", Essays in Anthropology presented to A. L. Kroeber (Barkeley, 1936, pp. 331-50) and R. Linton, (The Study of Man, New York, 1936, pp. 209-30). Originally the term, Community, was used in social sciences as designating a geographical area with definite legal boundaries, occupied by residents engaged in inter-related economic activity and constituting politically a self-governing unit. This conception of community was primarily derived from the ideas of structure: a geographical area, a system of inter-related economic institutions and in independent framework of the government. The newer conception of the community on the other hand, is derived principally from ideas of process. A community, is therefore, defined according to the new conception as, any consciously organised aggregation, of individuals, residing in a specified area or locality, endowed with, limited political autonomy, supporting such primary institutions as schools, temples, etc. The status of an individual in a modern community derives from his relationship to functional groups. His personality and his interests are effective in so far as represented in organised forms; the unassociated individual loses both status and functional capacity.

The community appears always to be asso-

ciated with a definite territory, whose natural resources which its members exploit in accordance with the technological attainments of their culture. In consequence of its common territory and of the inter-dependence of its constituent families, the community becomes the principal focus of associative life. Since it is mainly through face to face relations that a person's behaviour is influenced by his fellows—motivated, cued, rewarded, and punished—the community is the primary seat of social control. United by reciprocal relationships and bound by a common culture, the members of a community form an "in-group," characterized by internal peace, law, order and co-operative effort.

The community seems to be the most typical social group to support a total culture. For this reason anthropologists, sociologists, and social psychologists have shown a marked interest in recent decades in community studies. It is to be noted that in rural areas, villages, the community process is still more closely related to family, neighbourhood and institutional factors than urban areas, big cities, etc.

Keeping these ideas in the background a systematic approach was made for a community study in the month of January, 1960, in Damdama village of Bangaon P.S. in the District of 24-Parganas of West Bengal among the 'Panrs.' Panr is a synonym generally used for Pans. Here a few lines have been quoted from Herbert Risley's 'castes and tribes of Bengal, Vol. II, Page 155', to give an idea about this caste. According to Risley's own words, "Pan is a low, weaving, basket-making and servile caste scattered under various names (Pan, Panwa, Panr, Pab, Panika, Chik, Chik-Baraik, Baraik, Ganda, Mahato, Swasi, Tanti) throughout the north of Orissa and southern and western parts of Chotanagpur. Like most castes, which are spread over a large area of the country, the Pans appear under several different names, the origin of which it is now difficult to trace."

Local consensus about these people :—The Panrs of village Damdama are locally known as Tanti and to outsiders they generally identify themselves as a "Panr Tanti." Now-a-days they

are agriculturists. Present occupations of these people do not signify, the inert idea of the caste name which literally meant "weaver." However, a strong belief still exists among them regarding their past occupation which justifies the significance of the name "Panr lanti." According to these people, in the past, when their forefathers used to live in Ranchi side, they used to apply rice gruel (Mar) to the yarns for weaving, hence they were known as "Mar Ganja Panr." Now-a-days the Panrs of this area are totally cut-off socio-politically from their homeland and no inter-communication exists between them and their fellow kiths and kins still residing in Ranchi area.

Pans in West Bengal :—According to 1951 census, total number of Pans residing in West Bengal is 1338, forming 0.02 per cent of the total scheduled caste population of the State. Except Malda and Darjeeling districts the Pans are scattered all over West Bengal. They are one of the smallest communities residing in West Bengal.

Concentration of Panrs in the District of 24-Parganas :—In the district of 24-Parganas, mainly in two police stations, viz., Bongaon and Sandeshkhally, Panrs are highly concentrated. About 100 families are found in P.S. Bongaon and are scattered in the following villages—Damdama, Nahata and Mamudpur of No. 3 Chauberia Union; Kasurhati and Kaikhali of Bairampur Union and Palla in Palla Union. In the P.S. Sandeshkhally, the Panr families are found in larger numbers than Bongaon P.S. In Sandeshkhally P.S. they are found in the following villages—Jhupkhali, Durgamandap Jelekhali, Manipur, Rajbari, Kokilpur, Rangabati, etc. By applying geneological case studies, close relational tie has been found existing between the Panrs of these two areas. Marriage and other socio-religious communication exists between them.

Migratory History :—The villagers are almost unaware of the fact of their migratory history. However, all of them know quite well that they are not the original inhabitants of this State. Their forefathers, in the long past, migrated to this State from Ranchi area. My two most important informants, viz., Raghunath Sardar, age 80, and Bideshi Sardar, age 78, (the senior-most members of Panrs of Damdama), gave some clue to their migratory history from their childhood memories. Their version runs

in the following way: The grandfathers of the above-mentioned two of my informants, migrated from Ranchi to Sundarban area to clear-up the forests. There, their fathers were born and when they had grown up they began to settle in that area. Once the area was heavily-flooded and their fathers migrated to the present village (Damdama). They were the original settlers in this village. The main reason for migrating in this village is to settle near their kith and kins, who had in the meantime migrated as labourers from Ranchi in the indigo-plantation and had settled in the surrounding villages of Damdama such as, Kaikhali, Kasurhati, Mamudpur, etc. The local consensus of the other caste people also follow the same line as above. Hence, it is clear from the above facts that two types of migration took place in this area. One group of Panrs were brought in this area from Ranchi in indigo-plantation as labourers and the other group of Panrs migrated from Ranchi to Sundarban area to clear-up the forests and a few of these families migrated to this area on account of some natural calamities. Old remnants of the houses of indigo-plantation are still visible in the surrounding villages. The house of the famous writer, Late Sri Dinabandhu Mitra, of 'Nildarpan' fame, is situated in Chauberia village, 2 miles from Damdama. My geneological case studies also quite favourably support the above two types of migrations in this area.

The Village :—The village Damdama is situated in No. 3 Chauberia Union of Bongaon P.S. in the District of 24-Parganas in West Bengal. It is 12 miles away from Bongaon P.S. and about 5 miles from Gaighata P.S. It is surrounded by Mamudpur, Nahata, Sherpur, Saolapara villages, all belonging to No. 3 Chauberia Union. According to 1951 census, the area of the village is 346.81 acres and the population is 342. From the figure of 1951 census, it can however, be stated that the village is scarcely populated. The people living in the village are divided into three major communities, viz., Panrs, Muslims and Mahisyas.

An unmetalled path runs through the heart of the village and communication, etc., are carried on through this path. The houses are constructed on either side of this path. Bullock carts and bicycles are the only means of communication. Big trees are rare. The village is full of jungly herbs and shrubs and bamboo

grooves are innumerable in number. The soil is suitable for paddy, and the proportion of sand is higher than the clay element.

According to 1951 census, out of a total population of 342, 149 are literate. This figure mainly consists of Muslims and Mahisyas. Among Panrs only three persons read upto class VIII and another now reading in class X. Panrs of the older generation are totally ignorant of even the three R's, and still most of them can't even sign or read their names. But now-a-days they have realised the importance of education and are encouraging their children to attend schools.

There are only two tube-wells in the village. One in the Muslim area and the other in the house of a wealthy Panr. Most of the Panrs now-a-days use tube-well water for drinking purpose. Still a large number of them use the tank, which is situated by the side of their settlement and used both for bathing as well as for drinking purposes. For cooking, all the families use tank water as they think cooking by tube-well water does not produce good taste in food.

All the communities in the village are unaccustomed with the use of latrine. No sanitary or any other type of latrine is found in the village. All attend nature's call in the surrounding fields. Their previous experience of using service-type of latrine generally produced a hostile attitude towards the use of latrine, as it produced bad smell.

Modern medical treatment, is gradually replacing their folk medicine. During any disease they now visit rural health centres. Cholera and small-pox are still believed by them as due to some Goddess and are still treated by village medical men. Rural health centres are trying to improve the situation by intensive propaganda but still the attitude of the people has not undergone any marked change.

The mother-tongue of the Panrs is 'Sadri' which is a mixture of Hindi and Bengali. Panrs generally communicate amongst them in their own mother-tongue but use Bengali in inter-communiting with the surrounding communities.

Settlement Pattern : Its history and ethnic situation :—In the village Damdama only three communities, viz., Panrs, Muslims and Mahisyas are found. Of these three communities, the Panrs are the earliest settlers and their family strength varies from 35 to 40 families. Muslims are the next to settle in this village with their family

strength varying from 20 to 25. Mahisyas are the last to settle in this village with a strength of 10 to 15 families and they have migrated from East Pakistan after partition. Bankarai Sardar and Mangar Sardar, fathers of Raghunath and Bideshi were the original settlers, in this village from Sandeshkhally P.S. Later on as the village developed other Panrs families, from Sundarban area began pouring into this village for settling permanently. Among the Muslims, the father of Punjab Ali Khan, an up-country Muslim was the first to settle in this village after the Panrs. Gradually other Muslim families, from Jessore (now in East Pakistan) came to this village, attracted by the fertility of the soil and the cheap rate of the agricultural land at that time. Mahisyas are the most recent settlers and all of them migrated from East Pakistan. Geneological case studies throw some light regarding the age of the settlement which may be said as 100 to 125 years old.

The three communities mentioned above have three definite and well-marked settlements in the three sides of the village, which they chose for their settlement. The agricultural land lies surrounding these settlements and no zonal demarcation on agricultural land on community basis is traceable which is the characteristic of their living settlement pattern. In the middle of these three settlements lies the three primary schools where the children of all the communities attend. The Panr settlement is found by the side of a big tank used both for drinking as well as bathing purposes. Muslims and Mahisyas settlements are just by the side of the agricultural field. House-types are typical as any other Bengal village with mud-walls and thatched roofs, with a courtyard in front and a kitchen-garden just at the back portion of the house.

Neighbourhood Pattern :—The village Damdama is surrounded by the following villages, Nahata, Mamudpur, Islampur, Sherpur, etc., all in No. 3 Chauberia Union. A number of castes and tribes such as, Namasudras, Mahisyas, Brahmins, Kayasthas, Tantubais, Muslims, Panrs, Munda, Bhumij, etc., reside in all these villages with identical settlement pattern and village set-up like the Damdama village. Formerly these villages were scarcely-populated but after partition the people from East Pakistan migrated to this area and began to settle permanently thus giving a population pressure to the area

which was once very thinly-populated. Once a most undeveloped area, this tract has now developed to a great extent due to the benefit of Block Development Projects. Well-built kanchha roads have been constructed which facilitate their daily communication and contact with Bongaon and Gaighata towns, situated about seven miles away from Damdama village. There is a newly-built high school, a post-office, and shops (grocer's as well as stationary and sweet-shops) in the village Nahata which is just by the side of the village Damdama and these facilitate the community development of the area. A 'hat' also sits twice a week in this village Nahata now-a-days which is the meeting place for all the neighbouring communities and helps to a great deal in day-to-day inter communication among the surrounding people. The resettled people from East Pakistan are playing a dynamic role in these modern changes and can be said as the new elites and leaders of the area.

Occupational Structures :—According to Dalton's 'Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal', "The Pans are a low bastard Hindu people, procurers of Hindu children for the Mariah sacrifices of Khonds. They also ply their trade as weavers, and poorest of them work as farm labourers, cultivating land belonging to Khonds and making over to their landlords half the produce as rent". (Page 299). Herbert Risley's description regarding the occupation of these people also tallies with Colonel Dalton's description. According to Risley's *Castes and Tribes of Bengal*, Vol. II, "Pans are a low, weaving, basket-making and servile caste" (Page 155). These were the descriptions available regarding the occupational characteristics of the Pans observed by the aforesaid two eminent ethnographers a long time ago. The present day occupational structure of the Panrs, Panrs of Damdama, does not correspond to what has been recorded a long time ago. Most of them are agriculturists now-a-days. In exception to two or three rich families among them, all the Panr adult males and females work as day-labourers in agricultural field of the Muslims. Economic depression does not usually permit the Panrs to lead a peaceful and healthy life. However, a variation is also found in this economic structure among them, e.g., Bideshi Sardar who is the richest Panr possess 30 bighas of agricultural land and a pucca building; Raghunath Mistri (Sardar) work as blacksmith and supply

sickles, spade, and other agricultural implements and repairs these for which he gets a good amount of money in cash and kind from the community; Jogindar Sardar is the Pahan or the Priest of the community and gets remuneration in cash and kind for the performance of communal worship.

Muslims are the richest people in this village and are mainly land-owners. Namasudras and Mahisyas mainly work as 'share-croppers' in the locality.

Power Structure and Leadership Pattern :—Formerly Panrs had their own village Council (Panch) consisting of village officials and village elders. They had a say in everything in village affairs. The traditional Panch lost its hold upon the people. Though a remnant of the past traditional 'Panch' exists but their functioning now-a-days is mainly concerned in settling minority disputes and organising village festivals. Now-a-days they assert the value judgment in terms of education. Educated people are highly respected and approached for better suggestions by them. Old people get due respect but generally avoided in serious decision-making and developmental affairs. A conflict between old traditionalism and the new elites can be easily visualised, though to a minor extent. Among the Panrs only one family is very well-to-do and got some school education, that of Bideshi De. Bideshi De himself is illiterate but all of his sons received some school education and hence the Panrs in general have a great respect for this family which plays a vital role in influencing the societal decision-making affairs of the community.

If seen in a wider perspective it can be easily found that the general leadership pattern of the whole area rests upon the Namasudra immigrants from Pakistan. The percentage of literacy is highest amongst them and they lead a very healthy and socially clean life. Addiction to liquor amongst the younger generation is found nil. They also request the older generation not to be addicted too much to this social poison which ruins the normal family as well as societal life. They also preached to the Panrs of the area that 'women are the house-laxmis and they should not be brought outside the house to work in the field. They are meant for the welfare of the household'. Now-a-days due to this propaganda a good number of Panrs do not allow their females to work in the field. Today these Panrs regularly

take religious discourses from the Namasudras and participate in 'Harikirtan' and have organised a separate singing party for the same. Namasudras are always approached by the Panrs for their helpful suggestions regarding education as well as other socio-economic affairs. The Namasudras with their sympathetic heart always advice them and request them to lead a clean, socio-cultural life. The Panrs also look upon them as their leaders, who can help in the development of a healthy society amongst them in all respects. Muslims as well as other Hindu castes do not have much influence over the Panrs as they always maintained a social distance and never endeavoured to give equal footing to these oppressed people.

Communal Personality Structure :—It is largely socially derived. It presents a product of the human interplay of the human biological heritage of man's organic capacities—and the experiences of individuals in groups that direct and shape the expression of these organic capacities. The communal personality traits of the Panrs can be defined as follows: They are industrious and hard-working even on a poor diet, untidy with their belongings; seemingly insensitive to suffering, fatalistic and unafraid of death. They are conservative, but individualistically independent, though not at all competitive. They are talkative, sociable, cheerful, fond of practical jokes; are not highly sexed, but inclined to promiscuity; are strong on family ties, but not given to showering their affection. They have respect for law and a sense of justice; are honest, averse to thieving and are not quarrelsome.

Character Structure :—The Panrs customarily feel that the situation around them is hopeless and their world is piled full of insurmountable difficulties. They fear authorities because it is the hurtful authorities that run counter to wishes of the Panrs. Resignation with a vague hope that things will improve are typical attitudes with which the Panrs respond to their environments.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

(i) *Clan* :—The Panrs are internally divided into a number of exogamous totemic clans such as—Mahali, Rantia, Baliswar, Mechiari, Singikuria, Urmakuri, Panchbea, Natwakuri, Nag, Dhondh, Sangsia, Hunjore, Bhujore, Ghagro, Beniara, Baman-atia, Bando, etc. These clans are

totemic in nature, i.e., named after some animals or plants or places and which are never killed or eaten or done any harm by the people of that particular totemic group in which they belong. Few examples are given here in order to clarify the position, e.g., Beniari means frog; Dhondh is a type of water-snake; Baliswar is the name of a place (Balasore); Nag means snake; Rantia is crab; Sindhikuria is bulls horn. Now the Panrs almost forgot the significance of these totemic names. However, they try to explain it as follows: They think that their forefathers might have originated from these animals or had received some benefit from them for which it is now customary for them not to do any harm or kill these totemic animals. These totemic clans have only one functional value amongst them now-a-days, i.e., these totemic clans are endogamic in nature and marriage is forbidden within the same totemic group. Marriage within the same totemic group is regarded as a sinful act for which a person gets punishment by the community.

(ii) *Family* :—The following is the family structure found among the Panrs of this locality. The societal pattern of the family structure among the Panrs now-a-days is mainly of a nuclear type, that is, consisting mainly of a married couple, with their unmarried children. Next type of family pattern with lesser incidence of occurrence than the nuclear type is stem-family pattern which are minimal extended families consisting of only two related families of procreation, particularly of adjacent generations. The last type of family pattern with only few occurrences are the extended family type comprising the families of procreation of atleast two siblings or cousins in each of atleast two adjacent generations. This last type of family pattern was the societal profile amongst them a few decades ago. But due to hard economic pressure the extended family pattern has broken down and its place has been taken up by the nuclear type, i.e., the independent type of families.

(iii) *Marriage* :—The Panrs of Damdama prefer the monogamous type of marriage. Polygynous unions are practised but to a very limited extent. This type of union is non-preferential and infrequent. Marriages normally involve a token bride-price, involving a small or symbolic bride-price as a consideration (Rs. 5/-, Rs. 10/-, Rs. 15/-, etc.). Marital residence is mainly patrilocal, i.e., normally with or near the husband's male patri-

lineal kinsmen. Descent is patrilineal and patrilineal kinsgroup is clanned with the absence of moieties, phratries, and other segmentary unilinear organisation. Cross cousin marriage is preferred but marriages with a parallel cousin is forbidden.

(iv) *Kinship* :—As regards the kinship terminology of the Panrs they equate the paternal cousins with the siblings while maternal cousins are differentiated therefrom and called by distinct terms. They use descriptive or derivative terminology differentiating father's brothers and mother's brothers from father and from each other.

(v) *Social Stratification* :—Regarding social stratification amongst them purely political and religious statuses, e.g., headmen and priests, are not treated as classes. In the post of headman or priest, patrilineal succession is present where a son is preferred to a younger brother.

LIFE CYCLE WITH ITS ASSOCIATED RITUALS

(i) *Pregnancy; Child-birth and Name Giving Ceremony* :—There is no hard and fast social restrictions imposed upon the pregnant woman. Generally she is not given any hot or heavy food and her movements are restricted during the later phase of pregnancy. The delivery generally takes place in the house of the husband in the living room. Ghasi women generally play the role of midwives and other village elderly women attending during pregnancy. Males including the husband are not allowed to enter the room. The mother is generally confined to the room for 9 days after child-birth and is treated as ceremonially unclean. On the morning of the 9th day a barber shaves the hair of the new born and pair-off the nails of the child and the mother. After this the mother is taken to a nearby tank with the help of other village elderly women where she takes bath with turmeric water. In the evening the villagers assemble in the house to attend the name-giving ceremony of the child. In the courtyard the barber fills a small bowl with water. Then he takes 3 to 5 paddy and durba and puts the grain one after another in the bowl by touching that 'durba'. He utters a name either from parental, paternal grandfather's and grandmother's generation and maternal grandfather's generation. If all the grains join together then the name is selected, otherwise fresh names are uttered

by putting fresh grains. Thus the name is selected by this type of supernatural method. According to them they touch the grains with 'durba' as it is regarded as supernatural witness. After the ceremony a feast is given to the assembled villagers and the barbar is paid Rs. 5/- and few seers of rice. After this the mother resumes her normal activities from which she was ceremonially cut-off for 9 days.

(ii) *Marriage* :—Panr girls are usually married after they have fully grown up and the Hindu practice of infant marriage is confined to a few families, who have borrowed it from their orthodox neighbours as a token of social respectability. The marriage ceremony is performed by a Panr of vaisnaba sub-caste who serves them as priests and are often mentioned incorrectly as Brahmins. The most essential portion of the marital ritual is believed to be 'sindur-dan', the smearing of vermilion on the bride's forehead and the parting of her hair and tying together the hands of the bride and the bridegroom. The next day after marriage the bride comes with her husband to his house. Widow-marriage is in vogue amongst them and it is deemed a proper thing for her to marry her deceased husband's younger brother. She may in no case marry the elder brother. Divorce is permitted for almost any reason, with sanction of the panchayat. Divorced wives are allowed to marry again.

(iii) *Death* :—They generally bury their dead. After putting the dead-body inside the grave the eldest son lights a thread and puts it to the mouth of the dead and thus performs 'mukhagni'. Personal belongings are also put inside the grave and then it is filled up with earth. These personal articles of the deceased are also given with the dead-body so that the deceased soul may not get into any trouble in the next world. The head of the dead body is generally placed towards north. The period of pollution remain for ten days and on the eleventh day rape seed and water are offered to the deceased and his ancestors.

MAGICO-RELIGIOUS FESTIVALS

Baisakh (April-May) :—In this month 'Bara Pahar' festival is held. Head of the families of each household perform this puja. This is done for the welfare of the family members. Bara Pahar is also known as Pauri-Pahari, a divinity unquestionably Dravidian in origin, who in-

habits the highest hill in the neighbourhood and demands the sacrifice of a he-goat.

Jaistha, (May-June) :—‘Jamai Sasithi’ is performed in individual household and the idea of this festival is borrowed from the neighbouring Hindu castes.

Asar, (June-July) :—No festival.

Sravan, (July-August) :—‘Mansa Puja’, it is propitiated by the family heads. In each house, there is an earthen mound known as ‘Mansathan’, and the offerings are made on this ‘than’. This is done to protect them from snake bites.

Bhadra, (August-September) :—‘Karam Puja’, it is performed by the Pahan or the priest of the village by collecting subscription from each household of the village. During this village festival the Pahan narrates the story of this community, its mythical origin, and the societal norms to the villagers.

Aswin, (Sept.-October) :—No festival.

Kartick, (Oct.-November) :—In this month only one Puja is done that is known ‘Gareya Puja’ or ‘Goal Pujo’. The head of the families act as priests. This puja is done for the welfare of the cows.

Agrahayan, (November-December) :—In this month the Pahan or the village priest performs the ‘Gram Bandha Puja’ and utters some ritualistic *mantras* on the four corners of the village so that evil spirits do not enter into this village from outside. This communal festival is done in order to protect the villagers from any mis-happenings through disease and disasters.

Poush, (December-January) :—‘Tusu Puja’, this is a communal festival and everyone participates in it. This is one of the main community festivals still retained by them. During this time they compose songs and sing in groups before the Goddess Tusu.

Magh, (January-February) :—During this month the Baisnab priest of the community comes and performs the Saraswati Puja (Sree Panchami) in individual household. This is performed for the spread of literacy in the community.

Falgun, (February-March) :—Again the ‘Barapahar’ or ‘Pauri-Pahari’ Puja is performed as in the month of Baisakh.

Chaitra, (March-April) :—In each household ‘Buroburi’ Puja is performed. On each house, by the side of the kitchen a place is kept meant for the seat of ancestral spirits. Individual heads

of the household perform this puja requesting the ancestors for the welfare of the family.

Another important puja is performed by each individual household and known as ‘Dharm Puja’. There is no fixed date for this festival. It totally depends upon the individual families. Generally a white he-goat is sacrificed in the cultivable fields and is mainly done for the welfare of the family and continuation of the family members may not be totally destroyed under the spell of some evil spirit.

The religion of the Panrs can be termed as a sort of bastard Hinduism under which found many traces of primitive animism common to all *Vedic* tribes, e.g., Pauri-Pahari or Bara-Pahar—divinity unquestionably Dravidian in origin is regularly worshipped by them. Worship is mainly done by the individual heads of the families, by the Pahan or the local community Priest; a Baisnab of Pan-Baisnab sub-caste who is always wrongfully referred as Brahmin.

Leisure Time Activities :—Leisure may be defined as a time free from required work in which a person may rest, amuse himself, and do the things he likes to do for relaxation. Formerly, the Panrs had no well-patterned and well-balanced leisure time activities throughout the year. After harvesting most of their time was utilised by participating in marriage as well as communal activities and the rest was wasted by gossiping. In modern time also they haven’t got a systematic timing and planning in leisure activities though modern amenities for leisure time have infiltrated in their lives. On an average an adult male of a well-to-do family goes to see movie in Bongaon town atleast once a month. In the evening most of the adult males go to the village Nahata, which is a marketing centre for the surrounding villages, gossip with different communities that assemble during evening hours from surrounding villages and thereby learn a lot about different socio-political aspects of the country. Card-playing is a very popular game amongst the old and adults. When any football match is played in any of the surrounding villages they go to see the game but never actively participate in any game except card-playing. They also go to see local ‘Jatras’. The leisure time activities of the females are very restricted now-a-days. They only attend ‘Jatras’ and spend the rest of the time by gossiping. Among boys and children ‘Ludo’ game and among the girls ‘ekka-dokka’ is a popular game. The Panrs

have their own 'Hari Sankirtan' party and during festivities take part in 'harinam' pala. A systematic planning in introducing different leisure time activities will help them in developing and strengthening their community life which is going through a rapid transitional phase due to technological changes.

Here the descriptive side of the continuity and the change of the community in all its sphere

of activities has been dealt in an abridged form so that the analytical side of it may be visualised easily in developing and bringing them in the modern perspective. The case-study may be termed as a base-line study which may later on help in a scientific study with a wider perspective in the study of continuity and change of the culture of the Panr community.

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EVILS OF PRESENT PARTY-SYSTEM IN GOVERNMENT

By H. D. UJWAL

In India, we have got the democratic form of Government and the political power rests with the people who elect their representatives to exercise such power on their behalf.

At the time of election various political parties put up their candidates who contest the elections.

The first evil that we notice in this system is that huge expenditure is incurred in making these elections. The parties who put up their candidates spend a lot and much more has to be spent by the candidates themselves. The party-funds are mostly made up of the membership fees but these funds are wholly insufficient to meet the election expenditure of the candidates put up. Therefore, the parties try to raise money for this purpose by donation from businessmen, mill-owners and other rich people who are interested in the elections. Even party-funds thus collected cannot meet the election expenses and most of the expenses have to be incurred by the candidates themselves. This factor of money required in electioneering rules out persons, who, however, able and capable they may be, from standing in elections. It is true that for some people who are the outstanding leaders of the party, the party spends the money from their party fund but such people are an insignificant minority and even with the aid of donations received, the parties are not in a

position to meet the expenses of a big majority of its candidates. Thus majority of people who stand in the elections of whatever party they may be, are those who can afford to spend money in their electioneering campaign. It is a matter of common knowledge how rich people had been selected and made to stand from constituencies from which they had no previous real contact because no one could be found in that constituency who was able and willing to spend money. Such people may not have been members of the party previously but they are made members at the time of elections. It is not rare that people who had stood from another party previously and failed to get elected are adopted as candidates from other party at the next elections. Though we hear so much about the ideology of each party from the way in which candidates are selected the only standard appears to be the probability of success in election and not the convictions and beliefs of the candidates.

Persons who had never been members of the party are made members overnight and made to sign the party creed. It is difficult to believe that there has been an honest conversion of views of such persons. It is only the chance of getting elected on that Party's ticket that the candidates sign the creed. It is a matter for consideration whether such people who have no creeds of their own and are with one party one day

and with another the next day are the suitable persons to become the rulers of the country. It is, therefore, no wonder how even after elections members change their parties.

Thus we see that best persons who are honest, able and fit to take part in the governance of the country are excluded due to the system of election that prevails.

Secondly, when parties collect money for their party-funds, the party which is most likely to succeed in the elections and form the government gets the largest amount. It is a matter of common sense that those who pay do not do so to gain any merit in the next world as when we pay to help the poor or suffering humanity. It is to gain some objective in the case of the party coming to power. It is, therefore, that money is given when asked for by persons who are influential in the party and not to persons who have no influence. Such money would come under the definition of illegal gratification if given to any Government officer. It makes no difference that the money is not taken by any one person but goes to the party fund. It is not secret that the businessman or the mill-owner who pays know that he would get help from the party when it comes into power; be it in the form of licence for raw materials for his factory or foreign exchange. We know that giving of valuable dals to Government officers is forbidden, for, although the man may not have any immediate object to gain but the general favourable attitude of the officer to be of help in future is the objective. Same is the case with the donations to the parties. But what is sauce for the gander is not sauce for the goose.

There are cases in which the donations are obtained by putting pressure upon the donors by party bosses. Ordinarily this would come under the definition of extortion in the Penal Code but for political parties everything is fair.

Apart from the huge expenditure thus incurred in the elections and the questionable ways in which candidates are selected and money obtained for the party-funds the dirty propaganda that is carried on for the candidates by the rival parties is most

degrading. No regard is paid to decency or to truth and every attempt is made to discredit the opposite candidate in the eyes of the public. To gain votes sometimes pacts are made, promises are given, cash is paid to voters. If the party bosses are asked to stop such campaign they say that it is all a part of the game. This calumny campaign is another factor which prevents decent people from contesting the elections. Although I do not mean that all who contest the elections are not decent but a great majority is such.

After all the bustle and calumny mongering the elections are over and some candidates are elected. Before joining the Assemblies such candidates are required by Election Laws to give a return of their election expenses to the Election Commissioner. As already stated above, the expenditure incurred by the candidates directly and indirectly is much greater than that shown in the election returns. Leaving aside a few candidates, 90 per cent of these elected files are false returns. The total expenditure incurred by such candidates is much greater than what is shown in the election returns. Thus it is on the basis of this untrue and false statement that such candidates enter the Legislative Assemblies. Even those who swear by Gandhi's name do not feel any compunction in this palpable falsehood. What could a country expect from people who step up on the basis of falsehood?

The elections within the party candidates for selecting a leader then starts. This is also marked by the same spirit of gaining votes and the successful candidate is one who is the most tactful in bargaining and winning over votes and not the most honest, straightforward and capable one. Such leader then becomes the Chief Minister and he appoints other Ministers.

Each Minister has the support of the party people who have worked for him in the elections and secured his election. He is naturally obliged to them, for, he owes his position to them. These people had made promises to people and given assurances for redress of their grievances and naturally they approach them for the same. Those who had paid donations also come in their

turn for gaining some object which they had in view when paying money to the party-fund. Ministers cannot afford to be disloyal to the party to which they owe their ministership. After all the obligations of the party have to be discharged and the criterion is not what is right but what the party interests demand. In such circumstances if the man who has obliged the party is pitted against some one who had not so obliged then the man who had obliged must succeed and the other man will lose however just his case may be.

Thus impartiality which is considered a great virtue in dealing with people is written off.

Not only this but the ministers put pressure upon the Executive Officers to help their party supporters. Favouritism in granting bus permits, forest contracts and other contracts to those who have helped the party in power are a matter of common knowledge. In doing so it is not the interest of the state that is kept in view but that of the party. In the matter of transfers of Executive Officers the criterion is not the suitability of the officer for the place but the suitability from the party's point of view for its party objects. Sometimes transfers made by the Heads of Departments are ordered to be cancelled if the party bosses so want and persons convenient to the party are kept. In short in carrying on the state administration the primary interest is that of the party and secondary interest that of the State and the people. State interest will be allowed to suffer if by taking any measure the credit goes to the opposite party. This is how the party in power acts. Let us see how the parties in opposition behave. The parties in opposition think it their duty to oppose every measure of the Government however innocent or beneficial it may be. They consider that their sole business is to oppose the party in power. They try to hamper the smooth conduct of business in the legislatures by all ingenious ways. There have been instances when the members disobey the chair and sometimes come to blow amongst themselves and when asked to withdraw from the chamber, lie flat and are carried forcibly by the Sergeants outside

the chamber. Does such behaviour reflect credit upon the people whom they are representing? This is the example of the discipline that these leaders put before the people. No wonder then that indiscipline prevails in the country.

This confirms my contention that the best people of the country are not elected due to the party-system and the method of election that prevails.

Thus the party-system in government, that exists at present, is harmful to the country and sooner it is abolished, the better.

The question, therefore, naturally arises, how the representatives of the people are to be chosen. I put before the country two methods—one direct and the other indirect.

Under the direct system, I propose that a minimum number may be fixed of the voters who may propose the name of any candidate after taking his consent to stand, if elected. When several nominations are received by a fixed date, the names of such candidates together with their qualifications which may be given by the proposers and checked by the Election Commissioner or his subordinates may be published in the constituency and the voters may be left free to vote for whoever they choose.

No electioneering campaign—no running about of agents in jeeps—no expenditure by the candidates—no blowing of trumpets and loud-speakers by the parties.

Whoever is thus elected by the majority goes to the legislature and takes an oath to keep the country's interest paramount and work for the same to the best of his ability.

Such legislatures then choose their leader not on party basis but on his integrity and ability to lead the country. He may similarly choose his other ministers and form a team of selfless workers whose sole object is to serve the country and not their own interest or that of the party. They will require the support of the majority of the members of the legislative bodies and cannot remain in power on the strength of party support and party discipline. Members will be free to vote and not hampered by party whips. If, however, it is argued that candidates thus proposed will not be known to the people in their constituency

and it would be difficult for the voters to select the right persons.

Then I propose the alternative indirect system of election. We have got the panchayats throughout our state and they are being established in other states also. It has also been admitted that it will be wrong to make elections in the panchayats on the party lines so the people should be left to choose their Panchas without any party propaganda and the Panchas may then choose their representatives for the Panchayat Samitis at the block level and then the Panchayat Samitis may choose their representatives for the Zilla Parishads at the district level and the Zilla Parishads may

choose their representatives for the state legislatures.

On being elected in this way the members of the legislatures will have no party affiliation and may elect their own leader who may then appoint his own colleagues.

I admit that if the people are of an intriguing nature and cannot remain true to the object of serving the country and in spite of their being no parties as such create cliques in the legislatures and quarrel among themselves then all I can say is that such people are not fit to exercise power and someone will rise to become the Dictator and guide such people with a rod into the straight path.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published. *Reviews and notices of books in Gujarati :*

Authors and publishers of Gujarati books, desirous of having them noticed or reviewed in *The Modern Review*, should send them direct to, Shri Rangildas Kapadia :

Gandevi, Dist. Surat,
instead of sending them to the Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

THE ANNEXATION OF UPPER BURMA:
By D. P. Singhal. Eastern Universities Press,
Singapore. 1960. Pp. 129. Price Malayan \$ 3.50.

The author of this well-written monograph, who is a lecturer in History at the University of Malaya in Singapore, has already to his credit a work on *Indian External Policy in the late Nineteenth Century*, which won for him the Doctoral degree of the London University. The present monograph treats with equal clarity and thoroughness the long history of British diplomatic and military relations with Burma leading ultimately to the annexation of Upper Burma to the Indian Empire in 1886. The introductory chapter gives

a short review of the history of Burma and in particular of British relations with that country down to the appointment of Lord Lytton, as Governor-General of India, in 1876. The two following chapters give a full and detailed account of the way in which British expansionist aims at first held in check were finally given full scope by the Home Government. The concluding chapter sums up the author's estimate of the factors and of the British governmental machinery leading to the annexation. The work is based on a study of original papers in manuscript as well as in print and a number of secondary works, which are all listed in the Bibliography at the end. The author's attitude throughout is one of balance and of fairness to the parties concerned. The pre-

sentation of facts is admirably lucid. A map of Burma and six appendices (containing full texts of treaties and conventions between the Burmese and foreign powers as well as the judgment of the Burmese Council of Ministers in a suit against a British commercial company immediately before the final scene) bring this valuable work to a close.

U. N. GHOSHAL

COLLECTION OF ARTS OF ANTIQUITY OF EASTERN INDIA IN THE ASUTOSH MUSEUM OF CALCUTTA.

The Asutosh Museum of Indian Art, University of Calcutta, was established in the year 1937 to collect and preserve objects of art and antiquity mainly from Eastern India with special emphasis on some unique specimens of stone, bronze, wood, ivory and terracotta, sculptures, paintings and illuminated manuscripts, coins and textiles—now exceed more than sixteen thousand objects illustrating the growth and development of art in Bengal from the first millenium down to the modern times. Exploration and excavation are two of the principal activities of this museum, the first University Museum in India. Other educational programmes include studies in Art Appreciation and Museology. For the last twenty-five years or so this Museum is also trying to fulfill its purpose in national life by introducing a series of regular guide-lectures for School and College students, exhibitions and publications. Moreover, it has gradually grown up into a centre of research in Indian and South-East Asian art and culture. The gallery of Folk-Art of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa is a distinctive feature of this museum.

Recently the museum has published five sets of multi-coloured post-cards on different aspects of art in Eastern India—ancient, mediaeval and modern. These are described below :

(1) Set III—Twelve cards of *Ramayana* of Tulsidas, 1772 A.D.

(2) Set IV—Twelve cards of Bengal Manuscript covers, 17th-19th centuries.

(3) Set V—Twelve cards of Bengal Pata, 17th century to contemporary period.

(4) Set VI—Twelve cards of Orissa Pata, 14th century to contemporary period.

(5) Set VII—Twelve cards of Nepalese Manuscript Paintings, 12th-16th centuries.

(Price of each set—Rs. 3.00, Postage Extra).

DEMOCRATIC MANIFESTO : By Fardinand Peroutka with an introduction by Adolf A. Berle Jr. of Columbia University, New York.

Published by Voyages Press, 35, West 75th Street, New York-23. Pages 181, Price \$3.

The writer of this book was born in Prague in 1895 and is recognised as the foremost living Czecho-slovak journalist, who has played a leading role in his country's political and cultural life, since its creation at the end of World War I. He was one of the closest associates of President T. G. Masaryk and shared with him fervent dedication to democracy.

Democratic ideals which the great thinkers of Europe preached could not be attained at the close of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries. There was not enough production to support the people and capitalism was at the worst so far as the welfare of the common people and workers was concerned. The "Communist Manifesto" in 1848 was primarily inspired by this state of affairs. The manifesto stated that all private properties should be abolished, lest a few monopolize it. To achieve this end all prevalent democracy and freedom must go and the dictatorship of the proletariat should be established. But the Communists in their rush to abolish monopoly of property, established, the system (as we see today in Communist countries) of monopoly of power. So George Bernard Shaw grimly said that the revolution proposed has shifted a fetter from one ankle to the other. During the last hundred years, capitalism has changed its colour. Technically speaking Great Britain is capitalistic; but we take into consideration her production and distribution and in her welfare activities she is not less socialistic than the so-called socialistic countries. This was possible without sacrificing political freedom, freedom of thought, freedom of worship, freedom of individual development. The capitalism of the 18th century has so much changed beyond recognition during the last one hundred years that a reply to Communist Manifesto of 1848 of Karl Marx was now necessary on account of the changed environments and circumstances created by free men and this has been done in the present volume. The entire philosophy and economics of communism has been examined in this admirable presentation. Every reader will be benefited by a perusal of this useful book which will enable him to come to his own conclusions.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF MADHYA PRADESH: This is a statistical study of the material progress of the State which is very rich in mineral resources and has a bright future. The small book of 49 pages published by the Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Madhya

Pradesh, Bhopal, will be read with interest. This is the only State in India having diamond mines.

SOVIET-INDIAN ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION: By Y. Pastukhov and Y. Vasilyov, pages 28.

FOR THE HIGHEST LEVEL OF HEALTH: By D. Venedictov and V. Petrov, pages 28.

SECOND SOVIET SPACESHIP : Pages 50.

These three books under review are published by Soviet Land Booklets, New Delhi and each of them is priced. 20 nP.

The first one gives an account of the Soviet assistance to Indian industries at a cheap cost and with no strings or reservation. The second book gives an account of the Soviet help in the matter of the conquest of diseases in India, Pakistan, Iraq, Iran, Yemon and other countries. The third one contains detailed descriptions of the second Soviet spaceship which returned from flight in the outer space to Moscow on August 21, 1960, with dogs and other animals alive. This booklet is extremely illuminating and informative and deserves to be widely read.

A. B. DUTTA

SCIENCE FICTION : A story of Atomic destruction and After. Calculated Risk : -By Charles Eric Maine. Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1960. Pp. 191. Price 12s. 6d. net.

The writer, Charles Eric Maine is well-known in the World Literary Science Fiction. His other books already published, includes 'High Vacuum', 'The Tide Went Out', and 'Count-Down'.

'Calculated Risk' adds to the Science Fiction and it is in real sense one. The present series of books have outgrown the earlier phase of myths and monsters, that characterised literature on the above subject.

This deals with what survived after the city was destroyed. War of attrition had been fought, the victors were out to destroy everybody in the town. Some were hiding, that is those who survived. At this stage enter a pair, a man and a woman. Phil was experimenting in psychoneural science. This was a research before the H-Bomb came. It was a different world now before the H-Bomb exploded over London. There have been many bombs since then. The march of destruction had gone forward. All life was being ended. One does not think any more. Phil was thinking of

escaping from all this. How could he do that with Kay? There was an atmosphere of violence all round. People were not allowed in the radio-active zone. Phil and Kay entered their underground laboratory, to escape from the present life. They wanted to escape as they were afraid of the future, and what the radio-active contamination would mean. They viewed that wars come willy-nilly however much humanity may object. It was, therefore, necessary for the authority to seal off the radio-active zone, destroy everybody in it, so that the number of mutants may be reduced. But the damage was incalculated. So Phil and Kay decided to escape from it. They were trying Loetze's experimental work in psychoneural quanta. The bodies would move backwards about four hundred years, to the middle of the 20th century. Man would take the body of another man, a woman of another woman. It is a kind of time travel on the mental plane.

They found themselves four hundred years back. Phil was back in a young man's body. Kay was back in an old woman's body. They had taken a 'Calculated Risk.' And thereby hangs the story. And the story is suggestive in the sense that the people could *en masse* escape from the enemy. It was all a case of a total war, in the twentieth as in the twenty-fourth. The whole thing does not seem to be fiction after all if one thought over the present trend in science. It seems we are entering into a period of 'Calculated Risk' for the individuals and escape from the present, and the continuation of it. After all past gave more security than the present. And what a true scientist could do, to prevent an abuse of science. The book is more than a fiction. It is so real.

RAJANI MUKHERJI

HINDI

ANANDA-MATH (abridged). For students: Published by Ajanta Publication. Secunderabad (South India). 1959. Re. 1/50 nP.

In 26 short chapters the translators, Sm. Santi Devi and Rai Balabir Prasad of Osmania University, have presented Bankimchandra's epoch-making novel *Ananda Math* in Hindi for the benefit of students. Bankimchandra's magic of language is no doubt missing, but his romance of situation is expected to strike the imagination of students in Hindi.

P. R. SEN

Indian Periodicals

National Disintegration

The *Chowringhee* of October 8, 1961, write:

The All-India Congress Committee is following Napoleon's famous dictum of a strong offensive being the best form of defensive. For, as far as national integration has become an extreme urgency, the responsibility for setting into operation the different forces of disruption and disintegration lies with the Congress mainly and with the Communist Party of India, who stimulate disorder and lawlessness whenever they get a chance, as a time-honoured method of establishing a new regime in all countries. It does not behove the leaders of the Congress, therefore, to attempt to put the blame on somebody else when everybody knows that the Congress are responsible for all the linguistic and *Pradeshistic* squabbles that have raged everywhere during the period that the Congress have ruled India. As to caste, race, religion, cliques, gangs, etc., etc., which come into the picture of this great shake-up in order to break up India into many paltry and insignificant *Rajes*, it is again Congressmen who have formed these caste, creed or clan groups and the leaders of the Congress have known this all along. And a lot of these activities encouraging and propagating disunion began during the British period, at British instigation. Those Congressmen who lent themselves to be used as tools of the British are well-known and many of them now occupy the highest seats of leadership in this land of the gullible and the bamboozled. We have known that the Congress is composed of self-seekers mainly and that the few true patriots, who have remained in the Congress are not numerous. Congressmen have exploited the country and its people during the last fourteen years in a shameless manner, and their gain has not always been in power only. The Congress regime which has been so very *socialistic*, has also been the most pronounced period of dirty capitalism in India. Licences, permits, contracts, quotas, etc., have been sold and Congress-associated trades-people have profiteered, black-marketed and engaged in illicit activities in a manner, *with the connivance* of the men in power in the various seats of government, which has hardly any parallel in any other civilised country. And we are now being regaled by

another burst of sanctimonious utterances from the Congress platform, *in the name of social welfare and national advancement!* This has become quite sickening and the threat of civil war, so challengingly taken up by the Congress leaders, may assume a popular shape rather than a caste, clan or racial shape, if the Congress *raj* does not change its character. The Congress must get rid of its corrupt personnel and associates who exploit the people of India. They may win another election by reason of the ignorance and gullibility of the people of India; but the day of reckoning will merely be postponed. For sooner or later the people will understand the true meaning of all the sanctimonious lies that they are fed with, and then, there may come into existence other arguments than those which are normally depended upon by those who misuse the powers granted to them by democracy. For democracy does not really rest in the letters of the constitution; but it is fundamentally based on the *conscious* will of the people. One may take advantage of the temporary black-out that the popular mind may suffer from on account of ignorance, poverty and a dumb faith in what Mahatma Gandhi preached when he guided the Congress; but that advantage will not last for ever. The day is not far off when the people of India will unite to oust from power all those who are virtually ruling India autocratically and not for the benefit of the people. The Conference for National Integration, therefore, should have been a confessional for the Congress, and Congressmen should have turned over a new leaf after the conference. They have however, chosen to remain in power, decked in lies and illusions and they have our sympathy for we believe in hatred for sins and not for the sinners. We also hope that Indian public opinion will rouse itself and assume its rightful powers before the sinners can pile up their sins to an impossible height.

Ancient Hindu Judicial System

The following excerpts are from an article in the *Indian Review* of September, 1961, by Justice P. B. Mukherji.

The origin of the Hindu Judicial System can be traced from the pre-historic Vedic times. It

is certainly more than 3000 years old, if not older still. The "Sabha" acted as the national judicature in Vedic times. It was the "Judicial Assembly." The rise of the "Sabha" is usually associated with the later period of the *Rig-Veda*. In the *Atharva-Veda* VIII. 10.5 reference is made to the fire which used to be kept in the Court room of the Sabha and the Vedic term "Sabhya" appears to indicate such fire. The *Rig-Veda* X.71.10 describes and refers to Sabha and the delights and reliefs when litigants came out successful from the Sabha's deliberations. In the "Purusmedha" of the *Sukla-Yajur-Veda* 30.7, "Sabha" is described as the place where a litigant receives justice. In "Paraswara-Grhya" III.13, there is the description of the function and atmosphere of the "Sabha." It indicates animated discussions with lively debate and formulation of justice. Jayaram describes the Sabha as "resounding and "shining" because of the performance of Justice. The *Jatakas* describe the high standards

which the Sabha was expected to maintain. According to the *Jatakas*, the Sabha which had no good people was no Sabha and the people who did not proclaim the *Dharma* (Justice) were not good people. The *Jatakas* emphasise the principle that those who avoid personal sentiments and fearlessly proclaim justice are the good people of the Sabha.

The independence of the judiciary was one of the outstanding features of the Hindu Judicial System. Even during the days of Hindu monarchy, the administration of justice always remained separate from the executive. It was as a rule independent both in form and spirit. It was the Hindu Judicial System that first realised and recognised the importance of separation of judiciary from the executive and gave this fundamental principle a practical shape and form. The case of *Anatha-Pindika* vs. *Jeta* reported in the "*Vinaya Pitaka*," *Cullavagga* VI.4.9. is a great illustration of this principle.

MIRACLE MAN WITH UNRIVALLED POWER

Highly Appreciated By George VI King of England.

JYOTISH-SAMRAT PANDIT SRI RAMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYA, JYOTISHARNAB, M.R.A.S.



(London) of International fame, President of the world-renowned Baranashi Pandit Maha Sabha of Banaras and All India Astrological and Astronomical Society of Calcutta has won unique fame not only in India but throughout the world (e.g., in England, America, Africa, Australia, China, Japan, Malaya, Java, Singapore, Hongkong, etc.) and many notable persons from every nook and corner of the world have sent unsolicited testimonials acknowledging his mighty and supernatural powers. This powerfully gifted greatest Astrologer & Palmist, Tantric can tell at a glance all about one's past, present and future and with the help of Yogic and Tantric powers can redress the pernicious influence of evil planets, help to win difficult law suits, ensure safety from impending dangers, poverty, prevent childlessness and free people from debts and family unhappiness.

Despaired persons are strongly advised to test the powers of Panditji

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The evolution of the principle of separation of the judiciary from the executive was largely the result of the Hindu conception of law as binding on the sovereign. Law in Hindu jurisprudence was above the sovereign. It was the "Dharma." The laws were then not regarded so much as a matter or product of Supreme Parliaments and Legislatures. Certain laws were regarded as above all human authority. Such, for instance, were the natural laws which no parliament, however, supreme, can abolish or modify. The doctrine was not merely confined to natural or scientific laws but also extended to certain social laws which experience, wisdom and genius of man discovered as unalterable having regard to human nature and biology. All this body of laws which had a higher authority than human agencies, was compendiously called the "Dharma." The Judicial System in Hindu India always worked on this first premise. Its genius lay in adopting this first premise to the changing patterns of society with which it had to deal with from time to time.

The "Satpatha-Brahman" as well as the "Jatakas" refer to the divisions of the Brahmins into two classes as "priests" and "politicians." In fact, the division is described as being composed of "Purohit politicians" and the "Brahmin ministers."

It was a significant fact that the Judges under this system, were helped by the society in the administration of justice. They were judges of law as well as the Jury being the judges of fact. Their number was always odd in case there was necessity to decide by majority. The rule of the Sabha was that everyone should speak according to law. To keep silent or to speak what was not law was regarded as Sin. Jolly quotes Narada by saying "Either the Judicial Assembly (Sabha) must not be entered at all or a fair opinion delivered." That means he who either stands mute or delivers an opinion contrary to justice is a sinner. The king appointed Councillors to assist deliberations in the Court. It was the rule of the day that every person versed in law should attend the Court, and if occasion arose should be invited to give his own opinion on a dispute point of law to prevent obvious miscarriage of justice.

Indeed, Manu declared that silence in such a case was culpable. This was not an invitation for public participation in a litigation. Narada is anxious to make it clear that in a litigious dispute, one who has no appointed function should not be allowed to say anything and a person versed in law should be allowed to speak

what is proper only when he has no leaning or bias or interest towards any of the particular litigants.

The judge-made law under the Hindu Judicial System represents a great contribution of the Hindu jurisprudence. Law was made by Judges by interpretation of the "Sutras" and the "Samhitas." Famous and well-known rules of interpretation were evolved by the Hindu judges which came to be known as the celebrated "Mimamsa" rules of interpretation. One of the greatest contributions of the Hindu Judicial System was the development of the "Mimamsa Sutras" or rules of interpretation. Kalpa and Nirukta dealt with the questions of intricate interpretation.

The procedure in the Hindu Judicial System was remarkably modern and anticipated the evolution of centuries. How fair and modern it was, will be apparent from a brief study of such procedure. No civil action could be started without a complaint. Neither king nor his officers were permitted to foster civil litigation by starting an action without a complaint or a plaintiff. Only a person actually aggrieved could initiate an action. Narada states that if a person who has no concern or who is not interested personally in the litigation, institutes a complaint, then he should be punished. This was how vexatious or champertous litigation was avoided. The only exception was made in criminal law where it was enjoined that the king might, and in fact, should, take notice of a crime without a complaint. The complaint in civil action had to be instituted by a petition to the Court stating only the barest facts constituting the grievance. His statement was accurately taken down by an officer of the Court called the "Lekhaka" or writer. Then the Judge and such assessors having jurisdiction to deal with the matter, could put questions that they thought proper in order to elucidate and clarify the complaint. It was provided that the answers made by the complainant or the plaintiff to those questions should be taken into consideration to see, whether the complaint disclosed a proper cause of action. It was only when it did so, that a summons was issued by the officer of the Court appointed for that purpose and who was called "Sraddhiyapala." This system was more advanced than even the modern practice where there is no such preliminary checking to stop frivolous summons.

When the defendant appeared in obedience to the summons the plaintiff was called upon to repeat his complaint in the presence of the defendant. When he did so, it was again taken down and that formed, what is now known as,

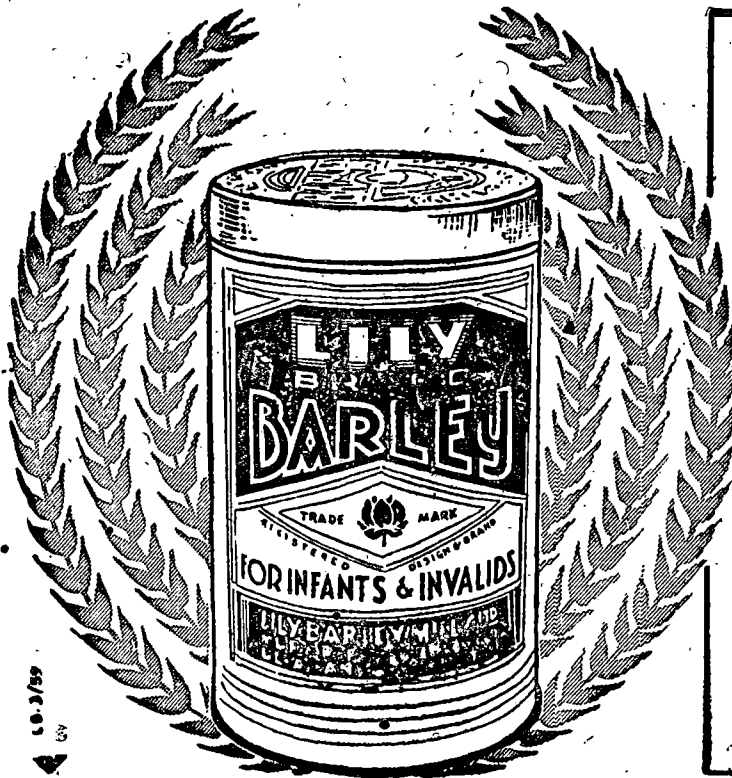
the modern plaintiff, which the defendant was then called upon to meet by his defence. Thus the Hindu Judicial System by these special features avoided the waste of public time and money and harassment by bringing up the parties long before actual trial began and thereby much useless litigation was stopped at the earliest opportunity.

No trial was held either behind closed doors or outside jurisdiction or at night and any such trial so held was declared to be null and void. This anticipates the modern law that a judicial trial should normally be open to the public and should be attended with publicity. The decree of the Court always followed the end of trial. Time was taken for consideration of judgment.

This remarkable system enjoined strict equality before the law. No one was exempted from punishment for breach of law. *Yajnavalkya* in a well-known verse says that no one who has transgressed the law is exempted from punishment "be he a king, his brother or son, or an object of worship, a father-in-law or a maternal

uncle." In fact this doctrine of equality of the law for all was carried to the opposite extreme. Persons of responsible position, social status and officers in the administration had to suffer greater punishment if they committed an offence than an ordinary citizen committing the same offence on the principle that greater the position and authority, the greater was the responsibility and the greater the standard of behaviour expected. Punishments in criminal law under the Hindu Judicial System were carefully graded. *Yajnavalkya* describes four punishments in criminal law namely, (1) Censure, (2) Rebuke, (3) Pecuniary punishment, and (4) Corporal punishment. They could be used separately and jointly according to the nature and circumstances of the crime.

The Hindu Judicial System offers a rich field of research. It promises rewards which are not merely historic and antiquarian but offers models and inspirations for progress and development towards the goal of a fairer jurisprudence and the ultimate aspiration for ideal justice through human agencies.



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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

New Deep-Water Port in Israel

The following account of a new Deep-Water Port in Israel is taken from the French Foreign Affairs Ministry's *Short News Bulletin* of 9th August, 1961 :

On the Mediterranean coast of Israel, in the barren desert stretching to the south of Tel-Aviv, a French company will install the facilities of a deep-water port. Located 45 kilometers from the capital, on the edge of a wide, sandy plain, this new port will be the second largest port in Israel, upon completion.

The geographical contour of the coast of Palestine provides Israel with no good harbor. Only Haifa to the north has been able to keep pace with the maritime shipping of a country undergoing full economic expansion. However, the capacity of this port is limited, and the Israeli Government has decided that modern port facilities must be created elsewhere in order to meet the demand for storing, handling and loading the agricultural and industrial products of the young nation.

The site of Achdod was selected because it is about half-way between the capital and the Egyptian border and is the terminal point of the shortest road between the citrus groves and the mineral deposits in the Palestinian Negev and the coast.

At the point where the docks and breakwaters will be built, there is now, therefore, nothing but a sand beach. In back of this beach an electric power plant will be built, and farther inland the existing hamlet of Achdod will be greatly expanded.

The Negev, which covers 60 per cent of the total surface of Israel, produces good crops of citrus fruits (8,100,000 cases of oranges, lemons and grapefruit were exported during the winter of 1960-1961). The subsoil of this desert is also very rich, with the Oron phosphate mines, the Dead Sea potash deposits, and the copper mines in the Elath region on the Gulf of Akaba. However, the shipping of these precious products from the Negev to Haifa is a long and costly undertaking. As a result, the construction of the port of Achdod will not only take much of the load off the port of Haifa but it will also allow the closing down of the ports of Jaffa and Tel-Aviv as well as a saving in considerable time and money.

The new port facilities will be built in several stages. The first phase will be done conjointly

by a French company and an Israeli company, and will include the following projects:

A large elliptical-shaped dike 2.2 kilometers long which will close off the roadstead. Built with a rock foundation and four-sided vertical braces, it will be 6.5 meters high, 7 meters thick at the base and only 1.5 meter thick at the crest. It will end in a jetty-head. To the north, facing the tip of this dike and running out from the shore, will be a secondary breakwater 910 meters long, made also from a rock foundation and four-sided vertical braces and also ending in a jetty-head. This structure will shelter two docks, one 640 meters long known as the Citrus Wharf which will be used for loading citrus fruits, and the other 340 meters long which will be used for other products. Between the two docks will be a deep-water basin with landing docks capable of receiving ships which draw up to 11 meters of water.

The entire first phase of construction will include 3.1 kilometers of rock-filled breakwaters, 1,600 meters of landing docks, the dredging of 1,400,000 cubic meters of silt, and the casting of 310,000 cubic meters of concrete. The required 3,200,000 tons of rock will be extracted from the quarry at Baraket located some 60 kilometers from the port. The 19,000 four-sided vertical braces weighing from 12 to 40 tons and used in protecting the breakwaters will be produced on the spot by means of 50 molds manufactured in and shipped from France. Moreover, the public works company responsible for this construction will provide large numbers of cranes, barges, trucks, tugs and dredges which will be shipped to Israel by water.

It should be noted that it was a French company which won the international competition contested by half a dozen international companies: one American, one Canadian, two English, one Dutch and one Italian.

Following the opening of bidding in September, 1960, by the Israeli Ministry of Transportation and Communication, France sent a mission consisting of five engineers who carefully studied the project for five months and who then submitted their findings on January 31, 1961.

Work actually began in early May; and the first phase should, theoretically, be finished by the end of November, 1964.

The French Company which is building the port of Achdod was, at the time the international bidding opened, completing the installations of the port of Bluff in New Zealand.

V. I. Ps of Soviet Society

The *Bulletin of the Institute for the Study of the USSR*, of July, 1961, published an analytical study of Soviet Society by Herman Akhminov. The following excerpts give the main conclusions reached by the writer :

The importance of studying the Soviet elite need hardly be emphasized, the elite being a general term covering all those persons in high positions in the USSR who in fact govern the destinies of the country. A better insight into its nature may provide answers to a number of questions relating to current Soviet policies and the historical development of Communism. Unfortunately, a precise definition of the term 'elite' itself is very difficult to provide. Should all people with a certain standard of education be counted among the elite? But then, in the case of the USSR, Khrushchev would have to be excluded from this group, since he did not receive a full education. Again, if it should be understood to designate all persons filling certain posts, where should the borderline be drawn? And where would retired persons living on their pensions fit into the picture? It is not even possible to regard all Party members as belonging to the elite, since the number of people in the Party not occupying executive posts is very considerable, while at the same time there are many people in the USSR, particularly scientists, who hold very important positions without being members of the Party. Finally, any study of the Soviet elite is bedeviled by the fact that details of the careers of leading personalities are rarely published and even biographies of deputies to the Supreme Soviets have to be pieced together from odd fragments of information.

In the face of all these difficulties, the author of the present article has approached the problem by analyzing obituary notices published in the Soviet press. This method has the advantage that the Soviet press, being completely controlled by the Party, publishes no accidental or private obituaries: an obituary is in fact a distinction bestowed on the deceased for his loyal service to the regime, and since it is as a rule conferred only on members of the ruling stratum, it provides some criterion on which to base a study of the elite. It may be pointed out that this distinction is only conferred upon those who have retained the Party's favor up to the end of their career. It would, of course, have been desirable to include certain oppositional elements in the elite, but for obvious reasons this was impossible.

For the purpose of this study, selected issues of the press organs of Party central committees in four Central Asian republics were scrutinized: *Sovetskaya Kirgiziya* (Kirghizia), *Kommunist Tadzhikistan* (Tadzhikistan), *Turkmenaskaya iskra* (Turkmenistan) and *Pravda Vostoka* (Uzbekistan).

The total number of obituaries which appeared in the newspapers studied was 266. The principal features taken into consideration were the age of the deceased at the time of death, his social origin, Party membership, his age at the time of joining the Party, his profession and the basic facts of his career. The absence of a universally accepted pattern of the structure of Soviet society sometimes makes it difficult to assign individuals to one group or another, and in the present instance the profession at the time of death was taken as decisive. The persons studied fell into the following twelve general categories :

	Party Members	Non-Party Members	Total
Party Officials	48	—	48
Members of the Teaching Profession and Scientists	12	32	44
Members of the Artistic Professions:	10	24	34
Musicians			
Theatrical Figures			
Artists			
Writers			
Government Officials	26	3	29
Industrial Officials	26	3	29
Agricultural Officials	23	3	26
Members of the Medical Profession	4	12	16
State Security Officials	12	—	12
Journalists	9	3	12
Members of the Legal Profession	7	—	7
Members of the Armed Services	4	—	4
Manual Workers	4	1	5

As reflected in the above table, the composition of the Soviet elite according to profession is based on Lenin's definition of classes in society as "large groups of persons fulfilling identical functions in production." (It goes without saying that "production" is here to be understood as covering all the types of activity necessary for the working of society.) In this definition, function and profession are not identical: the painter and the actor, for example, have different professions but exercise approximately similar functions in the life of society.

Social origin is mentioned in only 82 of the 266 obituaries. This fact is in itself interesting, since it would suggest that social origin, which during the early years of the Soviet regime was the decisive factor in a man's career, is now of much less importance. Moreover, since it may be assumed that the Soviet leaders are interested in emphasizing the working class background of the new Soviet aristocracy, this background is less likely to have been omitted than a bourgeois one. This is borne out by the fact that a high proportion of those whose social origin was stated were of either peasant or proletarian background, as the following figures will show:

	Peasant ground	Back-Proletarian ground	Total
Party Officials	12	4	16
Members of the Teaching Profession and Scientists	6	2	8
Members of the Artistic Professions	7	2	9
Government Officials	6	2	8
Industrial Officials	5	5	10
Agricultural Officials	5	4	9
Members of the Medical Profession	—	1	1
State Security Officials	2	2	4
Journalists	2	—	2
Members of the Legal Profession	2	—	2
Members of the Armed Services	1	—	1
Manual Workers	1	1	2
Total	49	23	72

In addition, there were five children of white-collar workers and five others—sons of "an old Bolshevik," a builder, a teacher, a tailor and a craftsman.

If it may be assumed that wherever the question of social extraction is ignored in the obituaries the person concerned originated from some other class than the peasantry or the proletariat, the conclusion emerges that the proportion of non-working-class origin among the Soviet elite is very high. A secondary point is that, in contrast to those former members of the bourgeoisie who emerged in pre-Revolutionary times, the forces that have come to the forefront under the Soviet regime originate to a greater extent from the peasantry than from the proletariat.

The educational qualifications of 115 persons are given. Of these, 45 received higher education, 10 full secondary and 60 special secondary education (the latter term covers secondary school plus a technical or Party school). However, in the group boasting higher education, 40 are doctors or members of the teaching profession, with the latter also accounting for 19 of the special secondary education group, so that the general educational qualifications of persons in administrative posts would seem to have been somewhat rudimentary. The question may, of course, be asked as to how far this picture is accurate in view of the absence of complete data. Here again, however, it may be supposed that the omission of data is not accidental. Those people who assumed more or less key positions at the turn of the twenties and thirties—and it is with people such as these that we are dealing—did, in fact, in their overwhelming majority have no systematic education, although many of them would have acquired some training on various courses, often by correspondence. The first contingents of graduates from institutions of higher learning who had received their education under the Soviet regime did not make their appearance before the beginning of the thirties and, naturally, were absorbed in the central areas.

The educational level indicated or implied in the obituaries studied would, therefore, appear to be consistent with the situation that might be expected in the outlying areas of the country, and perhaps throws light on some facets of Stalinist policy which would otherwise appear incomprehensible. During the last few decades, the Soviet Union has largely been governed by people whose task was hampered, among other things, by their own educational standards, which increased their dependence upon the center and their readiness to show implicit obedience in fulfilling Stalin's orders. The case of Germany shows that it is by

no means only the level of education which may facilitate the existence of a dictatorship, but certain peculiarities of the Russian revolution, in particular the methods employed in staging all sorts of mass "campaigns" and the utter disregard of legal standards, are probably to be accounted for by this characteristic of the ruling class.

Party membership is mentioned in only 185 of the obituaries examined. It is ignored in the other 81, and this is in itself a reliable indication that the persons in question were not members of the Party.

The highest proportion of non-Party members is to be found among the scientists and teachers, members of the medical and artistic professions, and the journalists. Elsewhere, their numbers are insignificant. Members of the artistic professions in particular appear to stand aloof from the Party: none of the 9 musicians were

members, neither were 7 of the 10 theatrical figures and 2 of the 3 artists. Party membership is only attributed to half the persons in the poets' and writers' group.

It is, therefore, significant that the educational qualifications of the non-Party men are generally considerably above those of Party members: as already stated, almost all those with a higher education are to be found among the scientists and the members of the teaching and medical professions. But even in the educational system, the Party card seems to have replaced the diploma in a number of cases: among the 44 educational and scientific workers, there were 12 Party and 32 non-Party men. Only two of the Party members had a higher education and none a special secondary education (in one instance no information was given). In contrast, 22 of the non-Party men had a higher education and 10 a special secondary education.

AVERAGE AGE AT TIME OF DEATH

	Party	Non-Party	Combined
State Security Officials	46	—	46
Members of the Legal Profession	49	—	49
Party Officials	49	—	49
Journalists	49	69	52
Agricultural Officials	53	59	53
Government Officials	54	66	55
Members of the Artistic Professions	51	59	56
Industrial Officials	57	49	57
Members of the Medical Profession	62	56	58
Members of the Teaching Profession and Scientists	51	62	60
Members of the Armed Services	62	—	62
Manual Workers	65	66	65

Ages of individual persons were supplied in 234 of the 266 cases. These reveal that the average expectation of life among the Soviet elite is only 53.9 years. If one separates the Party and non-Party groups, the interesting fact emerges that Party members live an average of 51.2 years, as against 60.7 years for non-Party men. The picture becomes even darker for Party members when the average life-spans of the individual categories are calculated separately (see table on previous page).

It would appear that the likelihood of an early death increases the more closely a person's profession is linked with the regime. Employment in the state security services would seem to be the most certain recipe for an early demise. The same holds true for members of the legal profession, Party officials and journalists all of

whom are intimately involved in the more exacting aspects of the Soviet system.

Analysis of the obituaries yields a fairly detailed picture of the social processes engendered in the wake of the Revolution, the formation of a new ruling class with people moving to the forefront who 'were nothing and became everything.' The educational backgrounds of older Soviet officials, in relatively high posts suggest the latter to have been members of a generation of upstarts, frequently self-taught, endowed with all the positive and all the negative qualities commonly found in such people. It would be interesting to consider how far this renewal of the ruling stratum resembles similar revolutionary or evolutionary processes in other countries, Communist or non-Communist, passing through a period of industrialization.

Editor—Kedar Nath Chatterji.

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MARRIAGE CEREMONY

(From an old Kangra picture)

By Courtesy : Mr. Ashoke Chatterjee

Founded by—RAMANANDA MATTERJEE

THE MODERN REVIEW

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NOTES

The World

World Affairs are still as much in a tangle as they were at the end of October. It is true that the tension over Berlin has lessened somewhat but the position is still as unstable as ever, the Russian attitude as unscrutable and the American attitude as suspicious as ever. There were press reports on and the middle of November that Mr. Khrushchev might be willing to modify his attitude regarding West Berlin and make the guarantees to the access to West Berlin for the Western Powers and the West German peoples. The reports have not found any confirmation from official sources however. The position as seen by the **New York Times** on November 12, was as follows :

"The notion that Moscow was making serious conciliatory overtures on Berlin was pieced together from hints dropped by the Soviet leadership. Some persons in the West thought it was pieced together from gossamer.

"Interest was stirred initially by Premier Khrushchev's impromptu conference with newsmen at the Kremlin reception last week. After breathing fire for many months on the Berlin issue, he appeared sweetly reasonable. He said :

"It is a difficult question. For the moment, we shall wait. We still have patience. . . . It is not good for the time-being to press one another.

"In another section of the hall, according to subsequent reports, Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko was also dropping teasers. He appeared to be suggesting, the reports said, that Moscow might be willing to negotiate an interim Berlin settlement in advance of a German peace treaty. He suggested further—at least some of the Western diplomats present were said to have so interpreted it—that a way might be found to guarantee Allied access to West Berlin without direct recognition of the East German regime.

"Heretofore, Moscow has always implied that it would sign a peace treaty with East Germany as part of any Berlin settlement, and that the Allies would then have to negotiate directly with the East Germans on their Berlin access rights.

"Reports of a 'modification' by Moscow of its Berlin demands gained further currency after West German Ambassador, Dr. Hans Kroll, had a conference with Premier Khrushchev. The reports, from Moscow, indicated that proposals along the lines attributed to Mr. Gromyko may have been discussed at the Khrushchev-Kroll meeting. Reports from Bonn, however, said that West Germany had taken no new initiative on the Berlin question, and that in the Khrushchev-Kroll talks, Mr. Khrushchev 'mainly listened.'

"In any event, U.S. officials did not regard the reported 'modifications' as impressive. Washington's attitude right along has been that the mere signing of a treaty between Moscow and

East Germany would not in itself alter the Berlin or German situations; hence postponing or abandoning the project could not be regarded as a major concession.

"Nevertheless, some Allied officials believed there was enough smoke to suggest that Moscow was trying to put out feelers for realistic Berlin talks. At the end of the week, the West was still waiting for a definite sign that a genuine compromise might be possible on this most explosive of all the cold war issues."

The West was waiting in the same way at the end of November.

There seems to be a halt called to the nuclear tests by the Soviet in the Novaya Zemlya region. There have been thirty-one detonations, inclusive one of fifty megatons or more in explosive power.

The reaction in the U.S.A. to these tests has been mixed. On the one hand, there has been world-wide condemnation of these tests, made regardless of consequences to all mankind, friend and foes alike. The Soviets have defied world-sentiment in starting and continuing over a prolonged period these tests, with the inevitable increase of dangerous radioactive fission products in the upper atmosphere of the world. The hazards of radioactive fall-out have been assessed by the scientists of the world in different ways undoubtedly, some pronouncing that the fall-out position is already dangerous, while the majority of others say that though the increase is considerable, it has not yet reached the level at which life in this world would be affected. But there is no two opinion about the fact that each nuclear test on the scale that was conducted by the Soviet, meant raising that level to the critical point where all life on this world would be endangered.

The feeling against the tests was clearly reflected in the resolution passed in the United Nations' General Assembly in the second week of November, against nuclear tests, demanding that the atomic powers resume the moratorium on nuclear tests that was observed for three years until Russia broke it on September 1. The voting was 71 to 20, and even three NATO allies of the West, namely, Canada, Norway and Denmark voted for the resolution. The U.S.

and Britain voted against the resolution as in their opinion no moratorium would be effective without an arrangement for international inspection and control. The Soviet Union voted against it because in its opinion no test ban would be valid unless it were made a part of the Soviet proposed plan for general and total disarmament.

The U.S., therefore, has to face the hazard of bitter world censure, if it started atmospheric nuclear tests. But, on the other hand, there is the question of placing the security of the U.S. in peril, if Russia attains superiority in nuclear power as a result of conducting such nuclear tests in defiance of world opinion. And then there is the clear statement made by Mr. Khrushchev at a Kremlin reception, held about the same time as the U.N. resolution against atomic tests, that if the West carries out tests, the Soviets would continue with theirs, although he is aware that scientists have found out that such tests are harmful to human health. And there rests the uneasy and unstable situation.

Pandit Nehru's visit to the United States does not seem to have resulted in any change to the standpoints on either side. Indeed, it does not seem to have affected the general attitude of the people of the U.S. towards India with its non-aligned stand in world-politics. There are reports, of course, that he was able to dispel the misunderstandings between the U.S. and India to some extent, through his public and press statements, and that a friendly understanding had been arrived at between him and President Kennedy, but that does not seem to add up to much, judgingly the press reports. The New York Times of November 12, carried a report, which we append below, which would indicate the reaction of the sober section of the U.S. press to the visit:

"Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru of India once described himself as 'a queer mixture of East and West, out of place everywhere, at home nowhere.' His foreign policy pivots on 'non-alignment' and opposition to all blocs, even the notion of a 'neutralist bloc.'

"Washington respects India's policy in general, but some dissatisfaction has been expressed recently with Mr. Nehru's failure to sup-

port U.S. policy on nuclear tests and the Berlin issue.

"Last week, Mr. Nehru arrived in the U.S. for a state visit. He had four days of 'informal talks' with President Kennedy. The talks were reported to have 'gone well.' The India leader was said to have gained an excellent impression of the President. Mr. Kennedy told his visitor of U.S. irritation with the statement of V. K. Krishna Menon, Mr. Nehru's Defence Minister, at the U.N. debate on nuclear tests. U.S. diplomats have complained that Mr. Krishna Menon unfairly 'equated' Russia's multi-megaton atmospheric explosions and the American underground blasts.

"At his news conference on Wednesday, the President lavished praise on Mr. Nehru, stating that he had 'a high regard' for him and that there is no one in the world 'more committed to individual liberty.'

"When the official communique was issued the next day, it was clear that Mr. Nehru was as non-aligned as ever. Mr. Nehru did not, for instance, join in the President's reaffirmation of the U.S. 'commitment to support the freedom and viability' of Berlin and the U.S. 'unwillingness to accept a further uncontrolled nuclear test moratorium.'

"Mr. Nehru did concur 'in the legitimate and necessary right of access to Berlin,' a position which the Russians also profess to hold; the critical question of whether the Russians or East Germans should control the access routes was not mentioned. Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Nehru agreed on the 'urgent need for a treaty' to ban nuclear tests, and on the necessity for negotiations on 'general and complete disarmament.' The communique did not touch on Russia's insistence that these two problems be linked.

"Appearing at a National Press Club luncheon on Thursday, Mr. Nehru denounced Russia's resumption of tests as 'a very harmful, disastrous thing that brings about a war psychosis.' On the other hand, he said he was convinced that Russia 'aims at and desires peace.' Addressing the U.N. General Assembly on Friday, he called on world leaders to work without cessation to preserve

peace. 'It is a choice between extinction and survival,' he said:

"In Washington, the feeling was that Mr. Kennedy had made a good beginning in a stepped-up effort to make the U.S. position thoroughly clear to the non-aligned nations. The President is eager to win more support for his views on nuclear testing and for new U.S. aid for anti-Communist forces in South-East Asia. Mr. Nehru is said to have warned, however, that the Communists are likely to reply in kind to a U.S. intensification of military aid in the area."

The Congo has again leapt into prominence as the most disturbed spot in world politics. The U.N. forces there are being faced with a critical situation in which the United Nations, the Big Powers and the African nations are all mixed up in a tangle. The question involved are as to by what means the U.N. should try to establish law and order in a nation of 14,000,000 inhabiting a land filled with jungles, and with primitive savage elements still predominating in its peoples. Indeed, it seems an open question as to whether stability could be established in Congo in the near future, with the Congolese as a single united nation.

Then if force on a large-scale were to be used by the U.N. to bring in law and order, the results may affect the cold war situation and cause major splits in the U.N. itself, as was indicated when Indian troops used force to quell large-scale armed disturbances a short time back. It is a complicated question and a test for the U.N., as there is a danger that big powers may take sides in a major Congolese civil war. There are three main forces in the Congo now trying to attain an established status, namely, the Central Government forces, the Gizenga forces and the Katanga forces. The United Nations force (12,700 combat troops, about 2,500 ancillaries) is trying to maintain law and order in Congo and to help in unifying the Congolese.

As yet the U.N. forces have not been able to bring the situation under control. Meanwhile 13 unarmed Italians have been savagely butchered and an officer and a army driver of the Indian forces have been killed in the same way.

Fresh Chinese Aggression

It was revealed by the Prime Minister on Nov. 20, in the Lok Sabha that fresh incursions have been made by the Chinese in the Ladakh region and that they have built some new check-posts on places which are shown to be on the Indian side of the border according to the Chinese maps of 1959, but on their side according to the 1960 maps of the Chinese.

There was considerable agitation in the Lok Sabha, when this information was given. It was further stated that the Government of India had sent a note of protest—as usual—to the Chinese Government on Oct. 31st. Apart from that some military steps were taken and are being taken, but the nature and extent of these were not disclosed as they might give information to the Chinese.

We have no doubt that the fifth column of the Chinese within our precincts, has by now given all necessary information to the Chinese about what is being done and what is planned for the future with regard to "military steps" against Chinese aggression. But that is neither here nor there.

The disclosure made by the Prime Minister chose out of a reply made to an adjournment motion tabled by Mr. Brojo Raj Singh and others about reported fresh incursions made by the Chinese, and the failure of the Government of India to dispel the incursion.

The Prime Minister's previous statements "that not another inch of soil be lost to the Chinese" were brought up by the Opposition, the Speaker himself joining in. The Speaker said that he would allow ample discussions on the matter, which was very serious, during the foreign affairs debate if that were arranged. Otherwise, he would allow a two-hour debate separately. Later on, he agreed to a suggestion made by Shri Asoke Mehta, the P.S.P. leader, that this debate should in any case be separated from the foreign affairs debate in which there were many things on which Pandit Nehru deserved to be complimented. But as the question of continued Chinese aggression had disturbed all it has to be discussed separately. For "if we cannot discuss that, then I would like to ask, what are we here for?"

The Speaker agreed that it was a serious

matter and that the House must be assumed that no further incursion by the Chinese would be allowed. He would allow, therefore, a discussion on the matter in three or four days time. This was agreed upon on Nov. 20, but no debate has taken place uptill the end of the month.

It was also revealed that the Chinese had—as was customary with them—sent a note of protest, full of false statements and groundless accusations on August 12. This had been indignantly rejected by the Indian Government.

The Indian Government in its protest note has stated, while rejecting the Chinese note of August 12, has remarked that it is surprising that the Chinese, while committing incursions and other violations against a peaceful neighbour should accuse the aggrieved party of provocations and of causing tension in the border areas, on totally false assumptions.

The note cites some of the instances of recent Chinese intrusions into Indian territory. The list is as follows:

"Western Sector : 1. In April, 1960, Chinese military personnel posted at Khurnak Fort patrolled the Suriah area inside Indian territory.

2. A Chinese survey party visited Suriah on June 25, 1960, and returned towards Khurnak Fort the same day.

3. On October 13, 1960, two mounted Chinese soldiers were seen about 1-1/4 miles east of hot springs.

4. Four Chinese soldiers were seen at about five miles from hot springs in the second week of October, 1960.

5. Sometime in May, 1961, the Chinese intruded into Indian territory near Chushul. A section of Chinese troops was also seen on May 22, 1961, towards the east of this location.

6. A Chinese patrol intruded into Indian territory near Daulatbeg Oldi sometime in the autumn of 1960.

Middle Sector: 7. On September 22, 1960, a Chinese armed patrol party consisting of one officer and ten soldiers crossed the Sikkim-Tibet border near Jalep-la and came 200 yards inside Indian territory.

8. On April 20, 1961, an Indian army patrol at Jelep-la noticed three Chinese, wearing khaki uniforms, approximately 80 yards within Indian territory.

9. September 12, 1961, 12 Chinese armed personnel in blue uniforms came 100 yards inside Indian territory from Jalep-la.

Eastern Sector: 10. On June 3, 1960, a Chinese patrol party consisting of 25 soldiers intruded four miles within Indian territory and came to Taksang Gompa.

11. In the first week of July, 1961, a Chinese patrol entered a point about one mile west of Chemokarpola in Kameng Frontier Division.

As against these, there is not one instance of Indian intrusion into Chinese territory.

'This is not all,' said note. 'Reports received in August-September 1961, show that the Chinese forces have spread even beyond the 1956, Chinese claim line in Ladakh to establish the following new posts, and that they have constructed roads to link these posts with rear basis:

Post at E 78.12. N. 33.19. Post at Nyagzu. Post at Dambuguru.

These fresh instances of violation of Indian territory by the Chinese establish conclusively that the Chinese are guilty of further aggression against India and their protestations to the contrary are only a cloak to cover up these renewed incursions and aggressive activities.

'The Government of India reject the Chinese note of protest dated August 12, 1961, and urge on the Government of China to stop further incursions into Indian territory and withdraw from areas of Indian territory illegally occupied by Chinese forces.'

'We have no doubt that the Chinese will treat this note with the same cynical contempt for neighbourly relations as they have done before. The only argument is that predatory nations, devoid of any humane principles, do believe in superior force. The Chinese, all out to obtain mastery over the whole of Asia—as a start—and they are not likely to allow any considerations or scruples to stand in the way of their expansionist and aggressive plans. And we are only allowing them time and scope for further expansion.

There is a later report, emanating from Dehra Dun, on the 25th November, in which Pandit Nehru is shown in a slightly more reasonable frame of mind regarding the problem of meeting Chinese aggression. The report says:

'Mr. Nehru said that India was not sitting idle over the border problem but it would be

advisable to take some big step only when the country was fully prepared for it.

'The Prime Minister said that newspaper reports about the recent incursion of the Chinese into the Indian territory of Ladakh were exaggerated.

'The Chinese had not taken over 2,000 square miles of the Indian territory as had been suggested in the newspaper reports. They had, however, advanced their military posts on the Indian territory, which, in effect, meant taking over of the Indian territory by the Chinese.

'Mr. Nehru said: 'Questions had been raised that they (the Chinese) should be pushed out forcibly. We cannot take steps in a hurry. Whatever has to be done is to be done with strength, without indulging in threats.'

'Necessary preparations have already been made for the defence of the Indian territory,' he said.

'The Prime Minister said that it was 'rather unfair' for China to have taken our territory. It is an 'unforgettable thing,' he said and would continue to remain so till it was rectified.

'Mr. Nehru said that it was not good that one country should resort to incursions into the territory of another country. He said, 'For India, it is not a question of land alone. The Himalayas is not merely Indian territory. It is the heart of India. For thousands of years, Indian history, culture, poetry and folk-tale has remained closely linked with the Himalayas'.

'The biggest weapon for India's defence was the courage and strength of her people, he said.'

No one will disagree with Pandit Nehru when he says that "whatever has to be done is to be done with strength" and that steps cannot be taken hurriedly. But what we would like to know is what was there to prevent Pandit Nehru and the Defence department to make adequate arrangements for the blocking of further Chinese incursions in Chinese territory by building the necessary roads and making other arrangements for the movement of heavy armament, transport for personnel, etc., during all these years since 1954, when the evil designs of the Chinese expansionists on India and Indian territories became patently clear to all of those in the Indian Defence department and the External Affairs departments

who were not obsessed by the illusions of Pancha Sheel and *Ahimsa* prevailing over the predatory actions of an unscrupulous neighbour.

However, let us hope that the Defence department has got some able and active officers and that they would be given facilities for building up India's retaliatory strength without any limitations being put on them.

Lieut.-Colonel Gunindranath Bhattacharya

On 4th April last, a small party of men were busy surveying the area on the Indian side of the Indo-Pak Frontiers, under the direction of a military officer Lt.-Col. G. Bhattacharya by name. It was morning time and there was broad daylight on the area, which was within the precincts of the village of Boyra, in the district of 24 Parganas of West Bengal. All of a sudden an armed detachment of Pakistani forces opened fire with rifles and sten guns and rushed across the frontier. Lt.-Col. Bhattacharya fell down wounded and was forcibly taken across into Pakistani territory. There he was charged with spying and after he had recovered from his wounds, there was a military trial at Dacca and he was given eight years rigorous imprisonment by the military court.

The results of the trial was a foregone conclusion for it was completely unilateral and the defence was handicapped in every way. There were witnesses to this act of aggression and violation of frontiers by the Pakistani forces, but the existing regulations regarding passports and visas prevented the four villagers cited as witnesses from appearing at Dacca. As the whole case was based on the statement made by the Pakistani officials that Col. Bhattacharya was on Pakistani terrain when shot down and arrested and as the vehement denial of that by the Indian Officer could not be supported by corroborative evidence due to the circumstance given above, there was practically no defence possible. And it is an open question whether even that evidence would have been accepted by the military court, without far greater weight being put in support of that, as acceptance of that evidence would have meant admission of violation of Indian Frontiers by armed Pakistani forces.

And there the matter rests,—thanks to the attitude of our great men!

Pakistani Infiltration in India

Pandit Nehru has a habit of going off the deep end whenever the word "muslim" or even sometimes the term "Pakistani" is mentioned in connection with any particular problem affecting the nation. Recently, Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri has followed his leader—but in a much milder way—in this matter of staving off any uncomfortable question affecting the nation in which the muslims of Pakistan are involved.

We can understand Pandit Nehru's reaction to the moves of those extremely stupid and highly communal groups and units of anti-diluvians, who having attained independence, without making the slightest sacrifice or effort for it, are now dreaming of a Hindi speaking and Hindu hegemony over the whole of India, with the active co-operation of fanatic satellites drawn from Western and Central India. They are the progenitors of all communal and linguistic troubles in the Union and no condemnation is too strong about their actions or utterances. But what we fail to appreciate is his obtuseness and the consequent follow-my-leader ostrich policy of Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri where the security of India is concerned.

We are forced to make these comments as a result of perusing the newspaper reports about the Lok Sabha debate on Nov. 23, regarding Pak infiltration into Assam. *The Hindustan Standard's* reports on the questions and answers on the subject, which are quoted in part below are interesting as they show that the matter has aroused concern amongst all parties, with the exception, of course, of the Communist Party of India. Secondly, that the Home Ministry while unable to deny *in toto* that the matter was of moment, were still trying to cover up the failings and shortcomings of the Ministry regarding the security measures on the Assam-East Pakistan frontiers. The matter is serious enough as will be indicated by the tone of the questions that are quoted below:

"There were as many as three questions on this subject and some members sought to make out that certain important people in the Assam Government had been lending support to Pakistani infiltration.

"An important Congress member, Mr. Ram Subhag Singh, asked if the Government had

proposed cession of territories by Pakistan in the perspective of large-scale infiltration from Pakistan into Assam.

"The Union Home Minister, Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, said : 'We have not considered it'.

"The Home Minister told another member, it was not considered necessary to hand over Assam-East Pakistan borders to the Army.

"None of the members from the Communist benches took part in the supplementaries over these questions.

"Three Congress members, Mr. Harish Chandra Mathur, Mr. M. L. Dwivedi and Mr. S. C. Samanta (West Bengal) asked what the result of the inquiry regarding infiltration of Pakistanis in Assam was and what measures had been taken to tighten the control measures.

"The Minister of State, Home Affairs, Mr. B. N. Datar, said that the data collected out of the 1961 census 'are still under examination and it is not possible to draw any definite conclusion in the matter.' He added that measures already taken included : (1) Strengthening the border outposts and checkpoints, and (2) increasing the mobility of the border outpost personnel.

"He later told another group of questioners, including Mr. Hem Barua of PSP, Mr. Subiman Ghosh of Forward Bloc, and Mr. Prakash Vir Shastri (Independent), who had asked if any arrangements had been made to see that the large number of Pakistanis in Assam might not participate in the next general elections, that under the relevant rules and instructions, Electoral Registration Officers were to satisfy themselves as to the nationality of individuals claiming the inclusion of their names in the electoral rolls and the "Government has no reason to believe that persons who are not citizens of India would be included in the rolls."

"A spate of supplementaries arose out of the questions which were then answered by the Home Minister, Mr. Shastri.

"Mr. Shastri told Mr. Dwivedi (Congress) that the Ministry had received some report on Pakistani infiltration 'all of which should be considered further.'

"Mr. S. C. Samanta wanted to know if any inquiry had been made into it on the basis of the 1951 census. Mr. Shastri said 'no', adding that the question had arisen only recently after

the 1961 census figures had been announced. Some representations had been to the Government and the Government thought it desirable to make further inquiry.

"Mr. Basumatari of Congress (Assam) asked about the Assam Chief Minister's proposal to fence off the whole of the borders. Mr. Shastri said, the Chief Minister had once made such a proposal. But, the borders extended to hundreds of miles and the cost of fencing with barbed wire would be tremendous. 'I do not think it will really prevent infiltration.' And the Assam Chief Minister himself had said later that he would have to take other steps.

"Mrs. M. Ahmed (Congress-Assam) asked if there were other contributory factors to infiltration such as migration from Nepal. Mr. Shastri said there had been migration from other States of India and that quite a number of labour personnel had been drawn to various development works in Assam such as the oil refinery. There had been migration of Hindus as well as Muslims as labour for which Assam had a demand. All these factors had to be taken into account, he added.

"Mr. Hem Barua (PSP) sought to make out that the three main development projects in Assam could not in any way account for about six lakhs of Pakistani infiltrators.

"Mr. Hem Barua asked if the Government was aware of a 'Greater Pakistan' and reorganisation of Indo-Pakistan borders. Mr. Barua also asked if the Government, in view of the fact that security steps in the borders had not been adequate, proposed to hand over the borders to the Army.

"The Home Minister said : 'We do not propose to do so.' The present arrangements might not be adequate and the Government wanted to further reorganise and extend supervisory activities in those areas.

"He told Mr. Prakash Vir Shastri (Independent supported by Jana Sangh) that while the increase in population in 1961 had been averagely 23 per cent in various States of India, the figure for Assam had been the highest, about 34.5 per cent."

The Minister of State, Home Affairs, Mr. B. N. Datar replied to the effect that the "Government has no reason to believe that any persons

who are not citizens of India would be included in the rolls".

The Government of India, through the medium of inept Cabinet Ministers and State Ministers and the officers of their choice, have before now let down the people of India in matters intensely affecting their security and the integrity of Indian soil. We have no reason to believe that the Home Minister and merry-men will do anything else unless they are pulled up. Does Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri know how the electoral rolls of Calcutta and 24 Parganas have been doctored? We believe not.

It is a well-known fact in Calcutta and in certain other parts of West Bengal, notably Nadia, Murshidabad and 24 Parganas that large-scale infiltration of these areas by Pakistani muslims is taking place—and has been taking place for some considerable time now. Some daily papers have given some prominence to this matter of late. For instance, *The Hindusthan Standard* of Nov. 26, carried the following report:

"Hitherto virtually confined to border areas in Nadia, 24 Parganas and Murshidabad, the infiltration of Pakistani muslims has now spread to Calcutta and the suburbs, and is also sizable, according to police sources.

With their anxiety heightened, the police had already raided several places in the city in search of the illegal immigrants. And at one place alone they had, to their utter surprise, comprised several hundreds of them. Some 56 of them were placed under arrest on Saturday early morning.

This large-scale infiltration, the police believe, is not unconnected with the propaganda which a section of Indian muslims in this country and Pakistan have been making for sometime past for the creation of a Muslim State in India to ensure protection of the muslim minority."

As for the statement that the Government have "no reason to believe" that such persons might carry their infiltration tactics on to the electoral rolls, we would say that, "Believe it or not" the electoral rolls are easily doctored, particularly where border villages and Calcutta bustees are concerned. There is no checking of the electoral rolls in Calcutta proper, let alone the outlying areas. Dead men come alive, absentees materialize out of thin air and—if money be

forthcoming in time as it did during the 1957 elections—there is no trouble in pushing in a few hundred names in areas where there is no likelihood of a challenge, as all old campaigners know.

Besides that, there is a fairly well-organized plan afoot and it is not the neo-muslim League alone that is concerned in it.

We know that neither Shri Shastri nor Shri Datar are likely to lose any sleep over the matter. Indeed we would say that they are asleep most of the time—excepting for the loquacious fits that they get when the elections are on—judging by the way that things are shaping in this land, accursed with mediocrities as it is!

Shri Shastri on the Next General Election

To the common citizen and the Man-in-the-Fields, the next General Election is largely a matter of indifference. There is no party that can claim that it has assiduously looked after the (interests of the nationals of the Union, or even after the) territories that are the patrimony of the nation, regardless of party or individual interests. The party in power has exhibited a general deterioration in moral values, consequent on the large-scale intrigues and bickerings over the loaves and fishes that accrue from the control over the administration of the country. As for the other parties, the strongest and the most well-organized—thanks to foreign drill-masters and alien gold—is a party that would have been branded as being the fifth-column of foreign powers and dealt with accordingly in any other country but India of Pandit Nehru. The only other party that could have attained the status of a national organization on the political front, the P.S.P., has been so weakened by the abandonment of leadership by stalwarts of the stature of Jaiprakash Narain, Achyut Patwardhan and—recently—Acharya Kripalani, that it can no longer count as a force in the political field with only Asoke Mehta, the last of the old guard, that was once regarded as the future hope of socialist India—fighting a lone battle. As for the other groups, there is hardly any weight behind any one of them, pet foibles and group interests being the motive power of almost all of them.

It is interesting with this background, to view the Congress prospects as delineated by Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri in his address to the Congress workers of West Bengal at the Congress Bhawan in Calcutta on November 11. Shri Shastri advised the Congress workers to concentrate on the Calcutta constituencies in the General Election as he believed the party had solid support in the rural areas, but that there was a powerful challenge posed by the Communist party in Calcutta. This statement was challenged by the Ring Master of the Congress Big Tent in West Bengal. There can be no doubt, however, that Shri Shastri has reasonable grounds for his conjecture, despite Shri Atulya Ghosh's rejoinder. No Congress Minister is seeking election from a Calcutta seat with the exception of the Chief Minister, and even he is undecided. It is impossible, of course, to foretell the results of the elections in Calcutta—or for that, in most industrial areas in West Bengal—because of the unpredictable nature of the electorate in this province, but in Calcutta the opposition parties have a very large number of unpaid workers in the form of the vast number of unemployed middle-class youth, the politically illiterate workers of organized labour and, lastly, the refugees. As against them, the Congress in Calcutta can pit only a few devoted workers and a large number of professional electioneers, who, more often than not, take the cash from the Congress coffers and socialist votes for the C.P.I. or some other party with an enterprising candidate.

Shri Shastri gave the views of the Congress High Command on the prospects of the election.

He referred to the position of the various rival political parties in the country. He said the Communist Party, for all practical purposes, looked like being well-organised. But there were internal differences among the various leaders of the party. Some leaders gave support to Mr. Nehru's China policy whereas some other leaders strongly supported the attitude of China which, in fact, was committing aggression on Indian soil and was in illegal possession of Indian territory. It was

the duty of every Congress worker to explain the dangerous policy pursued by the Indian Communists and educate the electorate on the right line. So far as the P.S.P. was concerned, Mr. Shastri had no doubt that it had ceased to aspire any more for being the main opposition party to the Congress. It had lost its influence and it had no programme which would induce the masses to vote for them. The Swatantra Party, he said, would not cut much ice. Particularly, in West Bengal, due to serious internal dissensions, it would not be able to influence the electorate.

Incidentally, he referred to the position of the Congress Party in Bihar where it had not been possible to present any agreed list of candidates for the elections. Even then, he said the Congress Party was still very strong and he had no doubt that whatever differences Congressmen had among themselves would be resolved amicably. So far as West Bengal was concerned, he was glad to find that the Congress was strong in the rural areas. In urban areas, particularly in Calcutta city, Communists were perhaps having some hold. He, therefore, appealed to Congress workers to carry on vigorous propaganda in urban areas so that the people might understand the good the Congress was doing for the country."

It is all very well for Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri to ask the Congress workers to carry on vigorous propaganda "so that people might understand the good the Congress was doing for the country." The trouble is that little that is good for the Bengali is apparent in West Bengal urban areas. People, even the Congress-minded people have an idea in those localities that a large number of "no-good persons"—to put it mildly are busy gathering the goods for themselves in West Bengal, thanks to the Congress.

THE EDITOR

All This Nonsense

China refers to all fears about her attempts at territorial expansion as "sheer nonsense". In her opinion, therefore, no one should think that she is in any way inclined to invade and occupy the territories of other nations. China's actions however, belie her assertions and the assurances

she gives to her neighbours regarding territorial boundaries. China has repeatedly violated the territories of other nations and the greatest of these violations has been the total occupation of Tibet by China. Tibet has been an independent country for long centuries and her connections with China have been loose and diplomatic only. The Tibetans had been different from the Chinese in point of language, culture, race and religion, and they had their own socio-political system which was theocratic and centred on Lamaistic institutions. That Tibet was an integral part of China was not only the sheerest of all nonsense, but an utterly unscrupulous falsehood propagated for the justification of a low international fraud of the worst type by which China wanted to achieve her rapacious purpose. The nations of the world accepted this grand violation of the rules of conduct of free nations on the ground of Tibet's inaccessibility and said nothing to the greatest of all marauders of modern times, as such action might have involved them in political unpleasantness. Our Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, has been always rather over-anxious to please foreigners and his enthusiasm for "brotherhood" has quite often exceeded the requirements of sound politics and friendless with other nations. His over-eagerness to put India's arms round the necks of all comers as a gesture of amity, has repeatedly put India in difficulty. When India elected Pandit Nehru as her principal manager of governmental affairs, India did not bargain for establishing herself as the universal abode of peace and her Prime Minister as the apostle of human amity and friendship. And that *at any cost*! If Pandit Nehru had not acted as an apostle when India's forces were pushing the Pakistani marauders out of Kashmir we would not have had any botheration over that territory. If he had not placated the Portuguese and talked and sung soothingly to them, ignoring the advantages he was losing by his delaying tactics; we would have had no foreign persecution of Indians within India. If again, he had not gone about singing songs of love and an undying affection for China and connived at China's occupation of Tibet, by remaining inactive and by even mildly approving of this wanton act of aggression; there would have been no occupation of Indian territory by

the Chinese. The Chinese are friends of the powerful and enemies of the weak and the meekly non-violent. We Indians have had our Buddhas and Chaitanyas and we love and adore the virtues of universal Humanity. But we have had our Krishna of the *Bhagavad Gita* too, and we have known how to fight for a good and noble cause. Indians have in the past produced Asokas, Skandaguptas, Shivajis and millions of gallant soldiers who excelled in warfare. If Indians could turn back the Greeks under Alexander the Great and the *Sakas* and the white *Huns*, they could also put the Chinese back into China. They could have truly liberated Tibet and made it once more the home of the *Mahayan* Buddhists, as it had been for over two thousand years. But, no; our Harrow and Trinity brand modern preacher of the ancient philosophy of *Ahimsa Parama Dharma*, must mix intellectual metaphors and motifs and try to achieve a new synthesis of industry and the pious inaction of *Ahimsa*; leading us in this manner into total political ignominy!

All these talks and counter-talks in Parliament prove only one thing. We Indians have lost face on a grand scale, if not in territory or money. We cannot say we have protected the true interests of the people of India that are here and still less of those who will be born hereafter. Nehru's steel plants may not be there after fifty years to belch smoke into the clear skies of India or to blacken the landscape for establishing a system of wage-slavery for India's millions. But the clean heights of the Himalayas and routes followed by a hundred generations of Indians for pilgrimage will be closed to us for ever. And, for all we know, the vicious hordes of China will camp out in Tibet as a perpetual threat to our civilisation and to the happiness of our plain living and philosophically thinking communities. The question is, why are we being forced to cough up our last *naie paise* in taxes to help Pandit Nehru's schemes if those schemes are not good enough to save us from Chinese or Pakistani aggression? Even from an occasional kick lashed out by the contemptible Portuguese. We have studied the history of British politics in India and so has Pandit Nehru. We do not wish to hear about "steps" that "are being taken", nor about "arrangement being made". We want the Chinese,

the Pakistanis and the Portuguese out of India. We also want all infiltrators from Pakistan out of Assam and West Bengal. *Deeds, not words.*

A. C.

Slow Motion

The Government of India is probably the slowest moving administrative machine in the world. It considers, it takes steps, it makes arrangements and it plans in a manner which makes one think of the speed of movement of the tortoise as something fleet as the arrows of light. If they have to build something they take such a long time over it that by the time the work of construction is complete, extensive repairs and maintenance work become necessary. Their officers get their appointments, transfers and re-transfers from here to there and thence elsewhere; and they never get enough time to settle down and do some useful work. So that the personnel of the government appear to be always on the move and busy making arrangements to go somewhere else or sorting out their luggage or packing the same up for a fresh bout of transportation. Their files also move from table to table and no one has any time to look into them or take action about their contents. The people of India spend their time appealing, petitioning and so forth and nothing happens during the lifetime of the applicants. Big private and public projects are held up for lack of material, orders, sanctions or some such thing which the government handle with a rare grace. There are many cases where these sanctions and permissions have not come in during twenty-five years of pendency. Hibernation, they say, prolongs life, and hibernating animals may easily live for 1,400 years. The Government of India and their officials have evolved a system by which they can spend money, exact taxes and abuse powers while doing nothing. Somnambulism of a sort and with a limited function. One hibernates and one's normal physical functions are reduced down to a bare minimum; yet one moves from place to place; takes things out of the pocket of others, puts things into one's own pocket, holds up work, delays action and allows nothing to get done. In this manner the Government of India hopes to prolong its life for another 1,400 years. In the meantime the whole

of India may become China, Portugal or Pakistan; Nehru may prove himself to be the equal of Buddha by having 100 *jatakas*, Lal Bahadur may grow taller, Menon may add to his mass and Morarji complete his thesis about 1001 methods of borrowing money; but India will remain prostrate, with a bare minimum of breathing, digesting and functioning as a living entity!

Nehru's Second Five-Year Plan for opening his eyes towards the Chinese border is just beginning. At least so he says. During this period China has crossed the entire width of Tibet, the buffer state between India and China, and is hobnobbing with Nepal. Nehru's Fourth Five-Year Plan relating to Pakistani infiltration is also beginning and some malicious traitors in Assam have already completed their programme of aid-the-infiltrators with Nehru's knowledge. The programme of Portuguese persecution of Indians is also proceeding smoothly and according to plan. Nehru, who learnt warfare in a non-violent school, Menon, whose knowledge of national defence is only second to that of Nehru and Morarji, who knows how to undermine the strength of potential enemies by borrowing large sums from them; are all busy defending India. And India is lying proudly prostrate in a profound pose of hibernation. She moans faintly at times as in a dream but that does not disturb her great sons.

A. C.

How are Nerves Affected

Arising out of the letter that the Secretary, Education Department, Government of West Bengal, wrote to the Government of India about the unsuitability of boxing as a form of sport for school boys by reason of its effect on the delicate nervous system of boys; several questions are presented to us for consideration. The first one is, what sort of injury does most harm to nerves? Heavy blows from a hammer or the good old Chinese method of allowing drops of water to fall on one's head over a long period? The answer is that the heaviness of a blow or its effect on human bones or muscles will not necessarily mean that it is injurious for the nerves. Slow torture over a long period, continued irritation, prolonged hectoring or nagging or the presence of some discomfort or deficiency

will generally injure the nerves more than an occasional fall or cut as one may get in football, boxing or *lathi* play. As a matter of fact, in shock therapy system of treatment for nervous ailments, the body is subjected to a violent shock of a physical nature in order to tone up the nervous. The easy assumption, therefore, that whatever cuts your lip also cuts through your nerves is all wrong. The nerves, like the muscles are slowly strengthened by taking a strain. All exercise means strain for the muscles. All study, drill or disciplined behaviour means a strain on the nerves, and these also tone up the nerves. Any one who thinks that spoon-feeding or molly-coddling are the best methods of giving a child sound body and a sound mind, is thinking all wrong. One might, therefore, say that the question of building up a strong nervous system is positively correlated to taking occasional blows and bumps, and that what is good for the weakest boy is definitely bad medicine for the general run of healthy youngsters.

There was a British manager of a factory who had an Indian assistant, who obtained a Doctorate from the University. Thereafter, the assistant began to think about all matters in a deep and analytical manner. After seeing a few samples of his deep thinking, the British manager said, "Please, do not think! For, whenever you start thinking it gives me a pain in the neck."

A. C.

Boxing for Boys

At a press conference held sometime ago by the Indian Amateur Boxing Federation reference was made to certain comments on the suitability of boxing as a sport for school boys by the Secretary, Education Department, Government of West Bengal. In his letter to the Education Department, Government of India, the above Secretary of West Bengal was reported to have expressed the opinion that the "delicate nervous system" of young school boys possibly suffered injury if they indulged in boxing as a part of their physical education. The Secretary also suggested that "expert opinion" should be invited on the subject before one should approve of boxing as a sport for school boys.

It was quite obvious from the Secretary's letter to the Government of India that he was trying to "put a spoke" into organised boxing in schools by quoting the delicate nervous system of school boys. For, it is well-known that boys will fight with or without the approval of government; and, whether they will fight with, gloves in a boxing ring and under medical and judges' supervision, or without gloves in or out of school; is a matter of choice for the highly intellectual and not too practical Secretaries of the Education Departments of the various governments. Bare-fist fighting in the back-lanes or fighting with brick-bats, sticks, knives and crackers, as is practised by school, college and teddy boys, will surely cause more damage to the delicate nervous systems of the combatants than boxing will ever do. The Secretary, Education Department, Government of West Bengal, perhaps, has no inkling of what boxing means; nor of the methods of training, rules and regulations guiding that form of sport. For, had he any knowledge of how boxing was taught and how boxing matches were arranged and carried out, he would not have harboured any doubts as to the suitability of boxing as a form of sport for boys. In training a boy usually receives detailed instruction in regard to stance, foot work, delivery of blows and parries during a fairly long period before he is allowed to actually fight. Then again he is never allowed to fight a boy much superior to him in weight or experience. So that, there are seldom any destructive onslaughts upon the delicate nervous systems of the boys learning boxing, as is quite often the case with boys fighting in the streets or in the school premises. In Great Britain, where boxing is commonly practised by school boys; people do not fight with knives, soda-water bottles and similar weapons by reason of their love of **fair fighting**. This idea of fair fighting is inculcated in them by boxing. The Secretary, Education Department, Government of West Bengal, should be well-advised to study the history of the various games and sports in different countries before having a random shot at a particular sport.

As to the protection of the delicate

nervous system of boys by cutting boxing out of the approved list of sports, we would like to point out that the nervous system often gets damaged by totally different forms of attack upon it, than by a few hard knocks. Highest priority among these would belong to lack of proper pre-natal and post-natal care, treatment of curable diseases, want of nourishing food, bad living conditions, absence of proper lighting, ventilation and comforts and presence of noise, dust, smoke, etc., etc. Bullying by parents, brothers and others and unfair treatment at school also have their effect on the nerves of school boys. Bad text books, irritating teaching methods, wrong hours and long gaps between meals also affect the nervous as well as the muscles and bones of the boys. What has the Secretary done so far about all this? If he has not done enough, what justification has he for speaking out of turn about boxing or any other games or sports? He, who does not care to learn the alphabets, has no right to discuss the subtleties of poetry or *belles lettres*. In this case we find an official appearing to think deeply about the nerves and physical condition of school boys who has almost totally ignored the more fundamental factors determining the physical or mental health of his *wards*, so to speak. In the circumstances, this reference to the effect of boxing on the health of school boys, is a pure pretence of doing something which one really never does. And the letter should, therefore, be ignored by the Government of India.

No one has, to our knowledge, studied the effect of playing football, cricket, hockey or *ha-doo-doo* on the nervous system of boys; yet these games are played. School boys in Great Britain have been boxing for nearly a hundred years and there have been no visible ill-effects on their nervous system due to that. The Germans used to fight with broad swords as a form of sport, the French used the rapier and other peoples had been known to engage in bull-fighting, climbing precarious heights and stopping a charging lion on a shield, etc., etc., to develop and prove their manliness. All nations are now teaching their youths to fight in order to exist; and com-

mando fighting includes all forms of rough housing which are tougher than boxing with gloves. We do not know if the Government of West Bengal are trying to train their school boys to be delicate, graceful and girlish. If they are, we do not approve of the idea. Boys must be tough and fighting fit. As a matter of fact, so should girls. The people of West Bengal are by no means overdosed with this much-desired toughness. If, therefore, **all** boys have to take the medicine that is prescribed for the few who are delicate; things will be bad for this unfortunate state. Boxing develops tenacity, strength and cool courage in the boys. It also makes them self-reliant and capable of self-defence without weapons. It has been proved to be a builder of character and a sense of fair play. It should be adopted in all schools as a form of physical training.

A. C.

Congo

It is very difficult to say anything precisely about the Congo. An atmosphere of unreality prevails in that part of Africa and the forces that are active there are blatantly obvious and yet cloaked in false appearances which create doubts about their true nature. One does not know with certainty whether many of the great powers of the world are not much more involved in the Congo troubles than they would admit or would like to be known. In the circumstances, the United Nations are fighting themselves in the Congo in the sense that the same nations which are organising and managing the U.N. are also (at least a fair proportion of them) financing, supplying arms and men and directing the activities of those Congolese who are defying the U.N., attacking, killing and wounding their personnel and, generally speaking, running counter to all U.N.-sponsored moves to bring peace and good government to the Congo. Among those nations who are top suspects are Belgium and China; the first, for violating every known rule of conduct and the second, for supplying arms to the armies or the banditry of the Congo. That many other groups of outsiders, who are doing a bit of gun running and helping the marauders in different ways, belong to countries which are members of the United Nations, is a fact which no one will deny. And no nation has yet taken any action

against their own nationals for criminal activities in the Congo. These criminals may say that they are not guilty of any crimes; for they will say, they are not breaking the laws of their own countries and that their actions in the Congo are not illegal for the reason that there is no law in the Congo and that the Congolese have not accused them of any crimes. This defence may be true technically; but when a nation signs a treaty or aligns itself with a group of nations following a certain international policy; then the nationals of that nation become parties to the undertakings and commitments of that nation. We cannot be at peace with another nation and, yet, permit our nationals to carry on private warfare against that nation; or violate their territories. China and Pakistan may engage in such low subterfuge, but then the world does not acclaim those countries for their high moral outlook. It comes to this then that when certain nationals of certain nations act in a manner which is contrary to the declared and sworn policy of their own nations; such action should be made punishable by the nations whose nationals the offenders are. In other words the United Nations Organisation should take immediate steps to make it incumbent upon its member nations to pass legislation for the prevention of lawless activities by their nationals in other lands. There is no doubt that unless Belgium prevented her nationals from engaging in political adventure in the Congo; troubles will continue there. Also China, Russia, America, Britain, France and the U.A.R. must make it obligatory upon their nationals to "keep off the grass" in the Congo. Extra-territorial human obligations must be admitted by all humanity, before the world can be in a position to enforce an international ethical programme. And this should be undertaken immediately by the U.N.O. as an active issue. For if this is not done now, the time is not far off when nuclear weapons will be produced by private bodies for "export" purposes. Russians will perhaps make nuclear war heads for Chinese bandits and the Americans will do a bit of "Atom Running" here and there as pure private enterprise. Our *bantias* may also make a little non-taxable profit in Burma or Siam by the sale of an occasional hydrogen bomb.

A. C.

Major Gagarin

We welcome Major Gagarin and his wife to India. He will not find much science or space research in this country; but he will find something here that is being forgotten everywhere by reason of humanity's newer aspirations. Man made his mark first on this earth and the great temples, palaces, forts and other structures are a testimony to the history of man. Art, architecture and the profound thoughts that inspired humanity had been the first proofs of man's ability to rise above his anthropoid shape and form. In India, man looked for immortality and speculated on the nature of the human soul and the possibilities of its survival after physical death. Great achievements of an earthly nature were not ignored either. Major Gagarin has been a pioneer in man's endeavour to reach into the outer space physically. He has helped the world to realise that many things are real which appeared to be unreal in the past. May be after man has traversed the physical universe, he will be able to know more about what is beyond that world. We offer our felicitations to Major Gagarin and his wife and wish him all success in his proposed flight to Venus.

A. C.

Sir B. P. Singh Roy

The death of Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy removes a powerful personality from the fields of industry and politics and from West Bengal society. The Singh Roys have been well-known landlords of Chakdighi, Burdwan, for about two hundred years and they have produced quite a number of remarkable men during this period. Originally they came from Bundelkhand and were Rajput by caste. Sri Bijoy Prasad was a qualified lawyer and was an advocate of the Calcutta High Court; but he made his mark, first in politics and later on in industry and commerce. He had a quiet and dignified nature and although he had his own opinions which he adhered to, very few people felt any antagonism towards him; because he respected the opinions of others without surrendering his own outlook and view-point. The British, the Muslim League and the National Congress;

all agreed to show due deference to the considered views of Sir Bijoy Prasad, who was never acrimonious, fanatical or ideologically obtuse. His reputation as a businessman was earned by hard work and a steady attachment to his high ideals. Suave, well-mannered and aristocratic; Sir Bijoy Prasad played his part well and creditably in all that he ever undertook to do. India mourns his death.

A. C.

Subodh Chandra Roy

India lost a link with the last quarter of the nineteenth century by the death of Subodh Chandra Roy. Born in a well-known Brāhmo family in 1876, Subodh Chandra grew up as a staunch believer in the ideals of the Brōhmo Samaj. He qualified as a Barrister and had a good practice in the Calcutta High Court. He also took his Tripos in Mathematics and his LL.B. at the University of Cambridge. He was one of the founders of the Calcutta University Law College which was instituted in 1909. In politics he was a Liberal of the Tej Bahadur Sapru group, and later, he worked with C. R. Das. He was connected with several industries and was looked upon by business people as a sound adviser in the matter of policy. This was mainly due to his high moral outlook and detailed knowledge of

financial accounts. Cultural, dignified, upright and an uncompromisingly ethical man, he was one of the last of the good men of nineteenth century India. He did not push himself forward everywhere for gain or advantage, but believed in his own code of behaviour and remained attached to it firmly during his entire life time, clean in conduct pure in thought, he lived the life of a thorough gentleman.

A. C.

NEW YEAR'S SUBSCRIPTION TO
THE MODERN REVIEW

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Manager, The Modern Review.

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DR. NILRATAN SIRCAR (1861-1943)

By Dr. KALIDAS NAG

Born in the village of Netra near Diamond Harbour, Nilratan, with his parents, was obliged to migrate to his maternal uncle's home-town Joynagar when he was barely a tiny boy of three. For the cyclone of 1863 ravaged Deltaic Bengal and Calcutta, as had been recorded in our gazettes and Meteorological Department reports. His parents set up home in Joynagar where they had a little property and tried to bring up their children properly in spite of the meagreness of their resources. In that

progressive small town Nilratan spent his boyhood happily as the 'leader' of the juvenile team, till his beloved mother fell ill and died in 1875, when he was only fourteen. The sensitive boy felt deeply that first cruel blow of fate and took a vow at his mother's death-bed that he will be a Doctor to help the ailing folks in the villages. But, he did not realise then what a stiff climb of the ladder of success was the coveted Doctor's degree.

Joynagar Middle English School aspired

to send up Nilratan for the Entrance Examination which he passed (1876) at the age of 15. But the family finances were so low that he could not join the (First Arts) Class of any college. So he boldly joined the semi-free Campbell School founded in 1873 with its medical school which started in 1875. Nilratan was one of the early batch of its students trained by able and sympathetic 'Native' doctors like Dayal Som and Surgeon Zahiruddin whom he remembered well. In 1879 he completed his 3 years early medical course and emerged from the Campbell School (now Nilratan Sircar Medical College). His natural talents and skill in dissection attracted the notice of Dr. McKenzie who was kind like a God-father and got him admitted free to the Metropolitan Institution founded by the "Positivist" Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar (1820-1891).

Thanks to the generous provisions of the Pandit, two famous students: Nilratan Sircar and Narendra Dutta (Swami Vivekananda) could get their college education (1863-1902) practically free. These two classmates met the financial crisis of their families by earning while learning! For we find them also as fellow-teachers of the Grey Street school founded by Dr. Aghorenath Chatterjee, (D.Sc., Edin of 1875) the grand-father of Srimati Padmaja Naidu. Had our schools and colleges cared to preserve records, we could have known the subjects of their choice in study and the teachers of Nilratan and Narendra. The latter, shifted from Metropolitan to the General Assembly Institution where he was joined by Brojendra Nath Seal (1864-1938), later George V Professor of Philosophy, Calcutta University.

Nilratan completed his F.A. and B.A. courses by 1884; but family finances were precarious. So he served as a Head Master of Chatra (near Serampore) High School, making some extra income by "tuition" also so that he could join the Medical College (1885) in the Third Year Class, thanks again to Dr. McKenzie. When Dr. Sircar emerged as a full-fledged M.B. (1888) he won stipends and medals for his uniformly brilliant class and laboratory records which should be catalogued by some

research-minded young Doctor from the rare notices in the University Calendar. We know that Dr. Sircar took high honours in Gynaecology, Forensic Medicine and Medical Jurisprudence. His teachers and colleagues could be indentified by a search in the annals of the Calcutta Medical College (founded in 1835). Within a year (1888-89) he got his M.D. degree and his M.A. in Physiology also. Dr. Sircar M.B. got the post of the Resident Surgeon of the Chandney Hospital in 1888, when he married Miss Nirmala Mazumder, daughter of the devout Brahmo preacher, Rev. Girish Majumder of Barisal (translator of the sermons of Theodore Parker, the American Unitarian). Next, Dr. Sircar became the Visiting Physician of the famous Mayo Hospital on Strand Road.

His income mounted, so that he gave up jobs and took to independent "Practice" competing with the best "White" Doctors of Calcutta, like principal Calvert and Col. Brown. Nilratan's contemporaries and friends, like Dr. Kedar Nath Das (Gynaecologist) and Col. S. P. Sarbadhikari are no longer with us. We have only the famous Drs. Lalit Mohan Banerjee, Bidhan Chandra Roy and Nalini Ranjan Sen Gupta with us to supply links with the most glorious years of Nilratan Sircar's career. They were the promising young Doctors when Nilratan was a mature leader of his profession.

Nilratan, assisted by other patriotic Doctors, built up the "College of Physicians and Surgeons" which later developed by amalgamation with other medical institutions and eventually became the first non-official medical college of India, if not of Asia, through the efforts made by Nilratan Sircar and sympathetic help given to him by Lord Carmichael who was the then Governor of Bengal. This college was called Carmichael Medical College. It was renamed R. G. Kar Medical College later on by reason of the original medical school at that site having been the R. G. Kar Medical School. It was the dream of Nilratan Sircar to free medical education from I.C.S. and I.M.S. control and he realised his patriotic ambition by putting in a tremendous amount of work in building up this first ever non-official medical college of India.

In between, he built up a reputation as the most resourceful genial and able physician of Calcutta who got calls from the Native States of India and even from Chandra Sham Sher Jung Bahadur Rana, Prime Minister of Nepal. Thanks to his eventful visits to Nepal. Many Bengali Doctors and Teachers were engaged by the Government of Nepal and Nepali-Bengali relations developed along a very friendly line. Dr. Nilratan Sarkar was altruistic to the core, helping men and women and creating fresh opportunities for them. Young aspirants to medical training and practice always got his fatherly support and friendly advice. But in his philanthropy he never let the left hand know what his right hand gave. Legends gathered round him as he boldly nursed Plague (Calcutta 1897-1900) patients and poor indigents in his home-clinic. He saved the lives of many Plague-stricken persons at a time when Plague was almost a 100 per cent killer. In the last decade of the 19th century, he built a palatial house (61, Harrison Road) which developed into a joyous Hindu Joint-Family-cum a Multipurpose residential institution in the Swadeshi days.

For, here lived with his own family the members of many friendly families visiting Calcutta from their rural homes. Many of our great National leaders like Rabindranath, Dr. J. C. Bose and Prof. P. C. Roy often visited Dr. Sircar's home. There met, for years, the members of the Calcutta Medical Club founded in 1901, of which he was the President and Editor-in-chief of their Journal for years. In the same Harrison Road multipurpose mansion met the early promoters of the National Council of Education, now the Jadavpur University. The renowned Barrister, Sir Taraknath Palit, and the learned Advocate Sir Rash Behari Ghosh were his friends; and they were the first two big donors (over 20 lacs of rupees) to the Calcutta University building and the first Post-Graduate College of Science and Technology. The full report of the donations is given in the Calendars and Minutes of the University (1917-20) when Dr. Sircar was nominated Vice-Chancellor. He delivered

three important convocation addresses. He was elected the University delegate to the British Empire Universities Conference, London (1920-21) and the Honorary Doctorates of the Universities of Oxford and Edinburgh were conferred upon him. He took Lady Sircar with him and visited many famous Hospitals of U.K., as well as the world famous Pasteur Institute of Paris. He visited many educational institutions in Great Britain. He had the ability to study things deeply and precisely without appearing to do so and his visit to Europe was utilised by him to the fullest for fact-finding and constructive purposes.

Nilratan was a great educationist and served for years (1920-42) the University of Calcutta. He was the Dean of the Faculty of Medicine, President of the Post-Graduate Dept. (Arts and Sciences) initiating the Health Examination of the students as a major part of the students' welfare scheme. The minutes of the senate and the syndicate of the Calcutta University should be searched for his cultural and scientific contributions to his Alma Mater.

Dr. Sircar also served Bengal as a member of the old Legislative Council (1912-27) and its records will also throw some light on the vexed questions of public health and civic amenities. He was invited to guide the working of several committees of the Indian National Congress and he treated with great care many of our ailing leaders. So Mahatma Gandhi personally came to cheer up Dr. Sircar when he was confined to his room after his first stroke. He was the Doctor friend of our National Poet Rabindranath who dedicated his "Senjuti" poems to Dr. Sircar.

When Rabindranath inaugurated the great Nationalist (Swadeshi) movement with his epoch-making paper Swadeshi Samaj on National planning, Dr. Nilratan was plunging deeper into many industrial ventures, starting with the Tea industry of Darjeeling District and Jalpaiguri. He built two splendid houses in Darjeeling, the Glen Eden No. 1 and No. 2 in one of which lived Sir Jagadish and Lady Bose who nursed the noble Irish Lady, Sister Nivedita, (1866-1911) and had her treated by their friend

Dr. Sircar. Rabindranath Tagore, Prof. Patrick Geddes, Gaganendranath Tagore, Abanindranath Tagore, Nandalal Bose, Sir P. C. Ray, Sir Narayan Chandravarkar and many others have visited and enriched the atmosphere of Glen Eden. When the Nobel Prize crowned his Gitanjali (Song Offerings) in 1913, there appeared in the Statesman the first photograph of Tagore the Actor. Dr. Sircar with his Bengali industrialist friend H. Bose took a party from Calcutta to Sanitniketan in a special train. Ten years after when the Poet was invited by Republican China to lecture at the University of Peking (1924), Dr. Sircar personally came to see off the Poet and his party, making eager inquiries after his health. He gave a moving message to the Golden Book of Tagore (1931) edited by his friend Ramananda Chatterjee. The Poet's health was rapidly declining and while he was seriously ill twice, in 1937 and 1940, Dr. Sircar saved the Poet's life by his loving attention. He opposed the operation which carried away the Poet in 1941.

Few would remember that, amidst thousands of his patients, Dr. Sircar helped in prolonging the life of other celebrities whose centenary we observed recently: Dr. J. C. Bose (1858-1938) and the blind Poet scholar Bijoy Mazumdar (1861-1942) and Dr. P. C. Roy (1861-1944) were his patients. So was Lord Carmichael, enlightened Governor of Bengal, who helped Dr. Sircar throughout in the foundation of the Carmichael Medical College (renamed Dr. R. G. Kar College) to relieve the congestion of students in the Calcutta Medical College. In all such work Dr. Sircar was strongly supported by a galaxy of young doctors like Dr. B. C. Roy, who gave their very best by helping to extend medical education and hospital amenities with special re-

ference to human welfare. Many rising Doctors, including the late Dr. Subodh Mitra, were indebted to Dr. Sircar who helped them to the best of his capacity. His University gave Dr. Sircar an Honorary Doctorate and named the Chair of Zoology after him.

His practice and scientific studies apart, Dr. Sircar ever tried to improve our outlook on life and raise the standard of social service which to him, a Theist, was God's service. He formulated this basic idea in his presidential address to the All India Theistic Conference Bombay (1915). Luckily that erudite and inspiring address was printed in *The Modern Review* (1916) which also reproduced in 1919 a veritable thesis of Dr. Sircar on the Tanning Industry and its potentialities. He was much more than a Medical Doctor. Sir Nilratan was a practical industrialist who gave thoughtful evidence before several official and non-official Commissions which should be ransacked to be woven into a full life of Dr. Nilratan Sircar. Financially he suffered heavily, plunging in business after business; but he left us the example of a life nobly lived for the welfare of fellow beings and the progress of his country. The spirit of adventure and of disinterested service made his life shine in an effulgence which will inspire generations to come. The village boy of Jaynagar, came to struggle in our city of Calcutta, encouraged by Vidyasagar and Dr. McKenzie to get sound training in the Campbell School and the Medical College. Nilratan lived to a ripe old age, repeating with Rabi Ben Ezra,

"Grow old along with me
the best is yet to be
the last of life for which the first was
made" !



GREATER MALAYSIA AND INDIA

D. P. SINGHAL

CRISES have become so common these days that seldom any notice is taken of them until they have actually exploded. One such crisis has been brewing in Singapore, the nerve-centre of South-East Asia, for some time past, which in recent months has reached a crucial point. A false move or an accident can disrupt the facade of tranquility, plunging the whole area into a state of prolonged, if not permanent chaos. India with a substantial minority of Indians in the region, which is a traditional "no-man's land" between her and Chinese sphere of influence cannot remain unconcerned with these developments; even if we were to ignore the close ties which bind us in culture to the peoples of South-East Asia.

The problem of Singapore has mainly arisen because of the retreat of imperialism, described once by Herbert Spencer as a "political burglar", against the rising tide of nationalism through the front gate, leaving it ajar, it is apprehended, for Communist entry in a very sensitive area of world strategy. The British withdrawal from India in 1947, imposed upon them the need to fortify their strategic interests elsewhere. This they did firstly by separating Singapore from Malaya, which later or sooner would have successfully claimed independence, and then retaining their hold over the foreign, the defence and the internal security affairs under the new Singapore Constitution which came into operation in June, 1959.

The semi-colonial status of Singapore is indeed clumsy; halfway houses to freedom have long ceased to survive. Continued British paramountcy would only multiply popular resentment which is already considerable. Yet complete independence for a city-state with a variety of unique and complex problems is difficult to conceive as a practical proposition. Indeed, in spite of the magnetism of the concept and the vigorous advocacy of some politicians the peoples of Singapore have not seriously claimed it for their own sake. It is sought as an alternative to the natural, but elusive, integration of the island with the mainland.

Even if it were demanded that the British who retain the complete control of the external and

the defence affairs and have a substantial share in the internal security will not abdicate their position voluntarily. For, the vacuum thus created by the retreat of colonialism in a predominantly Chinese city, it is feared, will be filled by Communist ascendancy which must be excluded from an extraordinarily valuable point of world-strategy. Singapore is an important military base for the SEATO requirements.

The economic viability, again, of a small, densely populated city-state is extremely doubtful. Singapore has no natural resources and lives mainly on the uncertain shipping and banking interests, and entrepot trade. The existing unemployment will become perilously unbearable after the withdrawal of British power, as they are today the largest employer in the island. The other alternative of Singapore's natural integration with Malaya has been prevented by the "plural"—a debatable point—nature of Malayan society and the precarious balance between the Chinese and the Malay populations.

In a population of 7 million in the Federation of Malaya there are 3.5 million Malays (50 per cent), 2.6 million Chinese (37 per cent) and 900,000 Indians and others (13 per cent). In Singapore there are 1.3 million Chinese (75 per cent), 230,000 Malays (14 per cent) and 180,000 others (11 per cent). In an integrated state the Malays will be outnumbered by the Chinese alone by 170,000 who already hold the economic power in the country and are multiplying at a faster rate than the Malays.

It was against this background that the Prime Minister of Malaya, Tengku Abdur Rahman took everybody by surprise on May 27th, 1961, by his announcement before a gathering of foreign correspondents in Singapore suggesting the formation of a mighty Malaysia comprising Malaya, Singapore, and the three British Borneo territories. For some months past, the Malayan Premier had adopted a softening attitude towards Singapore which was interpreted by political commentators as indicative of the growing closer relationship between these two Malayan states. Yet none, even in his most optimistic calculations had provided for such a

sudden pronouncement. It was not the originality of the plan which had caught unawares the political world, for such a scheme had been suggested some years before by the then British Commissioner-General Sir Malcom MacDonald.

But the fact that the suggestion this time came from Tengku himself, who had been identified with Malay opposition to a plan of merger, was the amazing part. Consequently the first reactions were of cautious disbelief waiting for the catch to emerge. Unfermented by power, the Tengku's forthrightness has often been reflected in the courageous proclamations of his spontaneous decisions. His famous walkout from the Commonwealth Prime Minister's Conference in 1960, culminating in a major policy of boycott against South Africa, his suggestion of the Commonwealth of Muslim countries, and his offer to mediate between Indonesia and the Netherlands over the West Irian issue are a few examples. However, the lingering doubts were soon removed when he reaffirmed his earlier pronouncement before a gathering of Commonwealth representatives about a month later. Meanwhile, the Singapore Prime Minister, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, who has always been a keen supporter of political integration of the Malaysian territories, was quick to respond with unreserved support. The political machinery was set in motion and consultations and discussions began briskly both among the Government circles and in public forums. The three British representatives in the Borneo territories assembled in Singapore to confer with the British Commissioner-General, Earl of Selkirk, upon the subject. No positive conclusion was announced as a result of this conference but from the reports of the interviews given by some of the British representatives in the press it appears that the British attitude was of "wait and see". A few days later, on July 1st, Lord Selkirk flew to London, to discuss the British attitude towards this new development. The British involvement in the scheme is evident as they have the direct responsibility of government of the three Borneo territories. Britain is responsible for Singapore's foreign affairs and defence, and has a substantial share in the internal security, and under the United Kingdom Defence Agreement with Malaya she is largely responsible for the defence of the Federation. Although it is some months now that the original announcement was made, and in the meantime, merger

talks between Singapore and the Federation have progressed remarkably well, yet Britain has carefully refrained from indicating any preference.

In Malaya, ministerial conferences have been organised, public debates have taken place and even party splits have occurred under the stress of future possibilities. Undeterred by popular reactions the two Prime Ministers have carried on their negotiations with remarkable speed and steadiness. By the end of August, complete agreement on major points was reported to have been reached. A fortnight later, confirming the agreement in principle, a joint working party was set up to settle points of detail, although the composition and the terms of reference of the committee have not been disclosed. However, it is finally announced that in an association of these two states the Central Government would control the defence, foreign affairs and internal security; and Singapore, as an autonomous component unit would be independent in matters of labour and education and such other matters which are decided by common consent.

Greater Malaysia originally appeared to be contingent upon the inclusion of the Borneo territories in the scheme to offset the predominance of the Chinese of Singapore. The combined population of North Borneo, Sarawak and Brunei is about 1.3 million. Of these 355,491 are Chinese, about 82,000 others and the rest, 876,000, are indigenous peoples. But the Chinese are the largest single unit as the indigenous peoples comprise different ethnic and religious groups such as Malayas, Dayaks, Ibans, Christians, Muslims and others. Of these the Malays are about one quarter and less than half who profess Islam. Of the total population the Malays, in the sense used in the Federation, who speak the Malay language and practice Muslim religion are only one-sixth. But the non-Muslim indigenous peoples have the same economic interests as the Malays of the Federation, and in spite of the multiplicity of local and regional groups differing in language and religion, fundamentally all the Malaysian peoples from Indonesia to the Philippines share a similar pattern of existence. Assuming that all the indigenous peoples would side with the Malays in a union of five territories they will outnumber the Chinese by about 268,000 but still be in a minority by about 1,262,000 against all the "foreigners". If the non-Muslims are excluded, then the Malays would be in a weaker position

than they are now in the Federation. The 43 per cent Chinese will comprise the biggest group in the United States of Malaysia. The Malays would be only 38 per cent of the total population. Together with the other indigenous peoples they will be only slightly more than the Chinese. Thus the 50 per cent Malays in the Federation would be reduced to about 46 per cent in the United States of Malaysia and the Chinese would be increased from 37 per cent to 42 per cent. This proportion will, however, be better than what it would be in the merger of Singapore and Federation alone, where the Malays would be in a definite minority (Chinese 45 per cent, Malays 43 and others about 12). It is, therefore, clear that in any movement towards merger the Malays will be weaker than they are at present. They lose heavily in a merger with Singapore alone, but counter-balance the loss substantially in a Greater Malaysia Union. Hence the British Borneo has been designated as "the catalyst of the compound".

But the indications so far are that the support for the plan in the territories of Borneo is, at best, divided. Although opposition in Borneo was almost instantaneous. Political life is not well-organised in these areas and the normal means of assessing public reactions are not available. However, the leaders of the emerging political parties met in Jesselton in the second week of July and issued a statement rejecting the scheme. They even formed a United Front to oppose imposition of the proposals. Tengku Abdur Rahman visited Brunei in the first week of July and openly canvassed support for his proposals, but did not achieve much success. Fears of Malay domination were openly expressed. The resistance, however, upon consultations between some prominent Borneo and Malayan leaders was later weakened.

Of all the three Borneo territories, Brunei resistance has been the most determined and consistent. She, with a proud people and a long memory of Empire in Borneo, including the whole of present-day Sarawak and much of North Borneo and a continuous ruling dynasty—the present Sultan being the 28th in his line—is not willing to associate with the other areas on an equal footing. Moreover, Brunei is the Commonwealth's second largest oil producer. With a population of 80,000 people it has an estimated government revenue for 1961 of £13 million, more than £160 for each person. Borneo's own

racial problems are much simpler and economically she is better off than Malaya. Even North Borneo's exports per head of population exceed Malaya's.

If Brunei, which is predominantly Malay in social and political structure like any other Malay state, is against joining in, then the objections of the other two territories should be far more valid.

The arguments of geography are also against union. These two groups of states are separated by the South China sea, in varying distances from about 500 miles to well over a thousand. The distance between Kuala Lumpur and Jesselton is much more than that between Jesselton and either Saigon or Manila. Defence in an event of crisis from Malaya of a 1,400 mile long coast line would be weak. Against an Indonesian attack on the far side, with which British Borneo shares 900 miles of land frontier it would be impotent. Borneo itself is a very large island, the third largest in the world, and more than three quarters of it is a part of Indonesia. The dividing boundary line, to complicate the matter, is neither fully surveyed nor well-defined. The people "who live along the Indonesian border are hardly aware of its existence and pass freely from one side to the other." Ethnologically also the inhabitants of British Borneo are of the same stock as the peoples of Indonesian Borneo. Indonesia, so far, has not advanced any claims to this area, while she is involved in West Irian against the Dutch. Indonesia's nationalism today extends to the former Dutch possessions in the area, but that this will continue to be so, once the British have withdrawn from Borneo, is extremely doubtful. If Indonesia's claim to West Irian is continued to be denied on ethnological grounds, then on what basis would her overtures in North Borneo territories be repelled, once she is forced to advance them? It will be so easy for Indonesia, a major power, to foster trouble across the border and force the issue. She will have a ready reception from a number of people inside, who may regard Indonesian association more natural than the Malayan.

As might have been expected the Malayan response to the proposed scheme has been somewhat hesitant, qualified and even unenthusiastic. The Chinese organisations, as well as the Indian, obviously would favour the scheme. For the Chinese gain in this new relationship and the

Indians are so small in number that their interests are not affected one way or the other. In any case the Indian community in Malaya and Singapore has shown greater awareness to and have taken active part in the political life of these states. It is the Malay communal and the Left-wing reaction which has to be carefully watched. The Socialist Front, which has in recent local elections considerably increased its strength, through its Secretary-General, Mr. Lein Kean Siew, has counselled careful consideration as conflicting interests are involved. The leader of the Party Rakyat, a somewhat radical socialist organisation, Inche Ahmad Boestaman has pointed out that the merger should be a "genuine federation of Independent and sovereign countries politically and economically independent."

The Pan-Malayan Islamic Party, an extreme communal organisation of the Malays, regards the merger plan a little too late now. Certain critics of the Alliance Government have made adverse comments and to our great surprise no positive solidarity with the proposition has so far been expressed by the Tengku's own Alliance group, or by his own party, the United Malay National Organisation (UMNO). Unless the Malay opinion is unequivocally known to be favourable, the discussions may prove premature. The past history of Malay political behaviour does not inspire much confidence in their acceptance of the directives of the leadership in communal matters. Only fifteen years ago they effectively agitated against the Malayan Union proposals which conferred common citizenship on all inhabitants alike, under Dato Onn bin Ja'afar. Yet they threw out the founder of the UMNO and the leader of Malay resurgence, the moment he switched over from Malay communalism to Malayan nationalism. Once a darling of the Malays, Dato Onn had since been living in comparative obscurity, and in successive defeats until recently when he came back to the Federal Assembly on a communal programme. Tengku himself owes his leadership to his advocacy of Malay supremacy. The Alliance which the Tengku leads is an alliance of the three principal communal parties (UMNO, MCA, and MIC) of the country who firmly believe in communal interests and have agreed to join hands for the protection of their respective interests. The alliance is not a negation of communalism but an admission of it. Issues involving communal in-

terests continue to divide them and often reflect in public controversies. One has only to recall the revolt by the Malayan Chinese Association (MCA) on the eve of the last general elections in 1959, when a dispute arose about the number of Chinese candidates to be chosen on the Alliance ticket.

If Malay response in Malaya is uncertain, the Left-wing in Singapore—Right-wing opinion hardly matters there—has expressed, generally, support for the plan, but on certain pre-determined conditions, which constitute the crux of the problem. The ruling PAP itself is a Left-wing organisation, passionately devoted to the idea of merger, for which they have been working strenuously since their assumption of office in 1959. Until last month they were by far the strongest party, but now their power has been so crippled by defections and defeats that their capacity to see the plan through and even their representative character must be open to question. True to their past behaviour the Singapore electorate have taken one more turn towards the left. The Right-wing "Progressives" were replaced by the Labour Front in 1955, which in turn was thrown out of power in 1959, although the latter had spearheaded the movement for internal self-government to accommodate the PAP which professed socialism and anti-colonialism unequivocally. Now a more radical party—the Barisan Socialis (Socialist Front)—has emerged, creating uncertainty about Singapore's participation. It is generally believed that the internally brewing conflict within the PAP, between the allegedly Communist and non-Communist wings has been forced into the open by the imminence of merger. Within a very short period of its formation, after the defeat of the PAP in an important by-election in the Anson constituency, the Barisan Socialis have attracted already 13 members of the Legislative Assembly as well as "officials of the majority of the People's Action Party branches." It has the overwhelming support of the Trade Unions; the leader of the Party, Mr. Lim Chin Siong, himself is "the leader of 160,000 workers in 43 unions." This defection, more than any other, has seriously crippled the power of the PAP. Today it has a majority of only one in the Legislative Assembly of 51 members.

The Barisan Socialis have been designated as a Communist front organisation but these labels, so common in modern day politics, are

not at all helpful. They only confuse issues. Maligning the character of opponents is a familiar device and leftward trend is generally looked upon with consternation. Mr. Lim Chin Siong and the ex-detainees, have always been regarded as Communist leaders, yet Mr. Devan Nair, rumoured to be a Communist theoretician, is still in the PAP. His defence of the PAP is, in fact, the most logical and effective yet to have come out of the PAP leadership, whatever be Mr. Lim's political complexion he has been the most powerful inside the PAP. Even before he acquired the glamour of internment, he had secured the highest votes in the election of the party Executive Committee in July, 1955. It is commonly believed, that his youth, (he was in his early twenties at that time); and his insufficient command of English in a predominantly English-speaking political life of Singapore, prevented him from assuming the full control of the Party before his internment in 1956. The last elections were held during his period of detention and now he and the other ex-detainees are debarred by the Constitution from entering the First Assembly—a stipulation against which Mr. Lee Kuan Yew and the PAP had protested most strongly.

The Barisan Socialis have also been accused of Chinese communalism. *The Times* of London in an editorial, calling them "Communist" pointed out, "In fact the Socialist Front (Barisan Socialist) is led by the Chinese, has a Chinese political outlook, and draws its strength from those whose race, education and culture have kept them in the confines of a Chinese world." Tenderness on the part of the overseas Chinese towards Communism is likely to be inspired by their love of China where Communism prevails. It is, therefore, not possible to demarcate neatly the cultural, national and communistic frontiers in the Chinese mind. The ruling Peoples' Action Party has often been accused of Chinese chauvinism. It cannot indeed be denied that much of their inspiration came from China and their leaders are China-orientated; even their own leftism was China-inspired. How often have they either followed or even cited the democratic achievements of their neighbouring Asian countries? Their unfriendly attitude towards the trade unions was alleged partly to be inspired by the fact that the movement was dominated by men of Indian origin. How do they explain that while the PAP Government has recognised the

Chinese Universities' degrees at par with the Malayan, it has persistently refused to accord the same status to Indian degrees, although the Malayan system and the Indian system are both English, whereas the Chinese system is completely alien, even if we do not consider the relative merits of the Chinese and the Indian Universities.

In any case until the anti-national character of the Barisan Socialis is decisively demonstrated in public, their strength is likely to remain unimpaired. Mere suspicions lead nowhere, especially if they emanate from interested persons. Popular resentment against the arrogance of the PAP leadership and their clumsy treatment of the teachers and the "English educated" might even make people look upon the Barisan Socialis ascendancy with certain expectancy. Recently, in a series of radio talks from Singapore, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew has denounced the dissenters as communists, but the evidence he has presented is all based on his personal testimony, his meetings with unidentified peoples, his conversations with them, and his hypothesis that he and his associates are non-communists, while the others are either communists or their pawns.

Realities are sometimes disagreeable but they have to be faced. One could ignore the acrobatics of Mr. Marshall or the political demagogy of Mr. Ong Eng Guan, but one cannot ignore the views of the Barisan Socialis. Whatever be the real nature of their political convictions, their stand demands serious attention.

In a merger they desire complete equal status of a component unit, with rights of equal citizenship and parliamentary representation. Acceptance of these stipulations would mean the liquidation of Malay supremacy. In a confederation they want complete autonomy in matters of internal security, which has all along been a very touchy point. British or Malayan control of Internal Security has always been regarded as the most essential guarantee against any possible Communist upsurge in Singapore.

The rise of Barisan Socialis has introduced an unpredictable element into the already complicated merger problem. *The London Times*, however, looks upon these sharp divisions as somewhat of a blessing in disguise, as "Tunku Abdul Rahman plans for a greater Malaysia will be quickened by the prospect." Agreement between Singapore and Malaya, against the background of rising Communism is possible, yet it

is the very fact which can pose the biggest hurdle. *The Manchester Guardian* puts it quite clearly that in a federation with Malaya, "the Left cannot be expected to enjoy being swallowed up in a predominantly conservative federation."

As the British strategic interests are deeply involved in this area their acceptance of the scheme must be an essential pre-requisite for its success. Considering the remarkable speed with which agreement has been reached on a problem, most intricate and insurmountable, one, in fact, suspects that the British may well be the driving force behind these proposals. This may never be revealed, but one cannot fail to notice that they are the only power in this partnership who are strong enough to apply effective pressure on the parties concerned. Their conspicuous silence over a matter which concerns them as deeply as it does others, and scrupulous neutrality in a matter of extreme local sensitivity, indeed, betrays their excessive anxiety for the scheme to succeed. If it were revealed at some later date that the real architect of the United States of Malaysia were the British officials, who worked behind the scene with grim determination, ignoring charges of "conspiracy with the Communists" levelled against them by Mr. Lee Kuan Yew to enable their Government to lay down authority in South-East Asia without any obvious dislocation of machinery, it will be no surprise to the present writer. Is it possible that they have communicated to the Malayan Prime Minister their irrevocable decision to withdraw from Singapore by a certain date leaving it either at the mercy of the Tengku or of the much-dreaded Communist ascendancy? Should they really oppose merger they only have to apply a little pressure on the Tengku, who depends so heavily upon them for defence against the much-feared Communist uprising in Malaya.

But why should the British want to leave in such a desperate hurry, abandoning the strategic advantages of the Singapore base? The answer is simple—British utility for Singapore is exhausted under the impact of the changing patterns of her own fortune and interests. They no longer require a military outpost in this area as an essential link in their world-wide chain of imperial defence. The British interests in the Pacific were always "regarded in Whitehall as merely peripheral in importance compared with the security of the Indian Empire and its Suez lifeline." Both are now gone. Moreover the pheno-

menal development of nuclear energy has changed the basic concepts of strategic requirements. The usefulness of fixed bases designed to operate in conventional warfare has been rendered obsolete. The nature of nuclear threats, the increasing possession of nuclear power by other nations, and the nuclear parity between the two leading nations, each having power to destroy the world many times over, have exposed abundantly the futility of vast expenses and resources involved in maintaining a back-dated strategy. Recently Britain's proposed entry in the European Common Market, confirms that Britain is reconciling to her European environment and is definitely withdrawing from the East.

Commonwealth links must weaken and her policies are now to be distinctive for their European association and involvements. The withdrawal from Suez Canal, once the most important British base, the increasing realisation of the doubtful value of Cyprus, Malta and other bases and Britain's incapacity to provide both men and money to support her present strategy, reaffirm her desire to abdicate from former possessions including Singapore. Indeed the retirement appears to be imminent, waiting for a solution for Singapore's future to be found. Was it because of these compulsions that the British Labour leader, Sir John Strachey, a member of the Cabinet in 1946, when Singapore was separated from Malaya, dwelling upon the "Fag-end of the Empire" remarked recently ". . . I have the haunting feeling that we have months rather than years in which to help to achieve what appears to be the one remaining non-violent solution to the problems of this part of South-East Asia."

It is still possible that the pressure of International rivalry and the military importance of the Singapore base for the South-East Asia Treaty Organisation may force the British to attempt to impose terms upon the new Malaysian State tantamount of bringing it within the Treaty, but, in this age of nuclear parity the validity of a fixed base would remain all the more unreal without the consent and co-operation of the peoples inhabiting the area. The Tengku, with all his professions of alliance with the western democracies has always scrupulously refrained from joining the SEATO, with which his powerful neighbours are decidedly dissociated.



THE PROBLEM OF CONDUCTING THE FOREIGN POLICY OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT

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A government functions for the good of the country it governs and no government dare do anything which, in the short or long run, is manifestly to the disadvantage of that country. Therefore, Nehru rightly asserts 'whether a country is imperialistic or socialist or communist its Foreign Minister thinks primarily for the interests of that country.'¹ It may be noted that there is a boundary dispute between even the U.S.S.R. and China although both of them are Communist States. All foreign policies are deeply rooted in what might be called the national self-interest. Whatever may be the policy laid down by the people, the art of conducting the foreign affairs of a country, whether democratic or communist, essentially lies in finding out and pursuing what is most advantageous to the country. One foreign minister may talk of peace and the other may proclaim war, what in fact, they are trying to do is the same—the preservation of national interest. The organisation of the foreign office, the ministry of external affairs or the department of state are secondary to the main objective of the conduct of foreign affairs.

The aims and purposes of maintaining standing armies, navies and air forces are also the preservation of national interest. Every country, large or small, spends huge sums over its defence forces no matter whether it affords to spend or not. In spite of the development of nuclear weapons the role of conventional armaments is still important and so every country has to spare money and men for the defence forces. Since the objectives and methods are similar, the foreign affairs ministry and the defence ministry are closely related to each other. The importance of these ministries can be seen in the fact that in democracies generally the Prime Minister holds the portfolio of external affairs and entrusts defence to his closest colleague.

In democracy, we believe that the government should be responsible and accountable to the people in general and to the Parliament as

the representative of the sovereign people in particular. Thoretically, we admit that the conduct of any democratic government should be controlled by the people. In internal as well as in external affairs the government must be controlled by responsible people. Since the external policy is nothing else but the reflection of the internal policy of a government and whatever government does in the external affairs, the people of that country are held responsible because to them the government is accountable. It is the people, the common people, who suffer for a wrong decision of the government.

The problem is whether the people or their representatives are able to control and guide the decisions in the external affairs taken by the foreign and defence ministries as expected from them in theory. And, if it is so, is it desirable? In short, the question is, who determines the national interest which is the foundation of the foreign and defence policy of a country. In a non-democratic country the problem does not arise because, there the views of the people, opinions of their representatives and the decisions declared by the government leaders are one and the same, at least, in theory. Whatever is determined by the People's Government the people have to support. In democratic governments there are occasions when there is a sharp difference of opinion between the people and their government on such a vital issue like what is a national interest and how it be pursued.

In 20th century, it is admitted, wars are fought on ideological levels. The present wars are rightly called ideological wars. Even the prisoners of wars are not exchanged automatically after the war, as they used to be in the 19th and the first half of the 20th century. When the wars are ideological, it is obvious that the conduct of foreign affairs also must be based upon certain ideological convictions and opinions. Every foreign minister has to take a side in every issue in the international politics. His decisions are

determined by his own or his party's ideological convictions. He may brand a 'liberation' as an 'aggression' or he might connive at the presence of foreign troops because they were called like that by the 'legal' government of that country. He may recognise one dictatorship and may refuse to meet another dictator. There cannot be objectivity or absoluteness in world affairs. In this context, it is justifiable if the foreign minister of a democratic government is opposed by his own people or by the opposition parties in his own country. Just as his decisions are based upon his own ideological beliefs, the decisions of the opposition parties to oppose him are also based upon certain convictions. One may feel that this is a weakness of democracy where even in external affairs, all the people in the country fail to back their foreign minister unanimously. One may also feel that the parties may oppose each other in any internal question but they should be one when they are facing an enemy.² The definition of national enemy also changes from party to party.

It is impossible then to imagine that in a democratic country all people agree on what the national interest is. Suppose, for argument's sake, they are one in finding out what is advantageous to their country, then the next question would be how to achieve this national interest. On this at least the political parties will not agree. When political parties do not see eye to eye on matters like aggression how they would come together in repelling the aggression? First they differ whether the aggression has taken place or not. Then what is the motive of this aggression. Afterwards, will this aggression lead to war or not. In this way the differences remain, grow and become stronger. It is due to this that the conduct of foreign policy has become very difficult in democracies.

There are other problems too. We think that the people direct, supervise and control the foreign (as well as internal) policy of a country. Is it true? In older days it was not so, we are told. Sir Harry Johnston described how foreign affairs were conducted in the 19th century: 'In those days, a country's relations with its neighbours or with distant lands were dealt with almost exclusively by the Head of the State—Emperor, King or President—acting with the more or less dependent foreign minister, who was no representative of the masses, but the employee of

the monarch. Events were prepared and sprung on a submissive, a confident or a stupid people. The public press criticized, more often applauded, but had at most to deal with a *fait accompli* and make the best of it.'³

Today also, the decisions and events are prepared and sprung upon us.⁴ Nobody would like to abuse the 'sovereign' people of the 20th century as 'confident, submissive and stupid' but still they have to remain contented with the *fait accompli* and try to make best out of it. Jefferson's 19th century dictum that 'the transaction of business with foreign nations is executive altogether' is supported by 20th century Nehru also when he advised the Parliament that 'it would be unwise to limit the powers of the executive in foreign affairs' when he was challenged by the opposition on the constitutional propriety of the governments' decision of sending combat troops to Congo without prior consent of the Parliament. Perhaps the greatest proponent of open diplomacy and democratic control of foreign policy was President Wilson, but when he came to grips with the strange and grim realities of world politics he forgot all about his 'open covenants openly arrived at' and resorted to the 19th century methods of secrecy of negotiations and secrecy of even objectives.⁵

Most people talk and believe in the democratic control of foreign policy, but very few of them have a clear idea of what it is. When foreign policy and diplomacy are considered to be almost identical the 'open diplomacy' or 'the democratic control of foreign policy' come closer to contradiction in terms. The fundamental purpose of a foreign policy or international negotiation is to secure agreement, not victory. In fact, victory and defeat are the negation of diplomacy of the 20th century since due to the inventions of hydrogen bombs and I.C.B.M.s there cannot be total victory and absolute defeat of any side. There must be agreement. From a practical point of view, it does not matter much, whether the covenants are openly arrived at or otherwise. The method is of little importance to the people at large. The people have no real interest whether the decisions are taken in the platforms of the U.N. or at Geneva (or Vienna) or on the Summit itself. The essential thing is that the covenants should mean and amount to something when they are arrived at. Today also, the

method of diplomacy is negotiating in private and making the results public.

de Tocqueville's remark is then worth considering when he says: "foreign politics demand scarcely any of those qualities which are peculiar to a democracy; they require, on the contrary, the perfect use of almost all those in which it is deficient. A democracy can only with great difficulties regulate the details of an important undertaking, preserve in a fixed design and work out its execution in spite of serious obstacles. It cannot combine its measures with secrecy or await their consequences with patience."

People in general or even their representatives in the legislatures cannot, in reality, exercise any significant control over the foreign policy in spite of the popular slogans of 'open diplomacy' or 'open covenants openly arrived at'. 'The people' as Jefferson said, are 'not qualified to exercise themselves as the Executive Department but they (or their representatives) are qualified to name the person who shall exercise it They are not qualified to legislate; with us, therefore, they only choose the legislators.'⁶ In a way it is a desirable situation because 'popular opinion is always wrong in judging war and peace.'⁷ The decisions in foreign policy are strategic and diplomatic. They call for long experienced seasoned judgment and deep knowledge—not to talk about forecast—of the issues involved. These qualities cannot be acquired by the people by glancing at newspapers, listening to radio broadcasts, watching leaders and politicians in public meetings, listening to occasional lectures and reading a few books. Just as a patient cannot decide whether an operation is required or not; similarly masses cannot decide whether the nation should arm or disarm, when the nation should intervene and when it should withdraw.

People have no knowledge of the issues in foreign policy and defence. Their representatives in the legislature also do not have much knowledge as compared to enormous sources of information at the disposal of the foreign minister. And still they claim to control the foreign policies of nations through the means of legislation appropriation and resolution. The masses do not understand even a particle of a highly-complicated issue like Laos, Cuba or Congo, but still in public meetings resolutions are passed either applauding or condemning the foreign policy of a country. There is an inherent tendency

in public opinion to feed and nourish on rumours excited by our own wishes and fears. The issues of today's international politics are so momentous that public feeling quickly becomes incandescent to them. Walter Lippman has rightly remarked that the 'experience since 1917 indicates that in matters of war and peace the popular answer in the democracies is likely to be 'No'!⁸ The public opinion has been destructively wrong in critical junctures.

The dilemma is perhaps now clear. The people should have control over the decisions of foreign policy but they are not fit for the job. They do not possess the necessary information or knowledge about the various thorny problems that confront the nation. If they try to get any information from the government through their representatives they cannot get it since 'in the public interest the government refuses to divulge any information'. When Nehru's Government was charged with having hidden certain facts, he like any other foreign minister, openly stated in the Lok Sabha: "Questions are asked in this and the other House which we find it difficult to answer because an answer to that question means giving information to people, to whom we do not wish to give. We do not want to keep anything from the House but what the House knows the whole world knows. Therefore, we cannot give members information as to what we are doing and what steps we are taking!"⁹ Not only Nehru but all foreign ministers are unable to take people or their representatives into confidence and give them necessary briefings to come to the correct decisions. This is more true of defence matters where highest type of secrecy is maintained.

Although, people do not know anything about the foreign and defence problems except the broad objectives and general framework to achieve, they are not prepared to remain quiet. They go on trying to influence the foreign policy through the pressure of what is called public opinion. Mass opinion has become so powerful now-a-days that the weak executive has sometimes to submit to it. The tragedy of it is that this mass opinion is not based upon true knowledge. The people exercise veto upon the crystal judgments and sound decisions of the government and then the nations have to suffer.

The people cannot be told the whole truth and they do not like the bitter pill of the whole truth. But in spite of it they do not give free hand

to the government, when the government is involved in a very crucial international problem, the people or the politicians demand more information, expose the weaknesses of the government, make people timid and scared. When Churchill refused to give any information about the war in the House he was told, 'Gladstone used to give more information about the Crimean War'. When the British Government was engaged in Korean conflict, the Red Dean—the Dean of Canterbury—gave evidence in favour of China regarding the charges of germ warfare. When government was asked about it Churchill had to accept that 'Free speech carries with it the evil of all foolish, unpleasant and venomous things that are said, but on the whole we would rather lump them than do away with them.'¹⁰ Churchill refused to try the Red Dean for treason and imprisonment. Such Red Deans are not only in England, they are everywhere in all democracies and the Government cannot do anything about them. This weakness (as we may say) of democratic government was expressed by Anthony Eden also in his memoirs, when he was facing the most important problem in his life,—the Suez crisis—for which he had to sacrifice his political career. Bevan wrote one article on Anglo-Egyptian relations in Gen. Neguib's newspaper in Cairo and when challenged, defended his act by quoting Sir Winston Churchill's article attacking Baldwin and Chamberlain Governments. When Eden in his own way was trying to maintain and preserve the national interest in Egypt, the Labour Party organised demonstrations against him. He was booed in the House and on the streets. The people who supported him were described by John Strachey as 'tribal' and their emotions as 'residual of imperialist feeling in the British people'.¹¹ Mr. Strachey had to reserve one chapter of his book to justify his stand titled 'Empires do not pay'.¹² There are quite a number of illustrations to prove that the public opinion had a distorting as well as a paralysing influence upon the foreign policies of democratic countries.

All government decisions are hard. They become harder still when they belong to foreign and defence affairs. They are harder because the Government of the State has to tax, conscript, command, prohibit, assert public interest against what is easy and popular. They have to swim sometimes against the tide of public opinion. Sometimes there are men inside the government

who know correctly what should be done in a particular situation but they dare not come out and tell the people what they feel. It requires a special kind of courage to swim against the tide. The unhappy truth about it is that we 'criticize those who have followed the crowd and at the same time criticize those who have defied it.'¹³ The democratic politician 'rationalize this servitude to the masses by saying that in a democracy public men are the servants of the people.' There are very few politicians who insist upon being themselves and who refuse to truckle to the people. There are fewer leaders who will exercise their conscientious judgment because their devotion to principle leads them to unpopular courses. Mr. Kennedy in his 'Profiles of Courage' has enumerated the pressures which confront a man of conscience in democracy. He cannot ignore the pressure groups, his constituents, his party, the comradeship of his colleagues, the needs of his family, his own pride in office, the necessity for compromise and the importance of remaining in office. In such a position the democratic rulers of a country cannot afford the luxury of speaking out their minds to the people, adopt the unpopular but wiser course and antagonise the master. With each succeeding generation, the growing demand of the people is that its elective officials shall not lead but merely register the popular will and has steadily undermined the independence of those who derive their power from popular election. There are, no doubt, few exceptions like Churchill and Nehru who defied the mass opinion and imposed the decisions upon the people. But they also had to risk their popularity for every unpopular decision they took. This may not be possible for every foreign minister; some may not desire even to go against the wishes of the people although they know that the wiser course and the popular course are quite different. Washington, Jefferson or Kennedy may assert, but they are indeed very few. Wilson couldn't follow this course. Others may follow the Congress or the popular image on T.V. de Tocqueville predicted this development when he wrote: 'It is chiefly in its foreign relations that the executive power of a nation finds occasion to exert its strength . . . the executive government would assume an increased importance in proportion to the measures expected of it and to those which would execute.' The legislature is not equipped to cope with the new international

emergencies and ideological conflicts as effectively as the executive government. The legislature lacks the cohesion, the dispatch and the information essential for resolute action.

Control of foreign policy by the people or its representatives in the legislature is either a myth or a disaster. In the latter half of the 20th century also, people have to face the *fait accompli* and events are prepared for them behind the curtain and sprung upon them. Since the national interest is the foundation of every foreign policy and this national interest cannot be determined by the people unanimously, the executive—or to be more precise,—the foreign minister or the President have usurped all power in these affairs. He determines the national interest and the methods to achieve it.

Sometimes, in certain democratic countries the people try to influence the foreign policy decisions and then a weak foreign minister has to sacrifice the wisest course at the altar of public opinion which is not always wise.

References:

1. *Constituent Assembly*, Dec. 1947.
2. Vayam Panchadhikam Shatam. *We are One Hundred and Five*, is the oft-repeated quotations.
3. Sir Harry Johnston, *Commonsense in Foreign Policy*, pp. 1-2.
4. (1) India's membership of Commonwealth.
(2) Sending of troops of Congo and not sending to Korea.
5. Nobody would accept that the Treaty of Versailles was openly arrived at.
6. Works Ford, Edition V, pp. 103-4, 1891-98.
7. See: Walter Lippman, *The Public Philosophy*.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 23.
9. *Times of India*, 20-2-1961.
10. *Hansard*, 15th July, 1952, Col. 1978.
11. John Stratchey, *End of An Empire*; p. 205.
12. *Profiles in Courage* by John F. Kennedy.
13. *Public Philosophy*, p. 31.

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USE OF POWER IN VILLAGE INDUSTRIES : THE PROSPECTS IN INDIA

By SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER.

"ELECTRIFICATION plus Soviet power," Lenin is reported to have told the late H. G. Wells, "is communism." Lenin—the principal maker of the Soviet State—was thus summing up the importance of use of power in the growth and prosperity of the nations in general and in building up the Russia of his dream in particular. Indeed, statistical analysis does yield a positive correlation between *per capita* incomes and *per capita* energy consumption. Countries having high *per capita* incomes generally show high *per capita* energy consumption. The underdeveloped countries of the world generally show low *per capita* consumption of energy. The following table¹ is self-explanatory :

TABLE I

Energy Consumption vs. National Income, 1952.

Comparison of *per capita* national income in U.S. Dollars and *per capita* energy consumption from commercial and non-commercial sources for selected countries.

1. H. J. Bhabha "The need for Atomic Energy in the Underdeveloped Countries" (Text of Lecture given at the Second International Conference on the Peaceful uses of Atomic Energy at Geneva on September 5, 1958)—in I. R. Maxwell, P. W. Mummery and Philip Sporn (ed), *Progress in Nuclear Energy*, Vol. 2. *The Economics of Nuclear Power*. London, 1959, p. 36.

Country	Per capita national income (U.S. \$)	Per capita energy consumption (metric tons coal equivalent)
United States	1857	8.18
Canada	1284	7.55
Switzerland	972	2.57
New Zealand	921	2.96
Sweden	914	4.37
Australia	912	3.82
Denmark	725	2.27
United Kingdom	715	4.58
Norway	714	5.10
Belgium & Luxemburg	683	3.80
France	677	2.59
Iceland	588	3.30
Finland	523	1.83
Venezuela	518	1.45
Chile	468	1.11
Germany	461	3.14
Netherlands	447	2.14
Puerto Rico	427	1.24
Cuba	386	1.53
Ireland	384	1.81
Austria	348	1.95
Panama	342	0.52
Italy	277	0.98
South Africa	270	2.12
Greece	251	0.48
Mexico	223	0.88
Columbia	219	0.59
Portugal	184	0.56
Brazil	183	0.78
Turkey	168	0.52
Japan	165	1.07
Guatemala	162	0.37
Dominican Rep.	152	0.51
Ecuador	144	0.33
Philippines	143	0.36
Honduras	137	0.40
Paraguay	130	0.28
Peru	118	0.57
Ceylon	109	0.35
Haiti	65	0.25
India	57	0.35
Burma	43	0.27

"Large differences in income," reads a report²

2. National Council of Applied Economic Research (NCAER), New Delhi—*Demand for*

prepared by the National Council of Applied Economic Research, "are associated with large differences in energy intake and it may be taken for granted that no country at this stage of history can enjoy a high *per capita* income without becoming an extensive consumer of energy."

This is not surprising, since the essence of economic development lies in raising the productivity of man. Energy available to man "limits what he *can* do and influences what he *will* do."³

Productivity cannot be significantly raised without the adoption of superior techniques of production which generally require the use of power. India herself provides the best example of the validity of this analysis. It is now freely admitted that India was a technologically superior civilization until the end of the eighteenth century when "the products of the Indian loom supplied the markets of Asia and of Europe."⁴ It is interesting to note that until 1830 India was probably the heaviest consumer of energy among the countries of the world.⁵ As shown in the table above, India is among the countries having extremely low *per capita* energy consumption. What is still more significant is the fact that the *per capita* consumption is not likely to show any marked change during the 23 years from 1952-1975. The figure is likely to remain 0.365 tons of coal equivalent.⁶

SOME GENERAL ASPECTS OF POWER DEVELOPMENT

The major source of energy was fuel wood until 1880 when coal came to occupy that position of pride. By 1910 coal used to provide 88 per cent of the world's energy supplies; but since then its importance has gradually declined and by 1947 coal accounted for only about 53 per

Energy in India, 1960-1975, Bombay, 1960. Pp. 1-2.

3. Fred Cottrell—*Energy and Society*, New York, 1955, p. 2.

4. Romesh Dutt—*The Economic History of India* (under early British rule), London, 1950, p. viii.

5. Palmer Cosslett Putnam—*Energy in the Future*, London, 1954, p. 80.

6. Norman Lansdell—*The Atom and the Energy Revolution*, Penguin Books, London, 1958, p. 30.

cent of the world's energy supplies. Fluid fuels gained importance as the source of energy by the turn of the century. By 1950 they accounted for about 30 per cent of the world's energy supplies compared to only 3 per cent in 1900, 12 per cent in 1925 and 25 per cent in 1947. Even with all the improvements in the supply of water power, it did not account for more than one per cent of the world's total energy supply.⁷

ACCELERATED RATE OF CONSUMPTION

The significant point to note in this connection is the accelerated rate of the consumption of energy by the different countries in the world. Mr. Putnam who was asked by the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission to make a study of the maximum plausible world demand for energy over the next 50 to 100 years has calculated that while the total burn-up of reserves did not amount beyond 6 Q (1 Q=38 billion tons of bituminous coal) during the 1850 years since the birth of Christ, the burn-up during the following hundred years (1850-1950) was about 4.0 Q. The rate of burn-up rose to 9.3 Q per century in 1947 and to 10 Q a century in 1950. The rate is still rising.⁸ The maximum plausible cumulative world requirement of energy in 2000 had been estimated⁹ at 11 Q to 22 Q which is likely to range from 72 Q to 487 Q in 2050. This is to be read against the fact¹⁰ that the "net energy in the world reserves of fossil fuels, recoverable at real unit costs no greater than two times of the present costs, and adjusted for loss-in-synthesis, is about 27 Q." Again the maximum that could be expected of the "income" sources of energy (i.e., fuel wood, farm wastes, water power, wind power, solar heat collectors, heat pumps, solar power collectors, temperature differences in tropical waters, tides and natural steam) over 100 years is 5 to 10 Q or about 7 to 15 per cent of the maximum plausible demands for energy at costs no greater than two times of the present costs.¹¹

THE CASE IN INDIA

The extreme smallness of energy consumption in India has already been referred to. The fact that causes still greater anxiety is the difficulty besetting efforts and energy development in the country. "The problem of development is the more difficult," writes Norman Lansdell,¹² "in that the very large use of dung for fuel instead of manure indicates a mass of very small-scale and poor economics. There must be large areas and large communities where there is no fuel distribution industry. The sort of social structure which this implies cannot readily and quickly develop in such a way as to benefit by new and vastly increased potentialities of power, however attractive and indeed necessary they may be."

The following table¹³ gives the projected demand for primary energy in India in 1965 :
(See Table II, Next Page)

SHORTAGE—ACTUAL AND POTENTIAL

Although the level of power development in India is very low—it having a electricity generating capacity of only 5.8 million kw. in 1960-61, there is already an actual shortage which threatens to assume more serious proportions potentially. The Third Plan target of power generation is to raise the total generating capacity to 13.3 million kw. In other words it thus seeks to treble the rate of growth of installed capacity achieved during the Second Five-Year Plan and to more than double the capacity at the beginning of the Third Plan. In the highly-industrialized countries the generating capacity doubles itself in every ten years. We are aiming at a still more accelerated rate of growth. It is a question whether this will be actually achieved. Even if this target is fully realized it will still fall far short of actual requirement, which is estimated to go up to 20 million kw. if all the industrial and agricultural projects are executed according to schedule.

For example, in Madras State, which is a progressive State in the matter of electricity development, the installed capacity now is 571 MW of which only 344 MW would be 'firm' power (not

7. Palmer Cosslett Putnam—*Op. cit.*, pp. 76-77.

8. *Ibid.* pp. 77-79.

9. *Ibid.* p. 115.

10. *Ibid.* p. 167.

11. *Ibid.* pp. 203-204.

12. Norman Lansdell—*Op. cit.*, p. 30.

13. NCAER—*Op. cit.*, p. 134.

TABLE II

Projected Demand for Primary Energy in India, 1965

(thousand tons of coal equivalent)

	Net Coal ^a	Electricity	Net Petroleum ^b	Total Primary
1. Agriculture and Allied Activities	1,500	674	780	2,954
2. Industry				
(a) Metal and Non-Metal	28,810	12,000	890	41,700
(b) Textiles	2,590	3,100	492	6,182
(c) Rest	7,620	4,900	2,780	15,300
Total Industry	39,020	20,000	4,162	63,182
3. Transport				
(a) Railways ^c	16,560	1,560	378	18,498
(b) Automobiles	—	—	4,950	4,950
(c) Aviation	—	—	460	460
(d) Shipping	900	—	150	1,050
Total Transport	17,460	1,560	5,938	24,958
4. Domestic				
(a) Heat	9,088	462	910	10,460
(b) Light	—	1,232	2,847	4,079
Total Domestic	9,088	1,694	3,757	14,539
5. Public and Commercial Services	900	1,700	—	2,600
6. Miscellaneous and unaccounted for ^d	1,500	—	375	1,875
Effective consumption	69,468	25,628	15,012	1,10,108

(a) Excluding coal used in electricity generation.

(b) Excluding petroleum used in electricity generation.

(c) Including coal and petroleum carried by Railways.

(d) Including construction.

— nil or negligible.

Source: National Council of Applied Economic Research, New Delhi.

subject to seasonal fluctuations) whereas the demand 'firm' power is in the region of 727 MW, revealing a deficit of 383 MW. It has been estimated that even if all the sanctioned projects are completed and they work to their full capacity by the end of the Third Plan period, 37 per cent of the demand for electricity in the State would still remain unsatisfied. The situation in other States is generally not better and in some is actually worse. The shortage of power in West Bengal,—Bihar—DVC area—which is the most important industrial area—in 1959-60 was 115,800 kw. but only 40,000 kw. were added during the year.

In Gujarat the installed capacity is likely to be 480 MW at the end of the Third Five-Year Plan, whereas the potential demand is estimated at 510 MW.¹⁴

The recent instances of acute shortage—in quite a number of cases, and for a considerable period, actual breakdown—in the supply of electric power in West Bengal, Gujarat and in various other parts of the country—have highlighted the vulnerability to which some of the States lie exposed in this respect. The consequence has been damaging from more than one point of view. The almost uncontrollable disruption that overtook the Greater Calcutta Industrial belt in April this year resulted in an immediate loss of production—a fact that in itself must be regarded with great disquietude; but of equal seriousness was the fact that the loss was not going to be confined to the immediate fall in production but would invariably affect adversely also the capacity of the nation to accelerate the pace of development in coming years and the foreign exchange position.

LOSS IN INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION

The loss in industrial production in the Calcutta industrial area as a result of failure in the supply of power in April-May is estimated to have varied from 20 to 60 per cent in different industries. A number of jute mills around Calcutta had to close down and several other industrial units had perforce to curtail production because of the calamitous power shortage. The forced closure or staggering off in the work of establish-

ments led to involuntary idleness and loss of earning on the part of thousands of regularly employed workers, accentuating an already highly critical economic situation in West Bengal.

Although the situation in many other States may not be so acute as it is in West Bengal, they are far from being happily situated. In Gujarat, Kerala, Rajasthan, Delhi, Punjab and Orissa the problem is already quite apparent. In Assam, according to a reported statement of the Director of Industries, employment in small-scale industries had recently suffered a decline by 15 per cent because of inadequate supply of power.

The reports of breakdowns and shortages in the supply of power have thrown into sharp relief some of the weaknesses of planning. They have laid bare the contradiction that while the plans are geared to the task of industrialising the country, proper attention has not been given to bringing about one of the most essential preconditions for such growth, viz., an assured supply of power. During the re-appraisal of Second Plan resources in 1958 the target of electricity production had been brought down; in fact, however, even that truncated target also could not be fulfilled because—as the *Draft Outline* says¹⁵ of foreign exchange difficulties and the delay in the completion of some of the major hydro-electric projects such as Bhakra-Nangal, Koyna, Rihand and Hirakud Stage II. This is another revelation of the extreme vulnerability of planning to foreign influence.

NECESSITY OF POWER DEVELOPMENT

The necessity of power development in the country requires no elaboration. If India is to retain her hard-won independence, she should be able to build up her economic potential. This she cannot achieve without an extensive use of power.

It is also essential to bear in mind the definite relationship between the growth of non-agricultural production and economic growth and the rise in the *per capita* income. The United Nations' estimate of national income of seventy nations (1949) discloses that there is an obvious relation between *per capita* income, nutrition and movement away from agriculture. The actual

14. A. N. Haksar—Chairman's speech at the 48th Annual General Meeting of the Ahmedabad Electricity Company Ltd. *The Economic Weekly*, Bombay, December 3, 1960, p. 1765.

15. Planning Commission, Government of India—*Third Five-Year Plan—A Draft Outline*, New Delhi, 1960, p. 185.

developments in the industrialised countries also bear the same testimony.¹⁶ Between 1870 and 1930 the percentage of working population engaged in agriculture declined from 54 to 23 in the United States, from 42 to 25 in France, from 85 to 51 in Japan, from 39 to 22 in Germany (between 1880 and 1930) and from 15 to 7 per cent in the United Kingdom (between 1870 and 1920). And the development of the non-agricultural production is closely linked with the availability of adequate supply of power. The process of economic development, characteristically involves an increase in the proportion of the total national product originating outside agriculture. As *per capita* income rises, the output of agriculture rises less than in proportion to total national output; while the output of industry, and the non-agricultural part of the economy generally rises faster than overall output. India's own experience confirms the validity of this universal phenomenon. During the past decade the aggregate national income rose by 42 per cent. But the most important contribution to this growth of income has been made by the non-agricultural sector of the economy. "While the income from agriculture and allied sectors, which accounts for almost one-half of the national income, has increased by a little over a third, the total income from the organized manufacturing sector has nearly doubled."¹⁷ After analysing the data of 34 countries, Egbert Davies came to the conclusion that for every 10 per cent increase in *per capita* real income, the fraction of national income arising from agriculture drops by 1½ percentage points.¹⁸

SARVODAYA AND USE OF POWER

The need for the diversification of the national economy by developing non-agricultural production is an accepted principle of the Sarvodaya workers. The Poona Seminar on *Paths of Planned Economy in India*, which was organized under

the joint auspices of the Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh, and the Gokhale Institute of Economics and Politics, expressed the view that "modern science, as such was fully acceptable and also that, as it was desired to develop the economy and increase the national product to the greatest extent consistent with accepted values and objectives, modern technology and methods of production had in principle to be adopted."¹⁹

This agreement in principle should not mean the endorsement of the indiscriminate adoption of Western techniques of industrialisation. The Seminar specifically pointed out that in the adoption of technology, "there would be room both for selective choice and further research so that, that technology might be adopted and developed which would be suitable to our circumstances and objectives."²⁰ The Khadi and Village Industries Commission, which has been entrusted with the responsibility for the formulation and implementation of schemes for the development of Khadi and Village Industries in the country, has also endorsed the desirability of making sustained and systematic efforts at introducing advanced techniques of production in appropriately phased stages.

The adoption of modern technology is closely linked with the availability of an adequate supply of power,—*viz.*, electricity. It is necessary, therefore, to look at the availability of electric power in this country a little closely.

PROSPECTS OF DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA

The total hydro-electric potential of India is estimated to be between 35 and 40 million kilowatts, while the total coal reserves have been estimated at about 40,000 million tons of coal. The established reserve of oil is very small.²¹ In 1949, India produced 13,000 kw. of electricity per 1,000 population, while the U.S.A. produced 22,96,000 kw., the U.K. 10,33,000 kw. and even Malaya

16. United Nations (Department of Economic and Social Affairs)—*Processes and Problems of Industrialisation in Under-developed Countries*, New York, 1955, p. 103.

17. Planning Commission, Government of India—*Third Five-Year Plan*, New Delhi, 1961, p. 20.

18. See footnote on p. 141 of the NCAER report cited above.

19. Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh, (AB-SSS)—*Paths of Planned Economy in India*, Kashi, 1961, p. 16.

20. *Ibid.*

21. H. J. Bhaba and N. B. Prasad, "A Study of the Contribution of Atomic Energy to a Power Programme in India", in I. R. Maxwell, P. W. Mummery and Philip Sporn (Ed), *Progress in Nuclear Energy*, Vol. 2. The Economics of Nuclear Power, p. 304.

1,17,000. Consequent on the development of electric power during the First Plan, the *per capita* consumption of electricity in the country rose from 14 units in 1950-51 to 25 units in 1955-56. During the period 1951-52 to 1955-56 the aggregate installed generating capacity had increased from 2.30 million kw. to 3.42 million kw., while in the following five years of the Second Five-Year Plan the generating capacity had increased by about 67 per cent from 3.42 million kw. to 5.70 million kw. The total electricity generated during 1960-61 was 19,850 million kw. compared with 6,574.5 million kw. in 1950. The following table²² shows the growth of installed generating capacity and generation during the past decade:

TABLE III.

Growth of installed generating capacity and generation during First and Second Five-Year Plans.

Particulars	1950*	1955*	% in- crease over 1950 (First Plan)	1960-61** (Estimate)	% in- crease over (Second Plan)
A. Utilities (public & private)					
1. Hydro Plant					
i. installed generating capacity in MW	859.3	939.5	68.0	1932.0	106
ii. electricity generated (in million kwh)	2519.8	3742.2	49.0	7850.0	110
iii. kwh generated per KW of installed generating capacity	4510	4000	—	4070	—
2. Steam Plant					
i. installed generating capacity in MW	1004.4	1546.8	54.0	2439.0	57.7
ii. electricity generated (in million kwh)	2387.2	4618.9	93.3	8790.0	90.5
iii. kwh generated per KW of installed generating capacity	2380	3000	—	3600.0	—
3. Oil Plant					
i. installed generating capacity in MW	148.8	208.5	40.2	310.6	49.0
ii. electricity generated (in million kwh)	199.7	231.3	15.9	360.0	55.7
iii. kwh generated per KW of installed generating capacity	1340	1110	—	1160	—

22. *Third Five-Year Plan*, New Delhi, p. 416.

*Figures relate to calendar year.

**Figures relate to 1st April, 1960—31st March, 1961.

Note: Installed generating capacity is given as at the end of the year and the figures for electricity generation for the year.

B. *Self-generating industrial establishments.*

i. installed generating capacity in MW.	587.8	723.5	23.1	1015.0	40.3
ii. electricity generated (in million kwh.)	1467.8	2184.8	49.0	2850.0	30.5
iii. kwh. generated per KW. of installed generating capacity	2500	3040	—	2810	—

Total (A & B).

i. installed generating capacity in MW.	2300.3	3418.3	48.5	5696.6	66.6
ii. electricity generated (in million kwh.)	6574.5	10777.2	64.0	19850.0	84.2
iii. kwh. generated per KW. of installed generating capacity	2860	3140	—	3490	—

GENERATING AGENCIES : THE PUBLIC SECTOR

Of the total electricity generated at the end of the Second Five Year Plan, the State-owned public utilities accounted for 3.3 million kw.;

company-owned public utilities 1.5 million kw. and self-generating industrial units 1 million kw. The following table²³ shows the growth of capacity of these units during the past decade as well as the projected growth :

TABLE IV

Showing growth of generating capacity of different units (million kw.)

	1950	1955	1960-61 (Estimate)	1965-66 (Estimate)
State-owned public utilities	0.63	1.52	3.32	9.82
Company-owned public utilities	1.08	1.18	1.36	1.45
Self-generating industrial establishments	0.59	0.72	1.02	1.42
Total	2.30	3.42	5.70	12.69

Hydro plants accounted for 2.10 million kw.; steam plants 3.45 million kw.; and oil plants, 0.25 million kw. The growth of generating capacity according to the types of plants is shown in the table²⁴ below :

23. *Ibid*, p. 402.24. *Ibid*, p. 402.

TABLE V

Installed Capacity by Type of Plant
(million kw.)

	1950	1955	1960-61	1965-66
			(Esti- mate)	(Esti- mate)
Hydro Plant	0.56	0.94	1.93	5.10
Steam Plant	1.59	2.27	3.46	7.08
Oil Plant	0.15	0.21	0.31	0.36
Nuclear Plant	—	—	—	0.15
Total	2.30	3.42	5.70	12.69

The generating capacity in the highly industrialized countries usually doubles itself every 10 years. The growth of generating capacity in India during the thirty year period (1956-1986) has been estimated by the Planning Commission on the basis that the increase during the subsequent five-year periods will correspond to doubling periods of 6, 8 and 10 years respectively. The following table²⁵ shows the generating capacity at the end of every five-year period until 1986:

TABLE VI

Power Forecast

Installed electrical capacity in millions of
kilowatts

Estimate A. Estimate B.

Year	Doubling period years	Installed capacity	Doubling period years	Installed capacity
1956	5	3.5	5	3.5
1961	6	7.0	5	7.0
1966	8	12.0	5	15.0
1971	10	18.0	6	30.0
1976	10	25.0	8	53.0
1981	10	35.0	10	81.0
1986	—	50.0	—	125.0
1991	10	70.0	10	175.0
2001	10	140.0	10	35.0

25. Bhaba and Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 306.

Note: Estimate 'A' is made by Planning Commission and Estimate 'B' by Dr. Bhaba and Prasad.

On the estimate that the minimum population of India in 1986 is likely to be 500 million, the Planning Commission estimate of 50 million Kilowatts by 1986 corresponds to an installed capacity of only 0.1 kw. per head. Even the most optimistic estimate of installed generating capacity (125 million kilowatts by 1986) does not yield a *per capita* capacity of higher than 0.25 kw. This compares with the existing *per capita* capacity of 1 kw. in Canada and 0.72 kw. in the United States. A total installed electricity generating capacity of 50 million kw. would presuppose a total energy consumption the equivalent of 300 to 600 million tons of coal per annum. At this rate of production, India's estimated coal reserves would be exhausted in 200 years.²⁶

HYDRO ELECTRICITY

The total hydro-electric potential of India is estimated to be between 35 and 40 million Kilowatts. In 1960-61 hydro-plants contributed only 1.93 million kilowatt. The following table²⁷ provides data on selected hydro-electricity projects in India, the installed capacity and the cost per kilowatt:

Though cost²⁸ of the production of hydro-electricity per kilowatt hour is 1.2nP. compared with 3nP. for coal fired 3.5 to 4 nP. for nuclear electricity and 25nP. for diesel-fired electricity, the development of hydro-electricity has not been upto expectation. The earlier expectation of having 9.1 million kilowatt of hydro-electricity by March 1966, has since been revised downwards to 5.10 million kw. The availability of such electricity may be adversely affected by the recent circular issued by the Government of India to the various State Governments asking them to maintain the level of water at the reservoirs at a lower level than they are doing at present. The Government of India apparently holds the view that the maintenance of water at a high level in the reservoirs may have had something to do with the recent spate of floods throughout the country. Although the Government of India's concern is prompted by a desire to prevent the

26. *Ibid.*, p. 309.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 308. (Cost has been converted into crores of rupees and acres in millions).

28. *Third Five-Year Plan*, p. 399.

avoidable suffering of the people—with which no a still greater short-fall in the availability of one can disagree—the net effect is likely to be electricity.

TABLE VII

Some Major Water and Power Projects
Purpose

	Total Cost (Rs. Crores)	<u>Irrigation</u> (million acres)	Power (mw)	Total Cost per Started k w. (Rs.)	Completion
Tungabhadra	60	0.83	99	(6060)	1945 1961
Bhakra Nangal	174	3.6	610	(2845)	1946 1959-60
Machkund	26	—	120	2195	1946 —
Hirakud (Stage I)	71	0.67	123	(5750)	1948 1957
D.V.C.					
(a) Tilaya	4	—	6	6160	1950 1952
(b) Konar Dam	10	—	40	2485	1950 1954
(c) Maithon Dam	17 (Flood Control)	—	60	(2790)	1951 1957
(d) Panchet Hill Dam	18 (Flood Control)	—	40	(4560)	1952 1958
(e) Durgapur Barrage	23	1.03	—	—	1952 1958
(and navigaton)					
Rihand	45	—	250	1810	1952 1961-62
Gandhisagar Dam	22	—	92	2440	1953 1959
Koyna	43	—	240	1780	1954 1961
Periyar (Stage I)	7	—	105	640	1955 1958
Kundah	35	—	180	1970	1956 —

Note : For multipurpose projects, cost per kilowatt installed is given in brackets, since a good part of this cost should legitimately be charged to irrigation or flood control.

Completion has been delayed beyond expectation. Work is in progress.



THE ACCESS TO BERLIN

By INDIRA ROTHERMUND

THE Berlin question was one of the most important problems which were discussed at the "Neutral Summit" in Belgrade and Prime Minister Nehru is expected to give a lead in exploring possibilities of mediation in this matter. For this reason it may be interesting to review the development of the present status of Berlin.

The proposal to make Berlin a joint zone of occupation seems to have emerged from the deliberations of a British Cabinet Committee in the summer of 1943. This was a year of important conferences beginning with Casablanca and ending with Teheran. The American Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, tried to outline the basic elements of a United Nations organization for post-war co-operation and the more practical British-designed plan for the actual occupation of Germany which anticipated the plan adopted by the Allies in later years. The plan for a joint zone of Berlin, however, reflected to a certain extent American ideas. Roosevelt had frequently pointed out that the victors would have to "police" Germany after the war. This fitted in with his general idea of a police-function of the big powers under the auspices of the United Nations in a brave new world which would emerge after the unconditional surrender of Germany.

The British plan showed this joint zone of Berlin deep inside the zone assigned to the Soviet Union. On his way to the Teheran Conference Roosevelt is said to have sketched a different map on an old envelope. According to this map the zones of occupation would have converged on Berlin. This meant that the problem of access to Berlin through the Soviet zone would not have arisen, but it also implied that the border of the Soviet zone would have been much further to the East than in the British proposal. Both these proposals were subsequently submitted for further consideration to the European Advisory Commission which met at the Ambassadorial level in London throughout 1944. This Commission was expected to work out the details of the surrender—and occupation terms.

The Soviet Union naturally agreed to the British plan. The American Ambassador was finally instructed to give in, but he was handicapped in further negotiations by the fact that the problem of access did not arise in the original

American plan and that he had no definite instructions on the problems arising from the British plans. The British tended to see the problem of access from a practical point of view, they wanted to postpone a settlement until they could examine, at the time of occupation, which access routes could be used at all. The Soviet delegate initially pressed for a demarcation of these routes, but finally he gave an assurance that the presence of British and American troops in Berlin would "of course" imply the right of access through the Soviet zone. The Commission finally delimited the occupation zones and the sectors of the joint zone of Berlin in the *London Protocol* of September, 12, 1944.

In the course of the military operations that ended the war, the Russian troops captured Berlin and the American troops held about 1/3 of the area delimited as Soviet zone of occupation. At this point Churchill got second thoughts about the demarcation of occupation zones. While liberating Eastern Europe the Russians did not care to stick closely to the Yalta Declaration on Liberated Europe. Churchill, therefore, foresaw the establishment of the Iron Curtain and wanted to keep it as far to the East as possible. He strongly advised against a speedy withdrawal of the American troops from the line which they had reached. The Americans, however, wanted to stick to the letter of the agreement, and Truman wrote to Stalin about a quick withdrawal of the American troops and a speedy establishment of the Allied Control Council in Berlin. This was soon effected. British and American troops were stationed in Berlin and the Control Council as the highest authority in occupied Germany was established. As a subordinate authority an *Allied Kommandatura* was established in order to administrate the area of Greater Berlin. The details of access to Berlin were settled by the Allied Commanders in the Control Council.

NO COMMON POLICY

Whenever in the course of the war the Allies were at one they recommended the dismemberment of Germany, whenever tensions mounted they veered away from this policy lest one should

depict the other to the Germans as the advocate of their annihilation. Naturally no common policy could emerge in this way. Furthermore, the Western powers had no clear idea of what to do about continental Europe after the war. The Americans, of course, hoped that a new era would dawn with the advent of the United Nations; the British were mainly concerned with their own fate and with the maintenance of their Empire. The Russians, however, hoped that a ruined Germany would go Communist. Their tremendous demands of reparations, (10 billion dollars) which shocked the Western Allies, served a double purpose: these reparations were needed to rebuild Russia but they would also deepen the economic crisis in Germany.

Under these circumstances the Allied Control Council was doomed from the beginning. The disunity in matters of economic policy came to a head after the introduction of different currency reforms in the Western and Eastern zones. The Western Allies hesitated to introduce the new currency which they had introduced in their zones also in their sectors of Berlin. The Soviet Commander, who had shortly before walked out of the Allied Control Council, claimed that Berlin was economically an integral part of the Soviet zone and introduced the new currency of East Germany in Berlin. Thereupon the Western Allies introduced the West German currency in West Berlin and the Russians started the Berlin blockade. The American airlift broke the blockade and the Russians finally restored the free access to Berlin. A Four Power Agreement was signed to this effect in New York in May, 1949. In the following years East Berlin became the capital of the German Democratic Republic which was established in the Soviet zone, and West Berlin established a special relationship with the Federal Republic of Germany.

STATUS OF WEST BERLIN

The Western Allies intended to abide by the Four Power Status of Berlin and, therefore, they did not permit West Berlin to become one of the states of the Federal Republic of Germany. Thus West Berlin is up to the present time an autonomous corporation headed by a Governing Mayor. There are 22 Berlin representatives in the Federal Parliament in Bonn, but their votes in Parliament are counted separately as "advisory" votes.

There are also Berlin representatives in the Upper House of the Federal Parliament which is composed of representatives of the Federal States. The Governing Mayor of West Berlin has also held the office of President of the Upper House taking turns with the other Chief Ministers of the Federal States. Federal Laws as well as the Basic Law (Constitution) apply to West Berlin. However, a special procedure has been worked out for this purpose in order to maintain the autonomy of West Berlin under the Four Power Status: Whenever a law is passed by the Federal Parliament the West Berlin Assembly passes a "covering law" which stipulates that such and such a federal law is made a Berlin law.

The Federal Republic has a special representative in West Berlin and has given about eight billion Marks of aid to West Berlin in the course of the last decade. The Federal Parliament has frequently held sessions in West Berlin in order to demonstrate its conviction that Berlin should remain the capital of Germany.

The refugee problem has further complicated the Berlin issue. East Germany has lost more than three millions of its inhabitants in the course of the last decade. In earlier years many refugees used to cross the Iron Curtain. However, nowadays the border between East and West Germany is the most heavily guarded border in the world, and, therefore, Berlin remained as the only escape route. These refugees enter East Berlin, then cross from East Berlin into West Berlin and are flown out of West Berlin into West Germany, since the land access routes are controlled by East German police as far as German vehicles are concerned and by the Soviet military as far as Allied vehicles are concerned. The "Chinese Wall" which has been constructed at the East Berlin border, causing a large-scale dislocation of the circular city traffic in both parts of Berlin, is supposed to end this exodus. With the end of the free access from East Berlin to West Berlin the free access from West Germany to West Berlin becomes less problematic for the time being. The text of the Soviet notes of the last three years seems to indicate the following Communist approach: At first, West Berlin should be isolated and an international recognition of East Germany should be obtained, during this phase a free access from West Germany to West Berlin should be guaranteed, while the Four Power

Status should be abandoned. The West Berliners should feel free to lead their "capitalistic" lives without interference. At the same time West Germany should be induced to give up its aid to Berlin while West Berlin should be given ample scope to establish contacts with the East German economy. Finally attempts may be made to integrate West Berlin and, at last, to deny free access to West Berlin. Perhaps by that time no explicit denial of free access will be necessary, because everybody would have as much or as little access to West Berlin as to any other city in East Ger-

many, *i.e.*, the definition of free access can be modified according to the changing situation.

Failing a German reunification the West may only have one choice left when countering this approach in the course of the impending negotiations, and that is to permit West Berlin to become a State of the Federal Republic of Germany; the right of free access to West Berlin would have to be incorporated in a treaty. Another solution would be to shift the United Nations Headquarters from New York to Berlin and to place the whole city under U.N. administration.

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POPULATION PRESSURE AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

By S. DUTTA

The question of population—its size and growth rate—has received special attention in theories and discussions on economic development of underdeveloped areas. This has been prompted primarily by two reasons. Firstly, some of the developing countries already show symptoms of over-population. Secondly, as the experiences of the recently-developed countries suggest, they are confronted, at the earlier stages of development, with the most explosive phase of the demographic cycle. Apprehension has been expressed that Malthusian effect may even frustrate the 'critical minimum effort' necessary to break through the 'vicious circle', unless the measures for economic development are preceded by effective check to growth of population.

The implication of demographic transition in the developing economies is more dangerous than that experienced by the recently developed countries in the sense that in the former the fall in the death-rate is more rapid and without pronounced changes in economic structure, and since it is difficult to predict about the pattern of fertility decline, the resulting growth-rates are likely to be, and in some countries already are higher, at least in the earlier phases of development. The sudden rise in the growth of population in this country

revealed by the preliminary report of the 1961 Census, in the face of continuous food deficit and deteriorating employment situation once again underlines the need for serious thinking over the misgivings about the population pressure in relation to economic development.

A significant aspect of economic development consists in capital deepening, *i.e.*, increasing the capital-labour ratio. The employment of the disguised unemployed out of the rural sector and that of new entrants in the labour force will require capital widening, *i.e.*, equipping them with capital at the prevailing technology. Little investment will, therefore, be left over for industrialisation or for raising per capita income. Population pressure, thus, while calling for a larger share of national income to be allocated to consumption and thereby decreasing the saving-ratio, has, at the same time, the effect of lowering the rate of investment directed towards development. A low-growth-rate of population will be doubly helpful by increasing the saving and reducing the needed investment for duplication of productive facilities.

The above formulation is analytically correct and contains some elements of truth. Nevertheless, it is an inadequate appreciation of the dynamics of growth

process. A statement of simple arithmetical relation between rate of population growth and investment requirements, assuming a certain capital-output ratio presents an unnecessarily a bleak prospect of development. It also fails to note that the two processes of capital-widening and capital-deepening may proceed simultaneously and as such, separate allotment of funds for these two purposes may not be necessary. When the problem is posed in the manner that productive facilities are to be duplicated at the existing technology to provide employment to all the new entrants to the labour force, it amounts to no more than a pseudo-dynamic extension of the static equilibrium theory of 'existing factor proportions' prescribing combination of maximum amount of labour per unit of capital.

What are the likely results of an attempt at immediate maximisation of employment just at the beginning of a programme for economic development? It is certain that there is no capital left over initially for investment designed to improve technology, and while, in the period in question, there is some once-for-all increase in output, employment and consumption, it does not ensure a higher level of saving (it may even depress) to start with in the second period. Both capital-labour ratio (i.e., technology) and labour-output ratio (i.e., labour productivity) remain unchanged; there is no economic development in the useful sense of the term.

One would agree with Prof. Nurkse (see "Reflection on India's Development Plan," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Vol. LXXI, No. 2) that development policy must concern itself with changing the existing circumstances characterised by scarcity of capital and redundancy of labour, rather than accepting as they are. At some moment or other, the economy must break through the old production function, at the most vantage point to start with. It constitutes the crux of development policy; the problem of population pressure has to be, and can be, solved without altering it in essence.

In fact, the prospect of economic development with pressure of population is not as

bleak as is sometimes supposed to be. Economic development should always be viewed as a process, and the effects of development measures, should be considered along a sufficiently long time-horizon. The whole outlook of the situation changes as soon as the focus of enquiry is shifted from short period adjustment to long-run growth.

What is crucial, on economic plane, for long-run maximisation of growth of output and employment is capital formation at as fastest a rate as possible, thereby ensuring capital deepening and increased per capita productivity. This will normally call for investment under, more or less, modern technology so that there exists maximum possible surplus for reinvestment. If the surplus is consistently reinvested, economic growth will proceed in a cumulative fashion, absorbing increased number of workers at succeeding stages and maximising total employment during a given long period of time.

It is noteworthy that within the limits of agreed aggregate consumption, the employment of labour force for capital formation in the manner visualised by Nurkse (in 'problems of capital formation in under-developed countries'), to the extent feasible, will accelerate the pace of growth.

Uptill now, the pressure of population exists mostly in the rural sector, and the new entrants in the labour force also will originate largely in that sector. This implies that, in the immediate future, population pressure will, to a great extent, remain as a latent labour power, so that the socio-political consequences of unemployment are likely to be less grave in earlier phases of development.

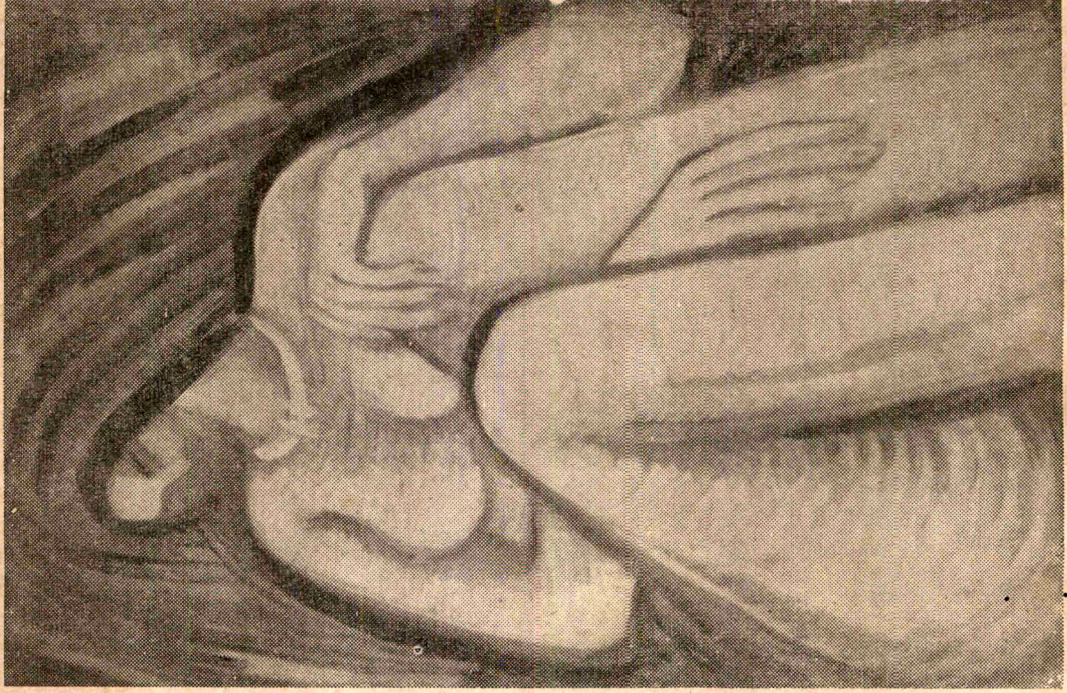
The problem is, firstly one of steeply raising the rate of investment within a very short period of time, and secondly, that of ensuring a high marginal saving-income ratio in the subsequent periods. This is not as difficult as is supposed to be. The experience of developed countries, particularly of Japan and the USSR, shows that agricultural sector (being the predominant sector in the pre-industrial phase) has traditionally become the primary source of investment funds required for industrialisation. In



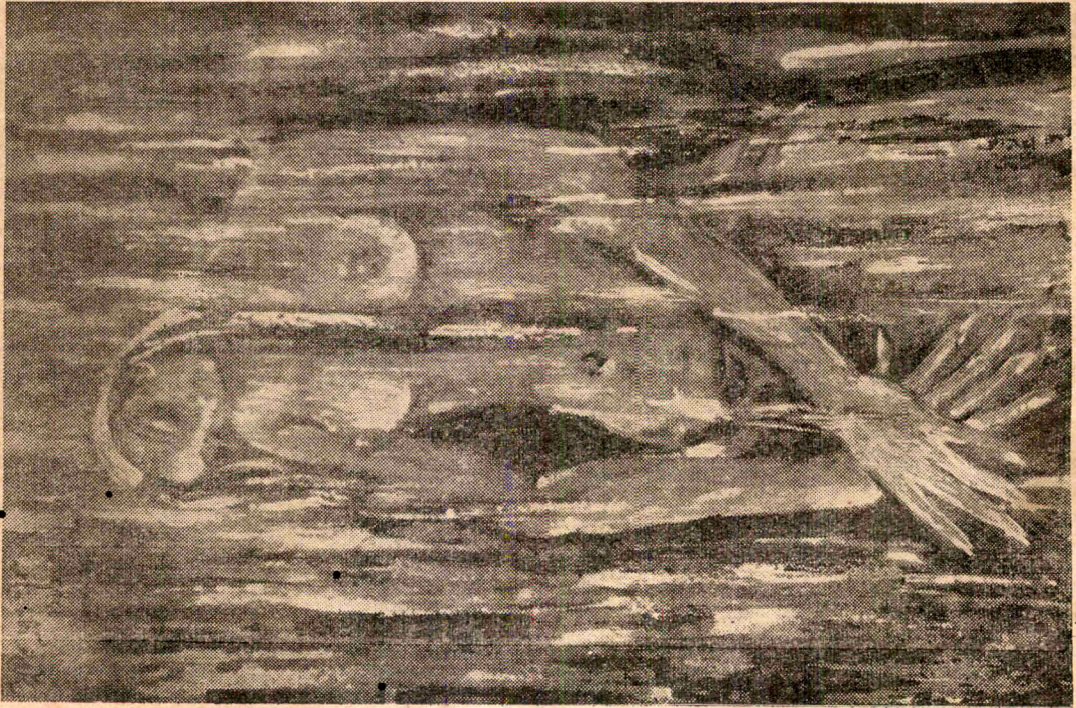
Earthen Lamp
By : Sudhir Khastgir



Workers (oils)
By : Sudhir Khastgir



Nude
By : Sudhir Khasgiri



'Getting Wet'
By : Sudhir Khasgiri

that sense, agricultural sector of this country remains largely untapped.

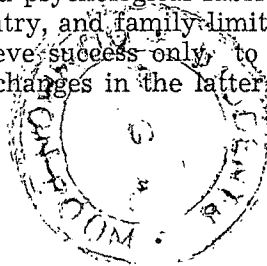
Nevertheless, population pressure poses a serious problem in relation to economic development of India. An Indian population of a lesser size with a lower rate of growth would have recorded a more rapid economic advance, other things, more or less, remaining the same. Again, although unemployment in our country still remains primarily in the disguised form, the disintegration of the pre-industrial social structure is fast taking place and the unemployment is being gradually transformed as 'open' and 'urbanised', with all its dangerous socio-political implications. It is likely that, for many years to come, population pressure will continue to cause concern in this country. At present, only 40% of the total population comprise the working force, while about 58% of the total population are of working ages, i.e., between age groups 15-64. Since the change in the growth-rate is being occasioned primarily through a fall in the death-rate in the face of constant fertility, no considerable change in age-distribution is likely to take place.

While any production about change in fertility will be highly conjectural, the available empirical information in no case pro-

vides a valid basis for assuming much decline in fertility in the immediate future in natural process. The situation, therefore, warrants that a comprehensive national programme designed to introduce family limitation should be undertaken by the government. It is admitted that, in the way of implementation of such a programme, there are many formidable problems of communicating the methods, and of discovering means of birth control that are socially acceptable, cheap and effective.

It is, however, certain that a positive and vigorous population-control policy, albeit not a necessary prerequisite of economic development, would be greatly helpful for minimising the strains of economic development and at the same time, for ensuring a higher rate of growth. It is a happy development, indeed, that in recent period serious attempts are being made by the government and the conscious section of the people of this country to initiate measures aimed at checking the growth of population. It may, however, be observed that the demographic situation is inseparably connected with the entire social and psychological fabric of the people of a country, and family-limitation measures can achieve success only to the extent of over-all changes in the latter.

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NEW LIGHT ON INDIAN DRAMA

By Prof. O. C. GANGOLY

The current and accepted view of the origin of Indian Dancing and Drama,—in the milieu of North Indian culture—flowing from Vedic civilization,—has received a severe jolt—by the latest researches of Dr. Indu Shekhar Sastri—recorded in his critical enquiry into '**Sanskrit Drama: Its Origin and Decline**' (Leiden, 1960). The learned author has approached the problem from a new angle—and re-investigated all the available data with an open mind. When the early European scholars glorified the role of the Aryan race in the evolution of Indian culture, their views naturally filled the Indian mind with admiration. The scholars in East and West accepted it as an established fact, which in course of time developed into fixed belief, so much so that the investigations supporting the claims of the non-Aryans and the Dravidians in the evolution of Hindu culture were resented by the orthodox and were characterized as heresy because fixed notions always die hard. However, the discovery of the Indus Valley civilization threw a challenge to the earlier concepts and gave a definite set-back to the theory of the Aryan supremacy by shifting the emphasis in favour of the pre-Aryans and non-Aryans (Dravidians). Gradually, it was revealed and acknowledged that the contribution of the non-Aryans and Pre-Aryans was neither insignificant nor could be neglected any further. When the objects excavated at Mohenjo Daro and Harappa were closely studied it was felt that the early inhabitants of the Indus Valley had many features in common with the Dravidians in the South, who contributed many important elements to the evolution of Hindu culture, Dr. I. S. Sastri, our new investigator in the field of Dance and Drama, claims to have established that the developments in this field of culture had received very little incentive from Vedic culture,—but, were fundamentally contributed by Tamil culture. This

new investigator has examined in a critical and unbiased view—the data in the whole of the Rig-Veda bearing on dramatic representation. He asserts that except in the 'Dialogue Hymns'—which reveal dramatic intentions in a very rudimentary form, there is no evidence of any full-fledged dramatic art. On the other hand, the Vedic sages maintained an attitude of discouragement against dramatic performances which they found did not harmonize with solemn sacrificial rites. Vedic culture was, therefore, not conducive to the growth of the drama.

In fact, Bharata—the southern exponent of the art was boycotted and humiliated by the Aryan sages but Bharata was supported and patronised by Nahusa, dasyu-King of the Vedic days. Nahusa rendered all possible help to re-establish the dramatic traditions and according to the traditions also constructed a theatre-hall for Bharata and his troupe of performers. It is a curious incident of Indian mythology that the first patron of the drama in the mortal world should have been a non-Aryan King, who helped Bharata in bringing the art of dance and drama on earth. In the **Natya-Sastra**, the first Indian playwright—does not refer to any Vedic traditions of the art. In the earliest historic reference to drama—in a Buddhist text—where it is recorded that a drama based on the life of the Buddha was performed at Raja-griha, we find that the playwright, as well as the troupe of actors came from the South.

Having demolished the probability of a North Indian origin of the drama,—our author next seeks to investigate the data in early Tamil Literature.

It is a pity that we do not possess any authentic records confirming the antiquity of the Tamil language and literature except Tolkappiyar's famous work on grammar or on the means of literary criticism. It has been recognized that Tamil, particu-

larly in its earlier form of the Shen-Tami, is the oldest surviving idiom in the South. The evidence, both direct and indirect, proves that the earliest strata of this Dravidian language belongs to a remote pre-Christian period and the civilization depicted in the early works is of fairly great antiquity.

Ancient Tamil literature abounds in references to religious, semi-religious and secular dances and dramatic performances, out of which '**Kuttu**' is not only the oldest but also occupies a prominent place. Apart from the local importance of '**Kuttu**', as being one of the ancient and popular forms of entertainment, it has a wider Indian importance as it includes within its forms some Sanskrit dramas; these seem to have been added at a relatively late stage. The term '**Kuttu**' means both dance and the art of dance. It could not be performed at common places—like other modes of entertainment but had a special place in the Devalayas or temples.

The professional actors were called '**Kuttar**' and '**Purnar**' while their female counterparts were known as '**Birabiyar**' the exponents of aesthetic emotions. This terminology was in vogue in early Tamil literature as most of the relative terms have been used by Tolakappiyar. In his introduction to this text, Bishop Caldwell admits that apart

from the question of the remote antiquity of the work, it certainly is the crystallised result of centuries of literary traditions in the South of India. Approximately the work belongs to a period when the movement of Aryanization proceeded steadily and peacefully in the South.

An old commentator on **Silappadhikaram** gives various sub-divisions of '**Kuttu**' which clearly indicate the existence of a well-established tradition. The bards and dancers in Tamilnad had formed a class of their own. Their troupes were mostly attached to royal houses or to influential persons. The stories of their miseries are preserved in a few special texts called **arrupadai**. It may be claimed that some of the early dramatic traditions may have originated among this class of bards, minstrels and wandering artistes. Our author cites many other evidences which make a **prima facie** case—that the origin of the drama has to be located in the South. At any rate Dr. Sastri has opened a new and independent path of investigation to solve the vexed question of the origin of the Indian Drama. The fact that the author is a North Indian scholar, —likely to have a bias against the claim of the South adds an element of open-mindedness free from any bias and lends a scholarly prestige to his investigation.



WHY ART-CRITICS ?

By SUDHIR KHASTGIR

I wrote and published a small brochure on 'myself' in 1955, in which I mentioned that "it is not to satisfy my own vanity that I am adding this introduction to the album. I wrote for those only who may like to know something about the person responsible for the paintings published in this album. It may even help them to some extent to appreciate these paintings. However, I hope, if one feels it is an unnecessary addition one should skip over it without any complaint or wasting time."

It is true, Artists require introduction. If Artists can't explain their own creation, there must be somebody to explain their art. The function of art-critics are more for introducing artists' works to the public sympathetically. At least a sensitive artist expects so.

From the very beginning of my career as an Artist, I never bothered about these art-critics. All the same, when I organized any one-man show of my works, I had to hunt out some newspaper reporters to get some paper publicity.

On one occasion I remember, an art-reporter of a well-known Delhi newspaper came on the opening day of my exhibition. I may not have shown enough interest and regard to him or perhaps disagreed on some points with him—whatever may be the reason, the next day I found a very bitter criticism about my works in most rude language. That art-critic, hurt me very much but gave me a lot of publicity indeed.

However, an appreciation from a critic, who writes spontaneously and not because he is motivated by a petty feeling of vanity, either hurt or flattered, is a heart-warming thing. I remember the first publicity—an appreciation which I got after I finished my Santiniketan career about thirty years ago. It was "a leading Madras paper," that published photographs of my two sculptures—"Daughters of the Soil" and "Sisters" and wrote a real appreciation with them. Such a report thrilled me as it was unexpected, and, in those early years, gave me a great

deal of inspiration and enthused me to work with greater vigour.

It was the exhibition of my paintings in Delhi, in September, 1944, in the Massey Hall, Y.M.C.A., that for the first time angered the art-critics, specially of a Delhi and Calcutta paper and gave me a taste of their nastiness; once in 1946, I came across an article called 'Artists in India' in a magazine, written by an art-critic, which I thought was thoroughly misleading. In reply to it I sent to the magazine my views on the subject. Thus, it was in the year 1946, I started writing—and thereafter occasionally kept on writing short articles concerning my own activities and views in the field of art in different magazines. I remember to have written an article on art and its pseudo-critics, in which I wrote "It seems to me that artists are most patronized by everybody in every part of the world."

People generally take them as orphans who require pity and patronage. This patronizing attitude is taken by the important leaders towards a common man. It is so, owing to the fact that artists generally express their feelings and emotions through their paintings, sculptures, etc., and allow the so-called art-critics and art-admirers to explain their feelings to the general mass.

Now there are Art Societies, in all the important cities of India. These Societies are trying to make the mass art-minded. Their existence is surely very necessary both for the masses and the artists and for themselves. In these Art Societies and Associations—some genuine and some frauds will always be there. They will organize exhibitions—select paintings from second-rate artists who are their personal friends—give prizes to the non-deserving persons, perhaps not knowingly, and write reports, get them published in newspapers and journals and pat their own backs as art-organizers.

"Leaders and High Government Officials along with the artists are also their

worst victims. They are generally called by these societies to do the formal opening ceremonies to attract the public. Most of them come to see the leaders and not the exhibitions. They listen to what the leaders has to say and never care to see what the artists have to say in their exhibits."

By writing such articles I annoyed various people—specially art-critics. I had to face the consequences throughout my career and even now.

Artists in India have many difficulties of various types—apart from financial ones. One of the difficulties from which they often suffer is wrong interpretation by the art-critics. Art-critics here in India, often overstep their privilege of giving advice to artists and to the general public when they want to guide them. And often with their one-sided superficial knowledge of art, they mislead the uninformed. The artists generally keep quiet. Their job is to paint and not to talk or become involved in a controversy. Sensitive artists suffer much due to wrong interpretation of their works, even though it may bring them into the lime-light. The pseudo-art critics, in championing the efforts of their pet amateur unnecessarily throw mud at other

artists; those who have attained maturity and balance. Some of these critics can hardly differentiate between modern art and the art of imported modernists.

I have actually no quarrel with art-critics. Let them have their views but what I want is to have my views as well. Why should we always depend on the so-called art-critics?

It seems, that the art of today needs more interpretation than art of yesterday. It is really strange, indeed.

In one hand, we say that modern art requires no caption, no introduction. If it is abstract, if it is non-representational, it requires no explanation. You understand it, appreciate it in your own way or you don't. There is no place for an interpreter—yet there are number of interpreters. As a matter of fact the function of art-critics is finished. Every individual must try to look at pictures in their own individual way without any bias.

It is indeed difficult for an artist to please the art-critics and all sorts of people that go to make the world. My sincere advice to artist friends is not to take much notice of critics' views on their works, but to remain sincere to oneself alone!

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MAURICE MAETERLINCK

By AMAL HALDER

Maurice Maeterlinck was born a hundred years ago in Ghent, in Flemish-speaking Belgium, but all his literary work is in French. He was educated in a convent school under strict Jesuit discipline, and, whether in spite of that training or by reaction against it, he became and has continued to be wholly agnostic. His wife writes: "There was but one bitterness which marred the sweet hours of his youth. He will never forgive the Jesuit Fathers of the College of St. Barbe for their narrow tyranny. I have often heard him say that he would not begin his life over again at

the price of those seven years of college." He grew up a very thoughtful youth, a great reader, especially of French and English literature, fond of the simple peasants among whom he lived, extremely sensitive to all natural beauty and finding pleasure in all simple things, a man of singular sincerity and of great kindness and affection and finding a keen satisfaction in these same qualities in others, learning more and more to reckon the inward things the only gains of the passing years.

His early poems and plays are occupied, not with events, but almost wholly with

the life of pure thought and feeling.* His poems are full of beauty but full also of despondency, a vague and prevailing sadness as of one who finds no result and attainment in life to justify life's desires and aspirations and for whom human existence is bound and limited to an essential futility. This despondency is continued in his early plays. The girl-heroine of the best-known of these, "Pelleas and Melisanda",—if so passive and helpless a creature can be called a heroine—is typical of Maeterlinck's work at this stage; the gentle, pure, sensitive soul who loves simply because she must, to whom love comes as a kind of fate that sweeps her and her lover, not choosing, not resisting, not understanding, to their doom. The interest is not at all in the external incidents of the story, but in that which happens in these souls. The incidents being to the working of destiny in things, which is not merely indifferent to humanity, as a gale at sea is indifferent to the course of the ship, but in general hostile to it, as the hurricane would drive the ship on the rocks.

And that sense of a force of fate in the working of the universe, a force which is at best heedless of human purpose and human good and which is commonly and on the whole hostile to the things which men most value,—that idea of external events constantly beating against our life and threatening it and putting a strain on it and ending always in the blank calamity of death, is very persistent in the bulk of Maeterlinck's work. Much of the interest of his essays lies in the expression they give to his recovery of confidence, in spite of his continued sense of an adverse, or at best an indifferent, universe, and his escape from that merely passive pessimism to which there is so marked a tendency in his earlier writings. Of the three primary elements of a spiritual faith, in Kant's reckoning,—the soul, God and immortality, Maeterlinck may be said,* hardly, indeed, to deny immortality, but expressly to refuse to make any assertion about it or to take any confident account of it, though in some of his later writings he does give favourable consideration to some of the things that can be said for it; of God he never speaks with any realised and

steady conviction, but rather, when he speaks of God at all, with the accommodation of his language to the thoughts of other men; and all his vital and active faith is, as it were, accumulated on the soul, the profound mystery of its life, not less but more mysterious the more deeply it is considered, its sure and searching intuitions of truth and good, its unmeasured possibilities of attainment, its delicacies of perception, its tenderness and strength, its capacities of heroic motive and vast outlook, its power to hold its own gains of love and gladness in spite of all the world of things and to turn all the devices of fact to its own use and nourishment.

In his essays, of which the principal are contained in the three volumes, "The Treasure of the Humble", "The Buried Temple", and "Wisdom and Destiny", Maeterlinck singularly combines the characters of the agnostic and the mystic, characters which are commonly found in isolation and mutual antagonism. He definitely rejects the whole of the religious supernatural, all the usual embodiments of religious conviction in cult and creed, as unproved and unprovable, and denies our right to say anything whatever of the origin or the purpose or the last result of the universe. The universe is simply there, and we are minute living particles of it, swept along, we know not whence or whither, with its vastness.

And yet, encompassed as we are by all this unintelligible world, born into it, kept alive in it, dying in it, by forces unknown and unreckonable to us, our soul is not, or need not be, overwhelmed and lost in its bewilderment. For the soul has a mystical certainty, an immediate, experienced apprehension of the truths that most concern it and of the values that can most enrich it with a wealth which the world can neither give nor take away. It knows the worth of love, and of love at its best, in its purity and nobleness and sacrifice; and the worth of social justice, the justice which is so unattainable in this confusion of a world and which yet is so immeasurably precious to the soul that even only to seek after it faithfully is great gain; and the worth of all the beauty of the natural world, and of

the intellectual life, and of literature and the fine arts. These gains and achievements of the soul are the treasure of the humble; these and such things of the soul as these are the possessions of those who have learned to put outward things in their place and to seek first the kingdom of the soul and its righteousness. The gospel of the soul's gain and the soul's happiness and the soul's power to hold that gain and that happiness in spite of all, Maeterlinck preaches with all the zeal of an evangelist and the serene assurance of a devotee and with an astonishing beauty of conception and breadth of application.

Maeterlinck is not a philosophical writer in any strict sense of the word; that is, he does not set about to establish a consistent and systematic view of the truth of things by reason and demonstration and would be by temperament sceptical of the value of any such scheme. Rather he feels his way by intuition and experience and is persuaded of many things which deeply concern the soul and which he cannot prove otherwise than by appeal to the intuition and experience of other men. He works in his more constructive thinking as a poet works, with images to express assurances that lie beyond the reach of the understanding. As Pascal has said, the heart has its reasons which are unknown to the understanding, and it is these reasons of the heart which are often the most difficult to express and which for Maeterlinck are the most convincing. Mr. A. B. Walkley says, "His cardinal doctrine will, I conjecture, prove to be something like this. What should be of most account for us all is not external fact, but the suprasensuous world. What we know is not interesting; the really interesting things are those which we cannot define; the veiled life of the soul, the crepuscular region of self-consciousness, our 'borderland' feelings, all that lies in the strange neutral zone between the frontiers of consciousness and unconsciousness. The mystery of life is what makes life worth living". 'Twas a little being of mystery, like everyone else,' says the old king Marke of the dead Melisanda, "We are such stuff as dreams are made of," might be the refrain of all M. Maeterlinck's plays and of most

of these essays. He is penetrated by the feeling of the mystery in all human creatures, whose every act is regulated by far-off influences and obscurely rooted in things unexplained. Mystery is within us and around us. Of reality we can only get now and then the merest glimpse. Our senses are too gross. Between the invisible world and our own there is doubtless an intimate concordance; but it escapes us. We grope among shadows towards the unknown.

Besides the outward destiny in the forces of the universe that encompasses the soul and that is, or appears to be, hostile or indifferent to the soul's good, there is an inward destiny within the soul itself. If the soul cares to know itself it finds within itself assurances, convictions, imperative forces which it cannot ignore, of love and justice and truth. These interior forces. Maeterlinck speaks of, as an inward destiny, a mysterious and profound constraint laid upon the soul in obedience to which, and not otherwise, the soul can find its happiness and freedom and victory. To be obedient to one's deepest moral instincts, to recognise and accept that inward authority,—that is the mystical morality, as it has been called, which for Maeterlinck is the highest and at last the only morality. This inward authority he does not speak of, as a Christian would speak of it, as the Spirit of God; but he does speak of it with a constant reverence and wonder as something more than the man's own mind and choice, as something in him which is deeper than his common consciousness. It is the soul of his soul, which he must search out and serve in 'the buried temple' in the depth within him.

The soul then lies, as it were, between this inner power and the outer forces of the universe, between what, Maeterlinck describes, as interior destiny and outward destiny, and the two are in a sense in opposition to each other. The best of a man is the practical question whether he merely yields himself to outward circumstances, to the play of the natural forces on him and in him through his appetites and lower instincts, to what Saint Paul calls 'the mind

of flesh,' diminishing his manhood at every step, or whether he brings into action his deeper soul, the soul of his soul, his inner destiny, which has the strange power of seizing the very outward events which in themselves are merely hostile, sickness, bereavement, temptation, and making them occasions for the man's spiritual gain. In his own more modern but less adequate language Maeterlinck is saying what Saint Paul said 1900 years before, that 'to them that love God all things work together for good.'

There is bound to be a large measure of pathos in a view of life which is bounded

by the mists of death and which has no assurance of God, and these are, in my view, very grave limitations of Maeterlinck's teaching. But it is none-the-less a very pure and noble teaching which may reach some to whom the fuller lessons of a greater faith are unconvincing; the teaching that to follow out the deepest instincts of the soul in confidence and obedience is the salvation of a man and the salvation of a humanity from spiritual death. Maeterlinck is a guide to us, as Miss Una Taylor says, in 'the search for God in man, under whose beggar rags he describes the gleaming of the divine raiment.'

THE GENESIS OF TAGORE'S CLASSIC LETTER TO LORD CHELMSFORD

By JOGES C. BOSE

IN May, 1913, Rev. C. F. Andrews read a paper on 'Tagore and his poetry' at Simla hills. Lord Hardinge, who presided, hailed Rabindranath as 'the poet-laureate of Asia.' Hardinge, arrogating to himself the competence to dictate the assignment, struck my boyish imagination as funny and presumptuous.

Some time in the October following, I first saw Rabindranath Tagore as he alighted at the Howrah Railway Station, back from his Gitanjali-tour in England. As I saw him in the over-all impression of his deep, radiant personality, I instinctively recalled within myself the purple lines of Edmund Burke in respect of Marie Antionette, than the Dauphiness at Versailles. And surely for me, as well, 'there never lighted on this orb a more delightful vision.'

A month or so later, Rabindranath was awarded the Nobel prize for Literature. The intensity of my feeling was to some extent marred, when, on the New Year's morning, I read that he had been Knighted. My spine tingled. Did not he, as one of the partition-day leaders, teach us that such titles were an extra dose of demoralisation for the subject people? Should he have joined the spineless brood instead of saying a polite 'No'? He was, however, eminently lucky in discarding it, when following the Punjab outrage, he came forward to put a voice into the

tongue of India, 'surprised,' as he said, 'into a dumb terror of anguish.' In his hymn to Aurobindo, he brands as emasculate those who dare not call 'unjust' what is unjust. He stood the test, translating his faith into action.

One evening in May, 1919, he heard of the Punjab incidents, all reports of which were gagged. The story, however, trickled out from mouth to mouth, when the overwhelming ban on the egress and regress of people was lifted. The enormities, which make the blood boil even at this distance of time, struck at the primary question—Whether domination of one people by the other can be sustained without abandoning the basic principle of civilized being? In the grip of a bewildering helplessness, Rabindranath was on pins and needles with excitement, and felt that the least he could do was to disrobe himself of the plumage of Knighthood to signalise his protest. At dead of night, when the rest of the house had retired to bed, he sat up and wrote the letter to Lord Chelmsford renouncing his Knighthood. It is a classic of its kind and the whole of it bears reproduction.

Your Excellency,

The enormity of the measures taken by the Government in the Punjab for quelling some local

disturbances has, with a rude shock, revealed to our mind the helplessness of our position as British subjects in India. The disproportionate severity of the punishments inflicted upon the unfortunate people and the methods of carrying them out, we are convinced, are without a parallel in the history of civilized governments barring some conspicuous examples recent and remote. Considering that such treatment has been meted out to a population, disarmed and resourceless, by a power which has the most terribly efficient organisation for destruction of human lives, we must strongly assert that it can claim no political expediency, far less moral justification. The accounts of the insults and sufferings undergone by our brothers in the Punjab have trickled through gagged silence, reaching every corner of India, and the universal agony of indignation roused in the hearts of our people has been ignored by our rulers—possibly congratulating themselves for imparting what they imagine as salutary lessons. The callousness has been praised by most of the Anglo-Indian Papers, which have in some cases gone to the brutal length of making fun of our sufferings, without receiving the least check from the same Authority, relentlessly careful in smothering every cry of pain and expression of judgment from the organs representing the sufferers. Knowing that our appeals have been in vain and that the passion of vengeance is blinding the noble vision of statesmanship of our Government, which could so easily afford to be magnanimous as befitting its physical strength and normal tradition, the very least that I can do for my country is to take all consequences upon myself in giving voice to the protest of the millions of my countrymen, surprised into a dumb terror of anguish. The time has come when badges of government make our shame glaring in the incongruous context of humiliation, and I, for my part, wish to stand, shorn of all special distinction, by the side of those of our countrymen who, for their so-called insignificance, are liable to suffer degradations not fit for human beings. And these are the reasons which have compelled me to ask your Excellency, with due deference and regret, to relieve me of the title of Knighthood, which I had the honour to accept from His Majesty the King, at the hands of your predecessor, for whose nobleness of heart I still entertain great admiration.

6, Dwarkanath Tagore Lane. Yours faithfully,
Calcutta, 19th May, 1919. Rabindranath Tagore

The Duke of Cannought, as he came to India to inaugurate the Montford Reforms, felt haunted by the shadow of the Punjab—blacker than the massacre of Glencoe as Andrews characterised it—lengthening over the land and spreading a miasma of hatred against the English people. Fenner Brockway M.P., after an exhaustive study, appealed to his countrymen to help India forget it. Gandhi, hitherto of tested loyalty, who had recently strained himself to the breaking point in order to collect men and money to help England win the war, appealed to the conscience of the English people to take a dispassionate view of the situation. The spirit of their response was reflected in the debate in the House of Lords, which refused to endorse even the too very halting denunciation of General Dyer by Montagu. And, to add insult to injury, a reward of £20,000 was raised to cover Dyer's hands reeking with innocent blood.

General Dyer shot down unarmed men, women and children, who had gathered at the annual religious fair at park Jallianwala-Bagh, Amritsar. He excused himself on the ground that they had disobeyed section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code. He, however, admitted that he was not unaware of the fact that most of these people had come from rural area and might have had no idea of any order banning the assemblage of more than five persons or of any religious congregation at all coming within the purview of the ban. "The panic-stricken multitude," says Sir Valentine Chirol, "broke down at once; but for ten consecutive minutes, he kept up a relentless fusillade—in all 1,650 rounds—on that seething mass of humanity, caught like rats in a trap, vainly rushing for the few narrow exits or lying flat on the ground to escape the rain of bullets, which he personally directed to the points, where the crowd was the thickest." Dyer boasted before the Hunter Committee that he did it 'to create a moral impression' and stopped shooting, only as he ran short of ammunitions. "I thought," he said, "I should shoot well and shoot strong, so that I or anybody else should not have to shoot again. I think it is quite possible I could have dispersed the crowd without firing, but they would have come back again and laughed, and I should have

made, what I consider to be, a fool of myself." After this, he left the dead and the dying—according to the official version, no less than two thousand people—mixed up *en masse*, with absolutely no chance of any medical aid being rendered to those yet then alive, because of the rigorous enforcement of the curfew order. Major Carberry, at Gurjanwalla, could not afford to be satisfied by merely dropping bombs from an aeroplane but followed it up by several rounds of machine gun firing at people, who were trying to get away, lest they gathered again. Colonel O'Brien fired at the crowd 'wherever found.' At Lahore, students of the age of sixteen to twenty were made to march up to sixteen miles under the boiling sun in the hottest part of the year in order to salute the British flag. People passing through a lane, where an English lady teacher was very severely assaulted—there were a goodly number of Indian neighbours hurrying up to her rescue in scorn of danger—were made to crawl the whole length of it on their bellies.* Long after, Quarter-Master General Hudson gave a demonstration of this in the cool, composed atmosphere of the Simla Legislative Council Chamber. The English members broke into laughter, and an imbecile Viceroy, presiding over the Council, sat by in statuesque immobility.

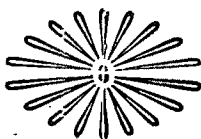
No less calculated to bedevil Indo-British relation was the conduct of some Anglo Indian newspapers, which had in some cases, as Rabindranath said, 'gone to the brutal length of making a fun of our sufferings, without receiving the least check from the same Authority, relentlessly careful in smothering every cry of pain and expression of judgment from the organs representing the sufferers.' *The Englishman*,† then an influential British daily in Calcutta, commented on Rabindranath's letter as follows—"No man will be more painfully surprised than Rabindra-

nath himself to find that it (his relinquishment of Knighthood) will not make a ha'p'orth of difference. As if it mattered a brass farthing whether Sir Rabindranath, who has probably never been heard of in the wilds of the Punjab and who as a writer is certainly not so popular as Colonel Johnson approved of the Government's policy or not. As if it mattered to the reputation, the honour and sincerity of British rule and justice, whether this Bengalee poet remained a Knight or plain Baboo." For check and malevolence and in displaying the insolence of the ruling race the lines are as classical. They are basically lacking in that sense of decorum, for which the English people, prince to tramp, were once noted in the world. How many English people, I do not know, appreciate that Rabindranath refused to lend his name to the movement for a memorial at Jallianwala-Bagh, lest it perpetuates bitterness between race and race, possibly, just as we abhor a commemorative tablet of the Sepoy Mutiny—"Here in this well, the mutineers sunk British men, women and children to die of asphyxia."

I visited Jallianwala Bagh some seventeen years after the atrocities had been perpetrated. The bullet marks on neighbouring walls, riddled out and out, still then bore witness to the wanton attack. Somewhat over two thousand souls, innocent of any violent intention, were butchered, for otherwise, the prestige of British rule in India was at stake! An eerie gloom, as the evening set in, reflected the dark, tense irritation of my mind. About a year after, I felt a spasm such as people feel face to face with Nature's rude retribution, when I heard over the radio that an Indian had shot dead Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab during the Martial Lawdays, at the Caxtonhall, London. For a long eighteen years or so, he must have been nursing the agony of insult in a fever of wakefulness. Many others possibly, I instantly thought, would have, ere long, yielded to the spirit of reprisal, but for the surprising turn, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi gave to Indian politics.

* In the House of Commons, Winston Churchill condemned the crawling order as standing in 'sinister isolation.'

† Now defunct.



INDIAN FEDERATION AND NATIONAL UNITY

By O. P. GOYAL,

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THE purpose of the present paper is to investigate whether with the existing provisions of the Indian Constitution, it is possible to preserve Indian National Unity and to keep Regionalism within proper checks thus preventing the catastrophic disintegration of the Indian nation.

INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

The constitutional fathers were nearly of the unanimous opinion that what they wanted was one State, and one Union.¹ At the same time, they also wanted that there should be enough scope for every province to grow and expand and that there would be nothing to prevent any province from reaching its ultimate goal consistent with the common obligation.² Therefore, they devised a

1. - Perhaps, Sirdar K. M. Panikar was the only one who suggested a unitary type of government for India in those days (see Rau, B. N., *India's Constitution in the Making*. Orient Longmans, Bombay, 1960, p. 92) as Mr. Somnath Lahiri, a member of the Constituent Assembly was along in demanding self-determination along with the right of secession for Indian provinces. However, these were the extremes and the constitutional fathers steered a middle course.

2. Thus, Shri N. V. Gadgil, a member of the Constituent Assembly, while speaking on the Resolution, re: *Aims and Objects*, said, "Taking the several sub-paragraphs in this Resolution, the main thing that is provided for, is one State, one Union. At the same time, there is enough scope for every province to grow and expand and there is nothing to prevent any province from reaching its ultimate goal consistent with the common obligation. At the same time, I wish to point out that it provides a field which gives wider scope for higher statesmanship, for higher scholarship, for better commerce and large industries. If there is such a Union, it means there is greater political security and that will have economically more bargaining power. Viewed from any point of view a state covering the geographical unity, known as India is a necessity for every province, for every Constituent State, that may go to constitute this Union. By joining they will have nothing to lose. In my humble opinion, much to gain." *CA Debate*, Volume 1-3. Dec. 9, 1946 to May 2, 1947. Manager, Government of India Press, New Delhi, p. 258.

scheme of government which was to be federal with a strong Centre. Thus, the Chairman, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, in his covering letter on the 2nd Report of the Union Powers Committee said, "The severe limitation on the scope of the Central Authority in the Cabinet Mission's plan was a compromise accepted by the Assembly. We think against the judgment of the administrative needs of the country, in order to accommodate the Muslim League. Now that partition is a settled fact, we are unanimously of the view that it would be injurious to the interests of the country to provide for a weak Central Authority which would be incapable of ensuring peace, of co-ordinating vital matters of common concern and of speaking effectively for the whole country in the international sphere. At the same time, we are quite clear in our minds that there are many matters in which authority must be solely with the Units and that to frame a Constitution on the basis of a unitary state would be a retrograde step, both politically and administratively. We have accordingly come to the conclusion—a conclusion which was also reached by the Union Constitution Committee—that the soundest framework for our Constitution is a federation with a strong Centre."³ The constitutional fathers were of the unanimous opinion that they do not want a unitary state because they felt that they could maintain national unity even otherwise.⁴ However, they did emphasize that we have to guard against fissiparous and disintegrating tendencies to main-

3. Letter dated July 5, 1947. No. CA|23| com.|47. *CA Debates*, Volume 5, p. 60.

4. Thus, G. L. Mehta, a member of the Constituent Assembly, speaking on the 2nd Report of the Union Powers Committee, said, "Nobody suggests that this vast country with its size and its multiple people can be ruled on a unitary basis . . . Undue centralisation is not a way of achieving uniformity. In fact, we do not wish to effect uniformity in this country, but unity, in essential matters. But I must emphasize that we have to be on guard against fissiparous and disintegrating tendencies which are always bound to prevail and we have to be conscious of our national unity which we have achieved and which must be maintained as one of our priceless possessions." *CA Debates*, Vol. 5, p. 81.

tain our national unity—tendencies which are as likely to arise in a Unitary State as in a Federal State.

NATURE OF THE INDIAN FEDERATION

The Indian Federation has been variously described as a *quasi-federation*,⁵ a Unitary State with subsidiary federal features rather than a Federal State with subsidiary unitary features, a Federation with strong centralising tendency,⁶ a pseudo-federation a paramount federation⁷ and a federation with vertically divided sovereignty.⁸ Afraid of the crucial power of the Union to destroy an existing state or to create a new one and of the various union checks provided in the Constitution, some have even ventured the extreme conclusion that India is not a Federation at all.⁹

However, the question whether India is a federation or not a federation and the answer to the question of the nature of the Indian federation depends upon how do we define the term federation.

5. Where, K. C., *Federal Government*, Second Edition, p. 28.

6. Jennings, Sir Ivor, *Some Characteristics of the Indian Constitution*, Oxford University Press, p. 1.

7. Santhanam, K., *Union—State Relations in India. The Indian Institute of Public Administration*, New Delhi, 1960, p. 13. Thus, he says, "It may briefly be described as a Federation in which the paramountcy powers which the British Government had over the Indian States have been taken over by the Union Government and applied to all its units. . . . The National leaders had always agitated against the doctrine of paramountcy. But the Constituent Assembly has effectively installed those powers in the Constitution. So, it will be appropriate to call our Federation a 'Paramount Federation'.

8. Alexanderowicz, C. H., *Indian Constitutional Developments*, Oxford University Press, pp. 168-9. Thus, he says, "India is undoubtedly a Federation in which attributes of statehood are shared between the Centre and the Local States. Instead of defining her by the vague term of *quasi-federation*, it seems more accurate to exclude her from the category of administrative federation and to consider her a federation with vertically divided sovereignty."

9. See Mukherji, K. P., *Reorganisation of Indian States*, Popular Book Depot, Bombay, 1955, p. 27.

The constitutional fathers, when they devised a federal scheme for India, deliberately avoided the orthodox definition of the term federation. Thus, Mr. N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar, a member of the Union Powers Committee, while presenting the Second Report of the Committee to the Assembly, criticized the orthodox definition of a federation given in the report of the Royal Commission on the Australian Constitution in 1929, as follows:

"(Federation is) a form of government in which sovereign or political power is divided between the Central and the Local Government so that each of them, within its own sphere, is independent of the other".¹⁰

This he criticized as an orthodox definition because, "The line between the centre and the units is not so definitely fixed as this definition would assume. There are relations between the centre and the units. There are cases where the units have to depend upon the centre. There are controlling powers vested in the Federation in emergencies when the Federation could override the jurisdiction of the units and take over things into its own hands, so that this absolute independence of functioning which is contemplated in the definition has not been realised in practice."¹¹ If these are to be the features of a federation, India certainly is not a unitary state.

In fact, Federation in India is a principle of reconciliation between two divergent tendencies—the centripetal and the centrifugal. The nature of the Indian Federation depends not only upon the provisions of the Constitution but also on the contest between these divergent and conflicting forces. For Federation is mainly a process of division of powers between the centre and constituent units and the division of power is bound to be influenced, if not to be determined, by political, economic and social forces and tendencies and finally by financial considerations.

THE CENTRIPETAL FORCES

In so far as formal constitutional checks are concerned the Indian Constitution is sufficiently equipped with. Moreover, informally also, centralised planning, centralised political parties and the central financing of the plans have led to

10. Quoted *CA Debates*, Volume 5, p. 37.

11. Mr. N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar, *Ibid*.

wards unification and centralisation un contemplated of at the time of the making of the Constitution.¹²

Legislative : Despite the definite division of powers between the units and the centre, the Constitution has given priority to the centre in many ways. Thus legislation by Parliament on any subject in list I prevails over any legislation by a state legislature on any matter included in list II or list III. Similarly, any legislation by Parliament in a matter included in the concurrent list has a superior validity to any legislation passed by a state legislature on that subject. Moreover it is open to the Governor to reserve a State Bill for Presidential Assent.¹³ Again, under Article 249, if the Council of States declares by a resolution supported by two-thirds of the members present and voting, that it is necessary or expedient in the national interest that Parliament should make laws with respect to any matter enumerated in the state list, then Parliament competent to make laws on that matter for the whole or any part of India.¹⁴ Similarly under Act 250, Parliament is empowered to make laws on any item included in the state list for the whole or any part of India while a Proclamation of Emergency is in operation.¹⁵

12. For a study of these extra-constitutional developments, see Santhanam, K., *Union-State Relations in India*, Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi, 1960.

13. The Kerala Education Bill presents a very interesting case-study in this connection. The Bill was reserved by the Governor for Presidential Assent. The President sought the advisory opinion of the Supreme Court and in the light of that the Bill was modified. It is important to note here that the Bill was connected with a matter falling in the State list and, therefore, the Kerala Communists argued that the President should not consult any central official in making his decision. *New Age*, April 27, 1958, p. 1. However, what actually happened behind the scenes is still unknown to us and, therefore, it is too early to derive any conclusions from thus very interesting and fruitful case-study.

14. Thus to meet the food crisis in the fifties, power of trade and commerce in food-stuffs, raw cotton, raw jute, etc., were taken over by the Union by a resolution of the Council of States for one year, extended another year and finally the item was incorporated in the concurrent list by the *Third Amendment Act*, 1954.

Administrative : under Article 257, the Constitution calls upon every state not to impede or prejudice the Executive Power of the Union in the state. If any union agency finds it difficult to function within a state, the Union Executive is empowered to issue appropriate directions to the State Government to remove all obstacles.¹⁶ Moreover, the members of the Indian Police Service, who are mainly responsible for administration in the country, though immediately responsible to the respective State Governments yet are recruited and hold their office under the pleasure of the Central Government who alone holds the right of taking disciplinary action of any serious kind against them.

Judicial : The Constitution of India has deliberately avoided the separation of powers by giving to the Supreme Court unusual jurisdiction and authority.¹⁷ In fact, even the Judges of the High Courts owe their final appointment, to the Union Government through the State Government, is also consulted.

Financial : In the sphere of financial centrals, the Centre undisputably holds the whip which can be used through grants, subsidies and in case of difficulties, by withholding funds due to a particular state as its share of central tax revenues. However, the Constitution provides that every five years, there shall be a Finance Commission charged with the obligatory duties of making recommendations to the President regarding (i) the shares to be assigned of duties which ought to be or may be shared, that is, income-tax and excise, and also the method of distribution of the shares among the states and

15. Also according to Art. 252, if the legislatures of two or more states pass resolution to the effect that it is desirable to have a parliamentary law regulating any of the matters included in the state list, then, it is lawful for Parliament to make laws regulating that matter. However, this Article is not very promising and the chances of its operation are rather bleak.

16. However, the Union's power of giving directions in this regard includes certain specific matters such as, (i) the construction and maintenance of means of communication which are of national or military importance, and (ii) the protection of railways within the state.

17. See Sharma, Shree Ram, *The Supreme Court of India*, Rajpal & Sons, Delhi, 1960.

(ii) the principles governing the issue of grants under Article 275. And though technically it is open to the President not to accept the recommendations made by the Finance Commission, it has become a convention¹⁸ that he accepts them. But there have been two big developments un contemplated at the time of the making of the Constitution. Firstly, Article 282 has assumed major importance in the financial relations between the Centre and the State.¹⁹ Secondly, Articles 292 and 293 empowering the union and the states to borrow upon the security of their respective consolidated funds, have achieved added importance because the present planning has been based upon central loans to the states.

Planning : Planning is a subject on the concurrent list.²⁰ The central machinery erected in connection with planning, the Planning Commission, the National Development Council.²¹

18. See Santhanam K., *op. cit.*, p. 3. Santhanam was also the Chairman of the Second Finance Commission. Also see Rau, B. N., *Indian Constitution in the making. op. cit.*, pp. 384-85. He said, "In the interest, therefore, of the smooth working of the Constitution, I venture to think that no ministry should advise the President to depart from the recommendations of the Finance Commission, a quasi-arbitral body whose function is to do justice as between the Centre and the States."

19. Articles 282 reads: "The union or a state may make any grants for any public purpose notwithstanding that the purpose is not one with respect to which Parliament or the legislature of the state as the case may be, may make laws." This Article was used sparingly before the first year of the first Five-Year Plan. But in 1952-53, Rupees 8.59 crores were given to the states under this Article going up to Rupees 64.03 crores in the last year of the First plan. In the Second Five-Year Plan, grants of a total amount of Rs. 275 crores was provided under this Article.

20. Mr. K. Santhanam had initially objected to the inclusion of 'economic planning' in the concurrent list on the ground that under this item the centre could assume any powers and could prevent any unit from planning in its own ways even in the field of provincial subjects, even in agriculture. *Constituent Assembly Debates, op. cit.*, Volume 5. Pp. 56-57.

21. The National Development Council has come to be considered as a supra-cabinet in the country.

All these are extra-constitutional agencies and without any legal backing in their authority over the states. Nevertheless, planning has brought about the financial unification of India. In fact, planning has affected the state spheres even more than the central sphere. About 70 per cent of the total expenditure of planning in the First plan and about 65 per cent in the Second plan relate to matters which have been exclusively assigned to states, like agriculture, education, health, etc.

Emergency Provisions : Moreover, under Article 352 provisions, the President of India holds emergency authority to take over any unit where national security is threatened by war, external aggression or internal disturbance. By Article 356, when in the opinion of the Governor or the Union Government, the Government of a State cannot be carried on in accordance with the Constitution, the President is empowered to suspend the State Constitution and transfer to himself and the Parliament all the powers which are vested in the state government and the state legislature. It may be suspended even if there are difficulties about the formation of ministries. In fact, there have been four such cases—once in the Punjab, once in Pepsu, once in Andhra and once in Kerala. Again under Article 360, necessary steps may be taken by the President for the purpose of financial stability when the President makes a proclamation of financial emergency the the Union Government becomes entitled to giving directions to any state to observe such canons of financial propriety as may be specified in the directions.

CENTRIFUGAL TENDENCIES

The constitutional fathers had realized that in any attempt to arrive at an agreed-in Constitution for India, full recognition should be accorded to regional autonomy and local integrity. This they sought to secure by distribution of powers between the Centre and the units in the legislative field, by granting administrative autonomy to the states in their own fields and by establishing the Supreme Court of India—an independent and impartial body, with jurisdiction to adjudicate upon disputes between a region and another region and between one region or more and the Centre.

Not that linguism, regionalism, casteism and communalism were absent from India before

independence though they had been pushed back in India's united struggle for freedom. But the linguistic and the regional jingo was released at the time of the publication of the States Reorganisation Commission Report. At this time the disruptive and the disintegrating nature of these centrifugal forces appeared in its most ugly forms. The balance between the centripetal and the centrifugal forces in Indian politics appeared to be on the wrong side.

Not only that this imbalance was a headache to the Indian National Congress alone but even other Parties of a national character, like the Praja Socialist Party, had to face the grim situation which had penetrated into the rank and file of the party itself.²² While the Communist Party was busy exploiting the situation for its own ends²³ the other political parties like Hindu Mahasabha and Bharatiya Jana Sangh were harping on their tunes of hindu communalism so much on their tunes of Hindu communalism so much that led to the extreme demand that Indian Constitution should be reframed into a unitary state.²⁴

However, the demand for a unitary state in India, is not a practical demand, at least, in the near future. Indian public opinion seems to veer round the concept of a compromise between regionalism and centralism rather than to agree

22. Acharya Kripalani painfully confessed at Betul in 1953, "We appear to be no better than the others on the question of linguistic redistribution. Let not the world say that our party suffers from the terrible disease of . . . provincial neurasthenia. I am not against the formation of linguistic provinces. But let us have no language riot over them." *Proceedings, Socialist Party Convention*, June, 1953, Betul, p. 148.

23. See Harrison, *op. cit.*, pp. 137-237.

24. The illustrious M. C. Mahajan, former Chief Justice of India, argued for the establishment of a unitary state in India empowered to deal directly with district officers in *The Hindu Weekly Review*, February 29, 1956, p. 7. See also *The Statesman*, Dec. 13, 1955, p. 6 and the *Times of India*, Feb. 12, 1956, p. 6.

to a concept of unification and that of over-centralisation.

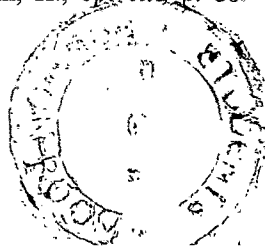
The problem that is posed by the contemporary situation is this: Is it necessary or desirable to amend the provisions of the Indian Constitution to provide more union checks to be used not only in emergencies but to be applied as everyday rule? The author of this article opines that even if it has become necessary to do so, it would still be highly undesirable to amend the Constitution to give more powers to the union for the simple reason that in unification and over-centralisation is also implicit the threat of totalitarianism and dictatorship. In fact, the hands of the Union Government should be strengthened not by the addition of constitutional provisions but by the growth of healthy conventions.

The Role of Conventions: Practice of Parliamentary Democracy in India is inconceivable without the growth of conventions.²⁵ In fact, conventions have already grown round the Constitution. For example, planning has already led the working of the Indian Constitution towards unification and centralisation unthought of at the time of the making of the Constitution. So much so that Mr. K. Santhanam holds that for all practical purposes planning has superseded the Indian federation.²⁶

Conclusion: Conventions are likely to be changed whenever the present preponderance of the Congress Party is challenged by the establishment of rival party governments in the units. Yet it is not to be ruled out that conventions might continue to play an important role to maintain the balance between the two contending forces even when there are to be rival political party governments at the centre and the units, either because of the threats held out by the union government to use the extreme powers granted to them under the constitution or may be, optimistically, because of the growth of public opinion behind them.

25. See Alexandrowicz, *op. cit.*

26. Santhanam, K., *op. cit.*, p. 56.



A NEGLECTED CHAPTER OF INDIAN HISTORY—THE SHAHIS OF UDBHANDAPUR

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Of the epic of dynamism that this world is, Time is the hero, History, the scribe. The chariot of time passes on. It had taken its start in the remote past, it traversed the medieval age, it has left behind the immediate past and now the wheels move on in the present, ready to enter the path of the future unknown. Tireless is the speed, ceaseless is the motion, relentless is the progress. History can record only a portion of the ever-multiplying events, that spring out of its onward march.

In what we read as history of a country, the achievements of an age are emphasised, and their bearings on the age following, are pointed out, the landmarks in its civilization are outlined, and their links with the story of the progress of mankind are discovered. Failures in national or human efforts do of course, come by turns, and they are analysed and commented upon. These failures furnish the background for shedding lustre upon the totality of the aspirations and achievements of an age or of a nation or of a dynasty. But when a failure is unredeemed and absolute, history ignores it or refers to it sparingly.

Such is the failure of the Shahis of Udbhandapur. Their endeavour bearing no results, is lost in the din and bustle of the political and military exploits of the Ghaznavides, of Sabuktigin and Sultan Mahmud. Sultan Mahmud's expeditions—17 in number within 26 years, into the heart of India, his desecration and plunder of the temples of Hindusthan, his indiscriminate massacres, his role as the cruel path-finder of Muslim Rule in India and finally the utter ineffectiveness of Hindu efforts to stop the march of his dauntless cavaliers—all these form the theme for discussion in the history of India during the first quarter of the eleventh century A.D.

That a Hindu dynasty of north-western India was wiped out of its very existence in the act of opposing Mahmud all these years, from all possible and impossible situations, escapes our serious notice. The story of this

opposition begins with Jaipal who had his encounter first with Sabuktigin, Mahmud's father, and ends with Bhimpal who died in 1026, the last year of Mahmud's Indian expeditions. The Shahis never succeeded, they never yielded either.

We, however, get practically nothing about the Shahis from Indian sources. They come to us from the pen of Utbi, the contemporary author of *Tarikh-i-Yamāni*, and some other Muslim writers. Utbi was Sultan Mahmud's court chronicler and was deeply prejudiced against everything Hindu. So, what little we know of them, we know from the enemy's side. No bard has sung their heroic ballads, no dramatist has had any plot to weave around them, no poet has composed a panegyric on them, no patriot has taken any inspiration from their example, no historian, perhaps, has yet added a chapter on them to a book of Indian history. The Shahis occupy a neglected corner of our advanced historical study.

The present article is but an humble attempt to know this dynasty, to discover the lotus that blossomed in the midst of the mud and filth which the Hindu society and polity of northern India had accumulated, on the eve of its downfall. At the outset, the writer acknowledges his debts to Dr. Iswari Prasad, Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Dr. H. C. Roy Choudhuri, Dr. D. C. Ganguly and some other eminent historians of modern India, whose treatment of the deeds of the Shahis, though more or less incidental, contains some valuable informations.

The kingdom of the Shahis lay in the north-western India; on the north was Kashmir, on the east, river Chandra-bhaga, on the south, Multan and on the west was Lamghan; the capital was at Waihand or Udbhandapur. In these hilly tracts lie the Khaibar Pass and modern Peshwar. Once in the past the kingdom of Porus or Puru, the heroic opponent of Alexander covered the eastern region of this land. Our knowledge about the origin of the Shahis is meagre. It is said that a

military adventurer Lalliya by name, established this dynasty in the third decade of the 9th Century A.D. The name of the founder, that of the dynasty and the characteristics of the kings and their men—all lead to the conclusion that they had in their veins the blood of the foreign invaders of India. The Greeks, the Palhavas, the Sakas, the Kushans and the Huns, and the Gurjaras—all came by turns and won and ruled in India; in course of time the vigour and vitality of the civilization of this ancient land conquered them; they mixed and married here and were Indianised. The Rajputs were a product of this admixture, a proud example of India's synthetic and assimilative genius and these Rajputs, proudly conscious of their pure Kshatriya lineage, inspired by the ideals of sacrifice for a cause, have contributed a chapter of unprecedented chivalry in the medieval history of India. This is true also about the Shahis, though historians hesitate to call them Rajputs. The Shahis combined in them Hindu pride and prestige, extraordinary fortitude, inhuman forbearance and exemplary devotion to the ideal. The first great king of this dynasty was Jaipal, whose reign perhaps began in 965 and ended in 1002. Iswari Prasad calls him the Raja of Bhatinda, and Udbhandapur was admittedly his capital.

There had already arisen in the North-Western sky of India a cloud, no bigger than a man's hand, getting ready to spread out and burst forth into a storm. Alaptagin a Turkish adventurer founded Ghazni, a Kingdom of great promise, to the South of Kabul and this happened two years earlier than Jaipal's coming to the Shahi throne. In 977, Sabuktigin, his slave and son-in-law, succeeded him. He was powerful, he was ambitious; and Ghazni became in no time, the capital of a big Kingdom of Afghanistan. Its eastern arm touched the fringe of the Hindu Shahi Kingdom. The Mullahs and Muftis inspired him with the ideals of proselytizing Islam, the lure of Indian gold gave him the extra-stimulant; and Sabuktigin declared 'Zehad' against the neighbouring Kingdom in India, a land of idolaters and infidels. Thus began frontier raids, massacre of the innocents and plunder of

the riches. Sabuktigin conquered some forts and captured a few towns, "which had upto that time," writes the contemporary Muslim chronicler with pride, "been tenanted by infidels and not trodden by the camels and horses of Musalmans."

And Jaipal was exasperated, the groans of his people subjected to cruel sufferings at the frontier had reached his ears and he swore vengeance. Followed by an well-equipped army he crossed Lamghan and made a desperate dash for Ghazni.

But adversity followed him at every step. Amir Sabuktigin's troops had encamped in the hilly tracts beyond Lamghan and Jaipal's army met them in a terrible encounter. Then arose all on a sudden, a dangerous snow-storm and its effect on Jaipal's army was disastrous.

An interesting story is told by Muslim chroniclers in connection with this first battle of Jaipal with Sabuktigin, which took place in 986-987 A.D. The Hindu army was rapidly gaining ground and Sabuktigin, it is said, took to unchivalrous means in order to defeat Jaipal. The Ukba Ghazak Hill, at whose feet Jaipal had encamped bore a tradition that it would raise terrible snow-storm and whirland if impure filth would be thrown in the fountain, gushing out of it. Sabuktigin did the same and there was a stormy blast accompanied with thunder which swept away Jaipal's army. This is of course, a fable which sober history would discountenance. But coming, as it does, from the pen of the anti-Hindu Muslim writers, it at least, proved that Jaipal was not defeated by Sabuktigin in a straight and fair battle.

Jaipal thought it unwise to proceed further with his depleted army and sued for peace. Sabuktigin was inclined to accept Jaipal's offer but Sabuktigin's son Mahmud, the future hero of Turkish Islam, was against the truce and urged his father to proceed and destroy the Kafir, for the sake of "the honour of Islam and of Musalmans." And Jaipal's envoys came back.

Again the envoys went to Sabuktigin and this time with a personal letter from Jaipal. This letter is preserved in Utbi's *Tarikh-i-Yamani*. It says, "You have seen the impetuosity of the Hindus and their indifference to death, whenever any cala-

imity befalls them, as at this moment. If, therefore, you refuse to grant peace in the hope of obtaining plunder, tribute, elephants and prisoners, then there is no alternative for us but to mount the horse of stern determination, destroy our property, take out the eyes of our elephants, cast our children into the fire and rush on each other with sword and spear, so that all that will be left to you will be stones and dirt, dead bodies and scattered bones." Comment on this is superfluous. It can only be said that this was not an empty threat nor a mere high-sounding brag. The Shahis turned their fruitful realms into a desolate desert, before they were crushed by Sultan Mahmud.

And now both the father and the son agreed to accept the treaty. Jaipal promised to give a compensation of ten lacs of Dirhams, a present of some forts and towns and fifty elephants, and came back home, accompanied by two top-ranking Turkish military officers of Sabuktigin. But Jaipal never meant to keep the promise and imprisoned the two officers. Jaipal perhaps knew that the value of a promise in the field of diplomacy depends on expediency.

Turkish Islam only gave him a breathing space by accepting his treaty, which was nothing but a temporary cessation of hostilities. He must prepare for the final showdown with the Turks, that was inevitable. So, he would utilise that period in forming a coalition with other Hindu powers of the north for the defence of India. The choice was clearly between two extremes—either triumph and preservation of the Hindu cause and culture from the onslaughts of ever-expanding Islam or defeat and complete annihilation. Jaipal, himself ruling over the Frontier Kingdom, bordering upon Muslim Afghanistan, knew the nature of Islamic expansion well. Fanned by the Mullahs and Muftis the zeal of the neophytes that the Turkish Musalmans had been, would not stop short of converting the Indian Dar-ul-harb into Dar-ul-Islam. Why should Jaipal then grant concessions which would mean further increase of hunger? Honesty and straightforwardness are foolishness *par excellence* in the field of diplomacy; and for that the Hindu paid dearly in his encounter with the Muslim.

Jaipal was not going to do that, for Islamic diplomacy would never reciprocate. And he broke the promise.

Jaipal's efforts to unite the Hindu Princes had hardly begun when Sabuktigin fell upon him in a hurricane speed, demolished his frontier defence and annexed Lamghan to the Ghaznavide Empire. Sabuktigin however, could not proceed further as he had planned, because more urgent business at home demanded his immediate presence. Jaipal found time to assess his loss and his worthlessness. But he did not despair, he gave the clarion call to the Rajput Princes and there came the immediate response from the Chauhans of Ajmere, the Chandelas of Kalinjar and the Pratiharas of Kanauj. The allied army was organised, Jaipal breathed his patriotic spirit into that huge army, which according to Utbi, consisted of more than a lac of soldiers.

This memorable battle was fought at the field near Lamghan. Sabuktigin's army, well-armed and resolute, inspired by the ideals of a 'zihad' was divided into several squadrons of 500 men each. Each squadron fell upon Jaipal's army by turns with maces in hand; when one squadron was exhausted, it was immediately relieved by another and the unceasing onslaughts fell like torrents, giving the Hindus no respite. The strength of the Hindu army was exhausted at last, and that was the opportunity for the Muslims to combine and defeat the enemy in a sharp engagement. Thus ended the battle where the old order yielded place to the new. The old-fashioned, worn-out Hindu military system was blown off, so to say, before the gust of the new and improved method of warfare adopted by the Musalmans. And this would be repeated with more disastrous results. Jaipal had now to agree to a humiliating treaty. He went under Ghaznavide overlordship, gave Sabuktigin a huge compensation of gold and elephants and ceded a portion of his territories including Peshwar to the Ghaznavide Amir. And Islam penetrated the North-West of India.

Then came Mahmud to the throne of Ghazni after a brief war of succession that followed Sabuktigin's death in 997 A.D. Mahmud was the eldest and the ablest. As

Sultan of Ghazni, he proved to be one of the greatest personalities of Islamic history. If we look upon Mahmud as a leader of the army, a builder of the empire, a patron of learning, a champion of Islam, and an architect of the most imposing city and court to which scholars and poets of different climes were attracted, he appears great. But this is all from the Ghaznavide standpoint. To us, students of Indian history, Mahmud is no more than a greedy plunderer, a blood-thirsty fanatic, a precursor of Timur and Nadir Shah.

Sultan Mahmud's first expedition in India (1000 A.D.) ended with the plunder and capture of some fortresses to the west of the Shahi Kingdom. It was in 1001 that he met Jaipal, his father's old enemy in a battle near Peshwar. Jaipal was worn out with age, bearing scars of wound on his body and fatigue in mind. Still he was undaunted. He desperately fell upon Mahmud's army. But the victory, as usual, was not his. Utbi writes, "the Musalmans killed 15,000 Hindus, spreading them like a carpet over the ground, and making them food for beasts and birds of prey." Jaipal, with a number of his kinsmen was captured, pearls, jewels and rubies fell as booty in the conqueror's hand. Udbhandapur was also plundered. Jaipal then purchased his release by agreeing to keep his son and grandson as hostages and securities in Ghazni; 50 elephants were given in addition.

Life after this humiliation was unbearable for this old man. Jaipal felt that a thoroughly discredited man that he was, he should make room for others to take charge of the defence of the motherland. To continue as king was a fault, nay a sin. He would atone for the sin by ending his life into the fire. And that he did, true to the traditions of his race, after anointing his brave son, Anandapal to the throne.

We have this information from Muslim historians like Utbi and Ferishta; no historian or poet of the Shahi court gives us anything about this grim tragedy in the life of a heroic king. It was in 1002 or 1003 A.D.

For four years, there was comparative quietness, and Anandapal found time to re-

organise his kingdom. According to the treaty, he was a subordinate ally of Mahmud but there was hardly any friendly understanding between them. In 1006, Mahmud wanted passage through the Shahi territories in the Punjab in order to go to Multan for punishing Daud, its unorthodox carmathian muslim ruler. Anandapal refused, for Daud was his ally. That enraged Mahmud who marched with army to punish Anandapal and force his way through the Punjab. Anandapal blocked Mahmud near Peshwar but was defeated in the battle. Anandapal fled towards Kashmir, and Mahmud had his passage to Multan.

Utbi relates in his *Tarikh-i-Yamani*, an interesting story of a Shahi renegade. Sukhpal, or Sevakpal, a grandson of Jaipal, was converted to Islam and named Nawas Shah; he was perhaps one of the hostages of Jaipal at Ghazni. Mahmud liked him and took him as his companion in his expedition against Anandapal and Daud. Mahmud's absence in India was the opportunity for the king of Kashgarh to invade Ghazni and Mahmud had to hurry back home, as the news reached him. Sukhpal was kept in charge of the Indian affairs of Mahmud. Sukhpal's Shahi blood now assented itself, and he renounced Islam and declared himself an independent ruler of the Indian possessions of Mahmud and perhaps, tried to establish contact with his uncle, Anandapal. Mahmud, of course, foiled all these attempts and severely punished Sukhpal. The story of Sukhpal amply testifies to the depth of Shahi blood and tradition, which even Islam could not erase.

Let us come back to Anandapal. He had fled not for saving himself but for raising an army and to inspire the Rajput chiefs by his actions and words. He was emulating his father's example from a situation much more precarious. In 1008-9 A.D. occurred the memorable sixth expedition of Mahmud whose aim was to teach Anandapal, his life's lesson for his audacity to organise a united hindu opposition.

Ujjain, Gwalior, Kalinjar, Kanauj, Delhi, Ajmere and some other Rajput states liberally sent men and money, in response to the clarion call of Anandapal. The huge

allied army was organised and Anandapal was to lead it on to the Peshwar frontier where Sultan Mahmud would be opposed. This mighty combination of Hindu India against Islam would, if true, counteract the general notion that the fall of the Hindus was due to their disunion and internecine quarrels. That the Hindu rulers could sink their petty differences and form an effective union at times of national emergency was illustrated once in Jaipal's reign. Anandapal's magnetic and inspiring leadership made this unity a mightier reality still. The causes of the fall of Hindu India should, therefore, be sought for elsewhere.

But Dr. Iswari Prasad and other modern historians of India do not give much credence to this unique achievement of Anandapal's leadership. Ferishta, who tells us this story of Hindu confederacy, has often betrayed in his writings a tendency to exaggerate. Ferishta belongs to a period much later; and most of what he writes about the earlier periods do not stand scrutiny. Dr. Iswari Prasad remarks that Anandapal might have given the patriotic call but the response was not perhaps so encouraging. The malady of disunity and mutual jealousy among Rajput princes was too deep for any such mighty combination. Had it been otherwise, had the Hindu national sentiment been so predominant in medieval times, the history of India would have been written in a different way.

But the question still remains open. Did Hindu India have its downfall because of disunity alone or was there any other cause more potent? The answer would be given in the battle-field of Udbhandapur, where Sultan Mahmud would now be opposed by the allied army of Anandapal.

It has been admitted even by Dr. Iswari Prasad that Anandapal's army was very large and that it was inspired by the national sentiment and that there was a mixture of outside armies in it. In Anandapal's own country, it became a veritable people's war. Anandapal was the king and he was more. He was the hero, the leader of the nation, the idealist, the stern realist. People, young and old, volunteered in thousands to do or die: rich ladies gave their ornaments to meet the extraordinary

war expenses; mothers adorned their own sons in military uniforms, bidding them adieu with tearful eyes; wives helped their husbands dress themselves as soldiers for the country's freedom: the poor citizens too, did not lag behind. They contributed their all, their small earnings and their services. Such was the preparation of Anandapal. Hardly any parallel to it can be drawn from medieval history, when nationalism was not born.

Utbi writes all about it and we should remember that to Utbi everything hindu was an anathema. Utbi further tells us that Mahmud, the bravest of the brave, with a huge and specially-trained army crossed the Sindhu and came opposite to Anandapal's troops, so magnificently arrayed in the field of Udbhandapur. Mahmud was deeply impressed.

And the battle began. The redoubtable and fierce Khokars, 30,000 strong coming from Multan and other Western districts near river Sindhu threw their lot with Anandapal and took charge of the attack. These Khokars, bare-footed and bare-headed, with open daggers and spears in hand rushed like so many ferocious animals in the thick of the fight and killed and maimed and destroyed Mahmud's soldiers in thousands. It was, as if a revelry of death upon which the Khokars feasted. Mahmud's staunch heart began to ache, he was dismayed, he began to recede, he thought of 'ceasefire'—a thing unusual in the career of this Asiatic conqueror.

But the goddess of victory did not forsake Mahmud even now. Suddenly the tables were turned and Hindu victory was converted into a reverse of the highest magnitude. Anandapal was commanding his army, seated on a gorgeous elephant at the fore-front of the battle-field. All of a sudden the elephant was frightened and turned back and began to fly. Anandapal, with all his might, tried to check its retreat but the mischief had been already done. The Hindus were panic-stricken and took the retreating elephant of the King as the signal for their flight. At once there was a stampede, and in utter confusion the Hindu soldiers began to fly helter-skelter. The Turks took full advantage of the situation.

Abdulla Tai and Arslan Zazib, two Generals of Mahmud with their soldiers, hotly pursued the enemy for two days and nights. Hindus in thousands were captured and killed and an enormous booty fell into the hands of the victors. And Mahmud's victory was complete.

Such had been the ultimate fate of initial Hindu victories in many battles, even before and after this battle of Udbhandapur. The reason is clearly the defective military system of the Hindus. The Hindus refused to learn and stuck to their old-fashioned system and tradition. There might be pompous aristocracy in possessing and riding elephants; once in the past, elephants had effectiveness too, in the battle-field. But the Musalmans came on horse-back and horse meant much more speed and agility. Pitted against the sharpness and speed of the Musalman soldiers who were armed with the more improved and up-to-date weapons, the Hindu method of warfare proved ultimately worse than useless. Again, the Hindus, perhaps, became incapable of sustained action, got elated at initial successes and neglected the final and crucial stage of a battle. This was suicidal.

The battle of Udbhandapur is one of the most decisive battles in the story of Turkish penetration into India. The Shahi kingdom was annexed to the Ghaznavide empire, the north-western gates of India,—the Khyber Pass passed permanently into the hands of the Turks and the way to the interior of northern India was kept permanently open. Incidentally it may be remembered that the Shahi kingdom was the only acquisition of territories in India by Sultan Mahmud. He came to India eleven times more but only to plunder and kill, and to serve Islam. Never again did Sultan Mahmud have this terrible experience of battle as at Udbhandapur. Anandapal lost, because providence was against him, because the Turkish method of warfare was superior to the Hindu method, because Sultan Mahmud was a heaven-born general. Anandapal risked his whole kingdom for saving Hindu India, for securing the rich treasures of the Ganga-Jamuna regions. He was the custodian, the gate-keeper of north-western India. He did as his father had done, nay he did more.

Till 1009 A.D. he had opposed Mahmud in spite of heaviest odds, making his kingdom the battle-field, and never allowed Mahmud to pass till he was not defeated. The defeat at Udbhandapur compelled him to leave his motherland permanently and fly.

Anandapal fled and took shelter in the fort of Nagarkote or Kangra with some faithful followers. Mahmud fell upon Nagarkote, plundered the fort, took an immense booty and returned. Anandapal again fled. He was exhausted, wounded and exiled; but still his spirits were high. He carved for himself a small kingdom in the salt range with Nandana as his headquarters, he would neither submit to nor cease to fight with Mahmud. He sought for co-operation of the king of Kashmir against the enemy, not for himself alone, but for the whole of Hindusthan. Dismay was not in Anandapal's dictionary, forbearance was his creed, to secure safety and purity of Hindusthan from iconoclastic Muslim inroads was his religion. And for this religion he was moving from pillar to post, from post to pillar.

Such a thing did once more happen 563 years after, when Prōtap became the Rana of Mewar. The Mughal inflicted a crushing defeat upon Rana Protap in 1576 at Haldighat or Gogunda. Protap fled and created all possible obstacles in the path of consolidation of Mughal rule in Mewar; and all these he did, while he was single-handed and in hiding, other Rajput chiefs having submitted to the Mughal Emperor, Akbar. In the inimitable language of Tod, "Single-handed for a quarter of a century, did he (Protap) withstand the combined efforts of the empire, at one time carrying destruction into the plains, at another flying from rock to rock, feeding his family from the fruits of his native hills and rearing the nursling hero Amar, amidst savage beasts and scarcely less savage men, a fit heir to his prowess and revenge."

The above appreciation applies in substance, to Anandapal, too. There are, of course, variations in situations and details. The battle of Haldighat is comparable with the battle of Udbhandapur, at least in consequences. Instead of Amar Singh there was Trilochanpal, reared up to the redoubt-

able traditions of the Shahis. The hardships that Protap and Anandapal suffered were the same. But Protap was single-handed, while Anandapal got response from other Rajput princes to his appeal for the defence of northern India. Anandapal worked hard for the Hindu national cause, even when the chance of getting back his paternal kingdom was irretrievably lost, while Protap worked for the recovery of his own kingdom, Mewar, and could succeed partially before he died. The enemies of these two Hindu heroes are also comparable in one respect, at least. Both Akbar and Mahmud never knew what was defeat. But Akbar was the national emperor of India and Mahmud was an invading general more inclined towards plunder and persecution than towards conquest and construction. Here Akbar and Mahmud are fundamentally different.

Protap's glories are sung from every hearth and home of India, Protap's heroism and sacrifice have been the subject for study, appreciation and reflection and also getting inspiration from. There is Tod, a hero-worshipping Englishman, who has compiled the anecdotes and fables and also facts of history about Protap, and painted him with a deep brush. But Anandapal has no Tod, and his glories lie concealed. There are around him no legends, far less any sober historical writings, contemporaneous or subsequent. Anandapal's heroism and sacrifice are unsung and unwept.

We do not, however, know for certain if Anandapal, no longer the proud king of Udbhandapur, but a mere chief of the small principality of Nandana did have any more clash with Mahmud. Ferishta writes, while Mahmud was carrying on his Thaneswar expedition (1014 A.D.), he received from Anandapal, a strongly-worded letter telling him to desist from this expedition and never to desecrate the temple of Chakraswamin there—a temple, which made Thaneswar the place of pilgrimage for Hindus of all quarters. Dr. Iswari Prasad remarks that Anandapal had, perhaps, died earlier and that the writer of this letter was Trilochanpal, the son and heir to the precarious legacy and unbending pride of Anandapal. It is said that in that letter Mahmud was promised

the gift of more elephants, if he would give up the Thaneswar raid. It is a striking example of unique solicitude felt by the Shahi monarch for the total good of India, and this bold and noble sentiment was expressed at a time when the Shahis were mere fugitives. Mahmud, however, carried out his relentless plan, the temple was looted and the imposing image of Chakraswamin, so pleasing to the Hindu devotees, was carried away to Ghazni and kept for public view in an open park.

In the 17th Century, Rana Raj Singh of Mewar and Sivajee, the father of the Marhatta nation wrote two remarkable letters to Aurangzib protesting against the reimposition of the *Zezia*. These letters are valuable documents preserved and read with interest. That one from Anandapal (or Trilochanpal) is lost in oblivion.

The said letter must have exasperated Mahmud and immediately after the sack of Thaneswar, he attacked Nandana and occupied it. Accounts of the siege and capture of Nandana in Muslim chronicles are conflicting. Nizamuddin in his *Tabquat-i-Akbari*, tells us that at that time the king of Nandana was Narojaipal, perhaps, meaning Trilochanpal, grandson of Shahi Jaipal. He had gone to Kashmir to enlist Sangramraja's support against Mahmud's invasion. The fort of Nandana was in charge of Trilochanpal's young and brave son, Bhimpal, assisted by a body of picked soldiers. Utbi calls Bhimpal, Nidar-Bhim, of whose dash and courage even Utbi has spoken highly. Nandana fell. Trilochanpal with the Kashmiri soldiers reached his capital when it was too late. He tried hard to recover it but failed, Mahmud was angry with Kashmir now and marched northward and reached the lower valley bordering on Kashmir. That was ransacked. A mosque was erected there for the spread of Islam. Mahmud did not enter the interior of Kashmir.

Trilochanpal's reign is a repetition of his father's,—it is a repetition of woes and sufferings, of desperate courage and tremendous sacrifice. Nandana was gone. Trilochanpal shifted further east and carved out his new kingdom within the Sewalik hills in eastern Punjab. He became

an ally of the powerful Chandella ruler, Vidyadhara of Bundelkhand, and it was for the common purpose of organising opposition against Mahmud.

Mahmud in the meantime had progressed far into the interior of India. Rajyapal, the last and cowardly Proti-hara emperor of Kanauj had submitted to Mahmud without fighting. It was interpreted by the patriotic Rajput chiefs as a national humiliation. Rajyapal, though emperor only in name, was the descendant of those great imperial Proti-hara Rajputs who had once united the whole of northern India under Kanauj and ruled over it for generations, the different Rajput states had then formed parts of that proud empire. The glories of imperial Kanauj were now a thing of the past, Rajyapal was just a local ruler. But still he was the symbol of unity, the remnant, though tragic, of a great imperial past. And Vidyadhara, the formidable Chandella Rajput chief entered Kanauj and killed Rajyapal, and wiped out the shame of the Rajputs.

Mahmud heard the news, was terribly enraged and determined to punish the Rajput Confederacy already formed by Vidyadhara. In apprehension of Mahmud's attack, Trilochanpal joined that Confederacy.

It was Trilochanpal's last chance. Jaipal and Anandapal had been always at the forefront of Hindu India against Mahmud, because they were the gate-keepers of the north-west. Trilochanpal would now do the same. He would advance with his men to the strategic point at the bank of the river Ram-Ganga or Rahut, keeping the allied Rajput army behind. Mahmud would at first meet him at the gate of the Ganga-Jamuna regions. It was Trilochan's pride, it was his tradition, the tradition of dying first for the cause, dearest to his heart.

And Trilochanpal blocked the way of Mahmud. Mahmud was surprised at this unusually consistent vigour of all the Shahis, with that surprise was perhaps mixed up the admiration of his heroic heart. In the battle of Ramganga, the inevitable happened. Mahmud steered clear his course to meet the allied Rajput army. We need not pursue Mahmud in his subsequent doings. That is irrelevant for our theme.

What exactly happened to Trilochanpal after this battle, we do not know. It is given out by muslim chroniclers that Trilochanpal was killed by his own followers in or about 1021 A.D. The reasons are not mentioned. Was it because of the fact that these faithful followers of the Shahi king, at last lost their patience and mutinied and killed their master? For quarter of a century they were subjected to protracted sufferings. Through hills and forests they were followed like shadows with three generations of mad kings, tasting defeat after defeat, denial after denial, hardship after hardship.

On the bed of thorns, mis-called the throne of the petty Siwalik Hill state, now sat Bhimpal, the last of the Shahis. We have already seen his heroic but futile attempts to save the fort of Nandana. What more he did after becoming the king, we know not. He was to play in the last act of this tragic drama, the role of a determined hero with the sigh, with the longing of a forlorn man. Bhimpal died in 1026 A.D. His death was the extinction of the Shahi line, it was the end of a tradition. After the fall of the Shahis, the Punjab became a province of the Ghaznavide empire and the North-Western Frontier of Hindu India was shifted East-ward, to the West of the Ganga-Jamuna valley.

Our story is told—a story of complete dedication to a cause, wherein the failures have around them a ring of unusual fortitude, at once pathetic and ennobling. No surrender, no patchwork, no compromise. marked this story of desperate rashness. The Shahis staked their all, their country, their very existence. Their sacrifice to a man, leaves behind a moral to adorn a sad tale. If ever there is glory in failures, it is here in the annals of Udbhandapur.

Even Utbi could not suppress his admiration at places while dealing with the Shahis in his *Tarikh-i-Yamani*. Kalhasa in his *Raja-tarangini*, makes a proud mention of the Shahis when he writes that Didda, the most heroic queen of Kashmir had in her veins the blood of the Shahis through her mother.

From All-Beruni, the Arab savant in

Mahmud's court, who did not allow his vision to be blurred and judgment to be vitiated by fanaticism and partisanship, emanate these lines, which will serve as the fitting epitaph to Shahis greatness:—

"The Hindu Sahi dynasty is now extinct,

and of the whole house there is no longer the slightest remnant in existence. We must say that in all their grandeur, they never slackened in the ardent desire of doing that which is good and right, that they were men of noble sentiment and noble bearing."

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IRAQ'S FOREIGN POLICY

By CHANAKYA SEN

The outlines of the foreign policy of the Iraqi Republic were defined in the First Declaration of the Revolution issued immediately after July 14, 1958. It stated that the Revolution had taken place in order to end foreign domination and that the Republic would adhere to the policy of positive neutrality in accordance with the principles of the United Nations and the Bandung Charter.

In pursuance of this broad policy, one of the first tasks of the Iraqi Government was to abrogate the Baghdad Pact and the various open and secret military and economic commitments the former regime of Nuri es Said had entered into with the Western powers, notably Great Britain and the United States. After the abrogation of the Baghdad Pact came the withdrawal of foreign troops from Iraq. The two British military bases in Iraq were evacuated after some protracted negotiations with Great Britain.

The new Republican Government sought diplomatic relations with all countries of the world which were prepared to enter these relations on the basis of friendship and equality. Nuri es Said had kept Iraq as a close preserve of the Western powers, but within a few months of the revolution diplomatic relations were established not only with the countries of the Socialist bloc but also with a host of African nations, especially those who were trying to follow the policy of non-alignment.

In the first year of the Revolution the task of the Government was to extricate

Iraq from its military and economic entanglements with the Western powers. An equally important task was to establish new relations with the neighbouring Arab countries.

Nuri es Said had taken upon himself implementation of Western policies in the Arab world; he was actually working as an agent of the Western powers. Not only did he bring Iraq within the Baghdad Pact, he also tried, without success, to set up a Middle East Defence Organization under Western leadership, which would cover the Arab Middle East.

This had led to an impasse with Egypt. The Royal Government of Iraq had no diplomatic relations with the revolutionary regime of Col. Nasser and a war of attrition had been going on between Cairo and Baghdad.

The Iraqi Republican Government began by consolidating relations with the liberated Arab countries. It immediately recognized the United Arab Republic and concluded with it an agreement of mutual cooperation which was followed by several cultural and economic agreements.

It should be remembered that the Iraqi revolution took place at a most crucial period in Arab history. American troops had landed in the Lebanon and British troops in Jordan in 1957. The Eisenhower doctrine had been proclaimed. Civil war was raging in the Lebanon, where the Government had been accusing Egypt of trying to subvert the constitutionally established regime. Towards the end of 1957 Syria came

forward with the proposal for merger with Egypt. The United Arab Republic was born in February 1958. There was tension and a climate of crisis all over the Middle East. The Turkish Government massed troops on the Iraqi border. At this juncture Nuri es-Said decided in secret with the Western powers to send a military force to Syria. This military force was led by a brigadier named Kassem and a colonel named Arif. On July 13, orders were given to this force to march through Baghdad into Syria. Both Nuri es-Said and King Faisal were ready to leave for Ankara for a crucial conference of the Baghdad Pact Ministerial Council. By one of the curious tricks of history, the military force which was to have marched into Syria from Baghdad halted in the capital city and struck at Nuri es-Said's regime. That was the birth of the Revolution.

When the Revolution took place, President Nasser was conferring in Brioni with Marshal Tito. Instead of returning to Cairo, he flew to Moscow for talks with the Soviet Government, and from Moscow he returned straight to Damascus where a high-powered delegation from Iraq, led by Col. Arif, came to see him. It was the high tide of Arab solidarity. Unfortunately, it lasted only for a brief period.

The revolutionary Iraqi Government, therefore, began by consolidating its relations not only with the United Arab Republic but also with the new forces which were rising all over the Arab land: the nationalists in the Lebanon who were trying to establish a neutral regime and anti-monarchist forces in Jordan and Saudi Arabia. The outbreak of the Iraqi revolution, the collapse of the old regime and the

impetus it gave to the general Arab insurrection hastened the withdrawal of foreign troops from the Lebanon and Jordan.

In Iraq itself, however, the Revolutionary Council was divided on the question of relations with the U.A.R. While Col. Arif was in favour of an immediate merger with



Premier Abdul Karim Quassim

the United Arab Republic, thereby laying the foundation of a powerful, geographically large Arab state stretching from the Nile to the Euphrates, Brigadier Kassem was not prepared to go beyond brotherly relations. It would appear that President

Nasser was inclined to back the integrating elements in the Iraqi Revolutionary Council. This rather precipitated the crisis within the Council. There was a split, fatal for the cause of Arab unity.

Within a year of the Revolution the Iraqi Republic was unfortunately entangled in a wasting and vitriolic war of nerves with the United Arab Republic. This has been one of the most unfortunate contemporary developments in the Arab world. But for it, Arab unity might have been based on stronger foundations and the two revolutions in the two most ancient countries of the Arab world might have joined together to create a great emotional upsurge, permanently weakening the feudal and reactionary forces all over the Middle East.

The rift with the United Arab Republic compelled Iraq to take up a defensive attitude in its foreign policies. For the U.A.R. was not only the bigger country, the position of President Nasser in the international community was much stronger than that of Prime Minister Kassem. Recent events, however, have tended to justify Kassem's refusal to merge with the U.A.R. The totally unexpected defection of Syria from the U.A.R. would appear to have confirmed Kassem's belief that the Arab states are far from ready to merge their national frontiers and identities into a bigger political personality. It has been Kassem's view that unity of the Arabs can only be achieved on federal lines; that each Arab country should be allowed to maintain its national sovereignty and political and social institutions within a federation of Arab states; that this federation should be only a loose one with a minimum list of federal subjects, such as foreign policy and defence of the Arab world from outside aggression.

As President Nasser had admitted, Syria's defection has been a tremendous setback for Arab unity. In the years to come the search for unity will have to be on federal lines, if it is not to be altogether halted.

While the quarrel with Cairo and a series of internal convulsions minimized the importance of Iraq's international role, the Iraqi Government itself tried to follow a more or less consistent foreign policy. From

the fundamental concept of positive neutrality there was no departure; even in its relations with neighbouring Arab countries, Prime Minister Kassem has almost always been non-interfering and correct. He has turned a cold shoulder to various proposals from Jordan for an anti-Nasser alliance; his relations with Saudi Arabia have never been more rigidly correct. Friendly relations have prevailed with the Lebanon. Relations with the U.A.R. have never been quite entirely friendly since the rift within the Iraqi Revolutionary Council, but in 1960 an improvement was noticed. Both countries called off the radio warfare. While the press in Iraq and U.A.R. continued to indulge in mutual criticisms, at Government level there was a cautious attempt at better relations, particularly in the economic and cultural fields.

With Syria's defection from the U.A.R., Iraq's relations with Egypt are now likely to improve. Prime Minister Kassem who has proved himself to be a shrewd judge of events, has taken an astonishingly correct attitude on the Syrian question. While he welcomes the restoration of Syria's political sovereignty, he is also aware that the new Syrian regime is economically reactionary and that its leaders belong to the feudal class against whom in Iraq the revolutionary government has been waging a ceaseless campaign. Kassem, therefore, was rather lukewarm in his first brief pronouncements on Syria's withdrawal from the U.A.R. He knows that after the break-up of the United Arab Republic there is likely to be a counter-revolutionary revival in the Arab world. He seems to admit that the forces represented by Saudi Arabia, Jordan and the new regime in Syria present a threat to the revolutionary forces represented by Egypt and Iraq. Prime Minister Kassem also seems to realize that in his dispute with the British oil interests in Iraq he must have the support of President Nasser. It is, therefore, quite likely that in the months to come there may be a **rapprochement** between President Nasser and Prime Minister Kassem. It is one of the unfortunate aspects of contemporary Middle Eastern development that these two leaders have not yet met to sort out their differences. Such

a meeting in the foreseeable future cannot be ruled out.

Iraq's claim to Kuwait has appeared to many countries within and outside the Arab world to be adventurist. Perhaps the timing of it and the way it was projected to the outside world were defective. But the claim was not new; it had been registered years ago even by the former Royal Government of Iraq.

For Iraq the claim is based on Kuwait's geographical and ethnic similarity with Iraq: In the Ottoman days Kuwait actually belonged to an Iraqi province, although it was ceded to Britain by the Ottoman Ruler as a protectorate. Prime Minister Kassem has, of course, an eye on Kuwait's fabulous wealth which comes exclusively from its almost unlimited oil resources. But it will be wrong to interpret Iraq's claim to Kuwait entirely on that basis.

The only portions of the Arab South where British domination still prevails is the Persian Gulf area stretching from the Gulf to the Red Sea. In this area which covers Aden, the Sheikdoms of Aden, Oman, Kuwait and other Persian Gulf territories, there is also a nationalist resistance force. This is being wooed both by Nasser and by Kassem: Iraq seems to believe that while the Aden protectorates together with the Yemen should be Nasser's sphere of influence, the Persian Gulf territories should similarly be Iraq's sphere of influence. Iraqis say that it is impossible in the present-day world for a city-state like Kuwait to exist indefinitely as a separate political entity. Sooner or later it must merge with a larger entity. This is also realized by Great Britain which has been trying to establish a federation of all the Persian Gulf Sheikdoms. Such a federation, most Arab nationalists think, would be an imperialist stronghold in West Asia. Arab opinion, therefore, is quite positively against the creation of such a foreign-propped federation. Kassem's claim to Kuwait has to be viewed together with the support he has been lending to the nationalist movement in Oman. For Iraq, however, there is another rival in this particular field other than Great Britain. It is Saudi Arabia. The grasslands on the Saudi Arabia-

Iraq-Kuwait borders are more or less undefined and there are numerous claims from each side, documented and undocumented.

The Iraqi Government registered its claim to Kuwait when Britain granted the Sheikh of Kuwait "independence" with certain conditions. Iraqis say that if the claim was not registered at that time it would have gone by default. It was perhaps a mistake on Kassem's part to back his claim by a military gesture. But the Iraqi Government explained that this military gesture was exaggerated by Western news correspondents far beyond what it actually meant. Iraq never wanted to get Kuwait by force. All that the Iraqi Government did was to send troops to the border and it certainly launched a propaganda war which unfortunately did not have much effect on the Kuwaitis. However, Kuwait forced Iraq to leave the Arab League a second time since the Revolution.

In the peculiar complex of the present inter-Arab relations the Kuwait crisis brought Iraq and Egypt a little closer to each other. Nasser was obliged to oppose the Iraqi move, but his Government at once realized that the British had made an ominous military manoeuvre in the Arab world taking advantage of the Iraqi action. The danger of a British military hold on any portion of the Arab world imperceptibly brought Nasser and Kassem closer to each other.

It would appear that the Republican Government of Iraq has been more or less absorbed in inter-Arab affairs in the past three years of its existence. Its foreign policy outside the Arab world has not been as spectacular as that of President Nasser. But Kassem has no continental ambitions of leadership. Besides, unlike Egypt, Iraq is an Asian country. It cannot and does not want to project itself to Africa. While Nasser has built up for himself a stature in the non-aligned world, Kassem has preferred to be more modest and to be satisfied with a consistent foreign policy followed with faith and conviction.

At the United Nations Iraqi delegations have supported all anti-colonial moves and have steadily worked with other non-aligned delegations to contain the cold war

and to bring the two Great Powers together. There has been no major issue, whether it was disarmament or about trusteeship, on which Iraq and the U.A.R. have not voted together. While the two countries have fought a war of nerves within the Arab world, at the international forum they have acted in unison.

In some limited spheres, however, the Iraqi Government has been remarkably active. It has rendered assistance to the Algerian Provisional Government to the tune of one million pounds including arms and other military supplies. It has also sent considerable assistance to the resistance forces in Oman.

It is interesting to note that Iraq has no foreign economic relations outside the socialist bloc. Immediately after the Revolution it signed a comprehensive economic assistance agreement with the Soviet Government. The projects which are being constructed with Soviet assistance cover agriculture, industry, education and culture. This agreement was followed with similar agreements with China, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary and the East German Republic. In the five-year development plan which has just been announced, foreign aid to the tune of eighty million pounds is expected to be received from the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia. The dispute with the British-owned oil companies prevents the United Kingdom from taking part in Iraq's development effort. There has been no offer from the United States of economic assistance to the Republican Government.

It is an interesting aspect of Kassem's psychology that he has deliberately avoided appearing in person at international conferences. Iraq was one of the invitees at the Belgrade summit of non-aligned nations. Had Kassem gone to Belgrade personally there might have been a meeting between him and Nasser. But instead of going him-

self he sent his Foreign Minister, Hashim Jawad, as his personal representative. The Kurd revolt probably prevented him from leaving the country.

Hashim Jawad is a well-known international figure who has made an impact at the United Nations as his country's chief delegate. In a speech at the Belgrade Conference, Jawad described the fundamental urges of Iraq's foreign policy. He interpreted the present international situation as a clash between three basic changes, namely, the emergence of the national revolutionary movement in many countries of the world, the emergence of a socialist bloc comprising one-third of the world population, and the spectacular progress of science and technology all over the world, especially in the field of nuclear physics and outer space exploration. Jawad said, "This state of permanent world tension and the constantly present threat of war result from the activity of those who either do not want to recognize these three revolutions or work for their suppression."

Jawad was more critical of the Western powers than of the Soviet Union. And it is remarkable that in his speech he made no mention of the nuclear explosions in the Soviet Union contributing to the present phase of international tension. This only shows that like many countries of West Asia and Africa, Iraq also is at present obsessed with its anti-Western outlook. This outlook is generated by the foreign hold on Iraq's oil resources and by the recent developments in respect of Kuwait. Jawad said, "Imperialism is the biggest obstacle on the road to peace and development of mankind. Basically the present cold war is rejection of peaceful co-existence and preparation for mutual destruction. Its justification by the need for collective security against the so-called Communist conspiracy aimed at world domination is an imposture."



ACHARYA PRAFULLA CHANDRA RAY CENTENARY AND CREATION OF AN AGRICULTURAL UNIVERSITY FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT

BY PROFESSOR N. R. DHAR,

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ON the last Christmas day in 1959, our Prime Minister, as Rector of Visva-Bharati, issued a fervent appeal to the Indian Nation for adequately celebrating the centenary of the birth of the great poet, philosopher and nationalist Rabindranath Tagore in 1961 and to perpetuate his memory. This is certainly necessary for the uplift and cultural development of our people.

Dr. D. M. Bose, nephew of Acharya Jagadish Chandra Bose and Director of the Bose Institute and Late Charu Chandra Bhattacharya, a beloved pupil of Acharya Bose emphasised on the necessity of taking up seriously the centenary of the birth of Acharya Jagadish Chandra Bose in 1958.

It seems to me that it is high time that the Indian people should move in the right direction to perpetuate the memory and to recall the great achievements of Acharya Prafulla Chandra Ray in revolutionising higher studies in science and industrialising India. Twenty-five years ago many thoughtful Indians, because of his great services to national development and suffering humanity during floods and famines, placed Acharya Ray next to Mahatma Gandhi as a great Indian.

Our beloved guru was born on the 2nd August, 1861, at Raruli-Katpara, a village situated on the bank of the river Madhumati in the Khulna district (now in East Pakistan). This village is approximately 125 miles away from Calcutta. Acharya Ray's father was a local zamindar and was a man of ideas and never missed English food in the Great Eastern Hotel, Calcutta, even when he was mourning for his father's death. The son, although born a Hindu, revolted against the caste prejudices and wrongs of the Hindu society against widows and Harijans and went into the folds of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj. Acharya Ray studied at Calcutta upto the final class of the B.A. Examination in the Metropolitan College (now Vidyasagar College). Being successful in obtaining the Gilchrist Scholarship for study abroad, he left for England before taking the

B.A. degree of the Calcutta University. Even as an undergraduate Acharya Ray was keenly interested in inspiring youngmen to take up the business line and with the help of his two elder brothers opened a bookshop in Calcutta. In 1882, he joined the Edinburgh University in the Science Faculty for a Honours degree and studied biology and chemistry. After graduation he collaborated with Prof. A. Crum Brown, Head of the Chemistry Department of Edinburgh University in research work on double salts containing cobalt sulphate and alkali sulphates and obtained the D.Sc. degree in Chemistry of the Edinburgh University and returned to Calcutta in 1887. Although he was highly qualified, he had to wait for a year for obtaining the post of a Junior Professor of Chemistry at the President College, Calcutta, on a salary of Rs. 250 per month, which he continued to draw for more than 10 years as there was no vacancy of a higher post. A vacancy was possible only when a senior incumbent died as there was no graded salaries as at present. In those days the Senior Professorships in Government Colleges in India were the monopoly of European Officers holding the B.A. or B.Sc. degrees of European Universities, specially Oxford and Cambridge. At that time the Senior Professor of Chemistry in the Presidency College, Calcutta, was Sir Alexander Pedlar, F.R.S., a pupil of the celebrated English chemist, Sir Henry E. Roscoe, F.R.S., Professor of Chemistry at the University of Manchester and subsequently Vice-Chancellor of Manchester and London Universities. Sir Alexander Pedlar rose to be the Director of Public Instruction in Bengal and Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University and was succeeded in 1906 by the great educationist and founder of post-graduate education and the college of Science and Technology in the Calcutta University, Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee. Sir Alexander Pedlar helped Acharya Ray in starting chemical investigations at the Presidency College. Shortly after joining the Presidency College, Acharya Ray discovered

mercurous nitrite in 1895, a yellow crystalline compound readily formed by the action of moderately dilute nitric acid on metallic mercury and it decomposes in water with the formation of metallic mercury and mercuric nitrite. The late Professor Jyoti Bhusan Bhaduri, M.A., P.R.S., who was a highly successful Professor of Physical Chemistry in the Presidency College for a number of years, was a student in the Presidency College in the nineties of the last century. Professor Bhaduri was interested in obtaining mercurous chloride or calomel for preparing a calomel cell and requested Acharya Ray to prepare a specimen of calomel for him. For obtaining calomel, mercurous salts are necessary. At that time text-books on Inorganic Chemistry reported the formation of a yellow mercury compound believed to be basic mercurous nitrate by the action of dilute nitric acid on mercury. But Acharya Ray found that a yellow crystalline compound containing mercury and nitrite and not nitrate is readily formed on the surface of mercury and elsewhere by the action of dilute nitric acid on mercury even in acidic solutions where the formation of a basic salt is not possible. Thus the new compound mercurous nitrite was discovered and isolated by him in a pure state and its properties were systematically studied. He published an account of these researches both in the Journal of the Chemical Society, London and in Germany in *Zeitschrift für anorganische Chemie* in 1895. From mercurous nitrite he extended his investigations to other nitrites and was recognised all over the world as a master of nitrite chemistry.

About that time he felt the need of having collaborators in pushing up his researches at a rapid rate. He frequently spoke to his friend the great Brahmo preacher, Pandit Shiv Nath Shastri, M.A., that it was not possible in India to find enthusiasm and keenness for advancement of science as in the West. But due to his learning, devotion to chemistry and inordinate affection for his pupils, able young chemists joined him in his researches, not only in inorganic and analytical chemistry but in physical and organic chemistry as well. Thus he became the creator of the first flourishing school of chemistry in India. This is a landmark in the progress of science, technology and industry in our country. The foundation of the University College of Science and Technology in 1914 by Sir Ashutosh

Mukherjee through the munificence of Sir Tarak Nath Palit, Sir Rashbehari Ghosh, the Raja of Khaira and other benefactors of education came as an offshoot and manifestation of the devotion of Acharya Ray to science and its applications.

About this time he started the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works, which is the biggest concern in this line in the whole of the East. He always insisted on youngmen not to hanker for Government jobs but to take to business and industry and follow the examples of the Marwari businessmen.

His great patriotism and learning specially in the domain of history of sciences is manifest in his famous "History of Hindu Chemistry" which is a monumental publication showing the achievements of the Hindus in chemistry and medicine in early days.

Acharya Ray was always in favour of rural uplift. In most summer vacations when the Presidency College or the College of Science was closed for nearly three months instead of spending the vacations in a hill-station, he proceeded to his native village and spent his free time with the youngmen from the neighbouring villages in moulding their character and their uplift through the improvement of education. He created a degree college in that area. He loved village life and believed in Indian progress through rural welfare.

Soon after his death in 1944, the Indian Chemical Society created the "Acharya Prafulla Chandra Ray Lecturership in Chemistry." For this function a leading chemist is invited to deliver a lecture embodying his own contributions on the birthday of our *Guru*, i.e., 2nd August. I had the honour of receiving the invitation to deliver the first Acharya P. C. Ray Memorial lecture and I stated the following lines at the beginning of the lecture :

"I had the good fortune to be closely associated with him since 1907 till his death in 1944. I was initiated by him in 1911 in investigations on the physical properties of nitrites and hyponitrites, and we published a series of joint papers on this line in the Journal of the English Chemical Society. The investigations have now formed a part of the literature in Physical and Inorganic Chemistry. My *Guru* had the impression that electric conductivity and other physical properties could not be determined in India at that time and it would be necessary for him to go to

England to obtain the "Conductivity" water needed for these experiments. A little later, with the help of my friends, Shri D. N. Bhattacharya, Shri A. K. Dutta and others, we determined the transport number of the nitrite ion by the electrolysis of silver nitrite solutions at different concentrations, dissociation constant of nitrous acid and the kinetics of the reaction between iodine and nitrite, both in light and in the dark, and the action of nitric acid on mercury, copper, zinc, etc., and several reducing agents. Hence, I followed the footsteps of my *Guru* in the study of nitrite chemistry.

"For over 25 years we have investigated the problem of nitrogen fixation and nitrogen loss with a band of able youngmen in the Chemical Laboratories of the University of Allahabad and the Sheila Dhar Institute of Soil Science with the ultimate view to ease the world food situation by increasing land fertility as cheaply as possible. Our *Guru* used to say that *Anna Chinta Chamatkara*, supply of food is the real problem of our country.

"In this connection it will be of great interest to record here the remarks of the late Prof. H. E. Armstrong in his article on 'Future of Chemistry in India' in the Acharya Prafulla Chandra Ray Memorial Volume (1932, pp. 15-16).

"The great work of the future, however, specially in India, will be the development of agriculture with the definite object in view of providing food of approved value, far higher in quality than that now produced. Only in recent years we have been able to set this before us as our object.

"We have failed thus far, even in England, to place Agriculture upon a pedestal of the highest scientific endeavour. We have had no efficient College at this end. I can imagine no higher service to India than the establishment of such an institution. Only a potential Liebig will be able to bring it into being and supervise its operations. Twenty years hence, perhaps, such a leader may be forthcoming, if meanwhile a few men who feel that they have some call to such service, some biological feeling, will set themselves in training, disregarding academic traditions and forswearing all desire to advertise that they have knocked another spot off another atom or in some other way, of remote concern to the world, made themselves exceptional.

"Competent chemists, they will carry on their studies, both in field and laboratory, in every possible and desirable direction, so as to secure a commanding knowledge of the problems of animal and plant life and of the soil. Only men so qualified, with ripened powers of imagination, will be competent to act as saviours of the people in the near future. The example Sir Prafulla Chandra Ray has set may well serve to encourage such an order into being. They will be the scientific missionaries of the future, sworn to social service alone."

About 14 years ago, I was very pleased to contribute two lakh of rupees (with interest the amount today is about 2.3 lakhs) for creating the Acharya Prafulla Chandra Ray Chair of Agricultural and Soil Chemistry in the Calcutta University. Moreover, the university already possesses the Chairs of Agriculture and Applied Botany, consequently with a Chair of animal husbandry, a fair beginning of university education is possible in the Haringhata-Kalyani area.

Haringhata certainly forms a very good nucleus for extensive and intensive studies and research work in animal husbandry. This milk-station possesses approximately 2,000 animals. A certain amount of experimental work is being carried on by the staff on the production of fodder crops and grasses and in animal physiology and pathology. This is certainly a very good beginning.

In U.S.S.R. there is now a tremendous shift of attention from grain and raw material crops to livestock production. This is not only due to meet the requirements of the Soviet nation but also to redress the damage caused by soil erosion as a result of tractor cultivation and production of cereals.

With close co-operation between the Government of India and the West Bengal Government and the University of Calcutta, there is no doubt that Haringhata can be a very valuable seat for an Agricultural University in this country, perhaps the first of its type in the whole of the East. The Government of West Bengal received over 20 lakh of rupees from the Birlas for establishing a first-rate Agricultural College at Haringhata. The buildings are going up at a good speed. Moreover, the University of Calcutta has been given 200 acres of suitable land for the development of post-graduate instruction and research in agriculture.

The senior scientific officers of the Bengal Agriculture Department, e.g., Microbiologist, Agricultural Chemist, Entomologist, Mycologist, Plant Pathologist and others, should take part in the teaching along with their research work, not only in their degree college but also in the university departments.

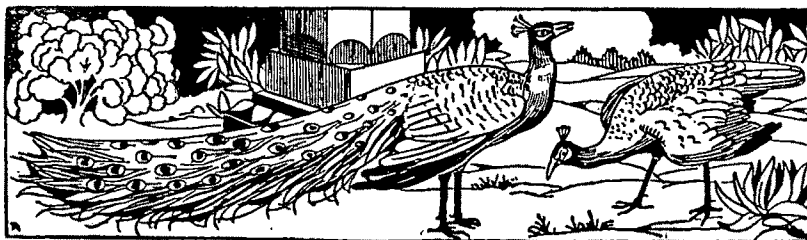
Everybody is realising that food is our first concern as a nation. Our Prime Minister is daily insisting on increased food production in this land, because the stability of a nation depends on its food standard, which in India today is very low as the Statistical Department of the United Nations at New York have unequivocally declared that India is the hungriest country in the world. Experimental psychologists and physiologists have frequently stated that when a man starves for one day, he is apt to tell a lie, after 2 days starvation he begins to steal and after 3 days without food he is prepared to kill. Hence hunger, the greatest enemy of man, is being fought by all nations vigorously.

From our researches I am convinced that crop production in Bengal, Orissa, Madras, Kerala and other parts of India can be definitely improved by converting the saline and alkaline soils into calcium soils by ploughing in straw, leaves, water hyacinth, municipal waste mixed with powdered bone or rock phosphate or basic slag, which is a by-product of the expanding steel industry.

Most advanced nations of the world have taken a long-range view of this matter and have created universities for agriculture and social welfare. I have lectured in the Agricultural University of Wageningen in Holland and Upsalla (Sweden) and I have found that each of these agricultural universities have 30 laboratories with farms attached for imparting the highest form of education in agricultural subjects and

carrying on important researches for the development of agriculture, animal husbandry and rural welfare.

May I appeal to the leaders of the country for the creation of an University for Agriculture and rural welfare to commemorate the centenary of Acharya Prafulla Chandra Ray! I have to draw the special attention of Kumari Padmaja Naidu, the Governor of West Bengal, whose grandfather, Dr. Aghore Nath Chattopadhyaya, was the first Indian Chemist to receive the D.Sc., degree of Edinburgh University and a friend of Acharya Ray and that of the highly competent Chief Minister of West Bengal, Dr. B. C. Roy, who has immense admiration for Acharya Ray. Dr. B. C. Roy kindly arranged for an appendicitis operation of my wife at the Belgachia Medical College in 1940 and Acharya Ray came to visit her at the hospital by climbing the stair-cases upto the second floor. Dr. B. C. Roy was surprised to find the great Acharya visiting a patient. I appeal to the Governor and the Chief Minister of West Bengal, to the Directors of the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works, the Vice-Chancellor, Shri Roma Prasad Mukherji, (who is keenly interested in agricultural development), the Registrar (who is a beloved pupil of Acharya Ray) and the newspapers specially the *Hindusthan Standard*, which has always admired Acharya Ray, to do their best for the uplift of the Indian people by making them active in the production of more and better food. This is only possible through the creation of an Agricultural University preferably in the Haringhata-Kalyani area possessing great facilities in this direction. There is no doubt that the Indian nation as a whole is fast deteriorating physically and morally due to the lack of a balanced and adequate diet and are constantly suffering from semi-starvation and malnutrition.



SOCIAL SECURITY FOR HOUSEWIVES IN INDIA

By RAJANI MUKHERJI

At present the family in Indian society is incapable of providing its members with all the necessary care. After Independence there has been an increased awareness amongst all sections of people about the position of men and women in society. The social conditions, tradition, custom and usage, however, has given women and children no adequate place at all. The cultural tradition as it has grown, has tended to become more conservative and the security and personal safety of women has remained affected. The shelter behind purdah has no religious basis at all. It was forced down due to one reason—the personal safety and security from the marauding and anti-social acts of the ruling party and their supporters on society. So, until the advent of the British rule whether women had an equal right with men, or whether they possessed the same qualification at all with men never occurred in the mind of anybody in society. For a time the consideration of such values were frozen, it started long before the coming in of Islam in India, but the terrible inertia we find in people is to be traced to a long period of silence that descended on people and remained so until the spell was broken by the British rule. There is no question of a praise or dispraise of British rule but it is a fact of history.

The place of women was solely confined to their family and domestic tasks. In other countries the feminist movement started by demanding the admission of women to occupations other than domestic work; but still the fate of the housewives has received little notice, and the only rights claimed for women have been in respect of employed women. The only exception has been made in respect of political right, to vote. Today in India, women, mostly educated ones, enjoy the right to occupation. They are employed in all services. The illiterate and poorer sections are employed in coal mines, textile—cotton and jute

mills, in tea gardens, and in the unskilled cadres of various occupations. The right to vote has been granted to women at par with men. Even the law of inheritance has been modified to secure for women the property rights, which were until now denied to them.

The reason why so little attention has been paid to housewives and so little has been done to give them social security lies in the ambiguous nature of their status. In a general view, a housewife is a part of the family unit, is maintained by the earnings of her husband and does not perform any duties professionally but as a service to the family. This traditional conception has completely obscured her position and her social security has remained only a concern of the family.

Tradition has handed out, from generation to generation, many antiquated notions but the impact of time, thought and social development have all given a new light to our life and condition.

In India, the joint-family system provided protection to the widow, aged and unemployed but the society has now broken up leaving an individual alone to work out his or her own destiny. The position of a housewife particularly, therefore, should be examined in the new social environment. Previously the joint-family gave protection to women from various temptations and guarded against their insecurity, but now they are thrown to the wolves and the growing problem has been heightened particularly by the break-up of the old ties, moorings and social cohesion. Every country has this problem in the background, of the particular socio-economic conditions.

Under the present form of society, the family is equally incapable of providing its members with all the necessary care. This is particularly true in the case of the housewife. Thousands and thousands of women are reduced to permanent ill-health because they cannot afford to consult a doctor or

because they cannot take rest when they are ill.

These women never take any holiday. Once they get married and leave their father's home, they are to give up everything except service to the family. To marry is not to have only a husband but to enter the kitchen and the nursery. In this way they have been doomed to perdition. It is strange that when we are thinking of social changes, progress, we think about only one-half of the humanity, and about the other half, namely, the housewife, we take for granted her status, that is, in the kitchen.

Due to occupational changes now going on, the housewife has additional problems. The husband has to work in night-shift, sometime ending at midnight or in the morning, sometime the morning shift begins very early. In both the cases one has to keep awake or rise early in addition to day-time duties with respect to children, preparation food or of serving food depending on time. The village has still the remnant of old tradition. The housewife performs her duties in the farmland, cultivating or tending the cattle, as a part of the professional duties of a farmer. A peasant's wife is a working woman and economically a function equal to men-folk. Therefore, they contribute substantially to national wealth along with men.

In both the cases, a wife to a worker, and a wife to a farmer, there are some duties which are very essential in nature. Unfortunately, however, our economic thinking is based on certain assumptions. We live in a materialistic society in which value of work is measured in terms of earnings, and only in the occupations where it produces money-return it is recognised as work. The work of a housewife has no return in cash, her labour is not paid by wages, consequently, in terms of social standard she has no status. It is all free service. This has affected her civil right.

Therefore, in this respect, a mother is subordinate to a father. And this subordination of mother to father, even in regard to the custody of children, is derived from the fact that father is an earning member, is

gainfully employed, mother suffers under a perennial disadvantage in proportion to his earnings, going down and down.

One of the most important questions to be examined is whether or not the housewife's duties constitute an occupation. If the work is measured in terms of money, then the occupation of a housewife is one of an unpaid one. She does not get any wage for her work. Her work, as a member of the family, constitutes the most important factor in a household. On her personality, energy and talent, the younger generation is very largely influenced, and exercises a tremendous effect over the productive efforts of men in society.

With this perspective and understanding the International Labour Conference made some recommendations in 1939 for the vocational training of those women who are gainfully employed and it is strange that women's organisations have not taken up this training with seriousness that it deserves. Even assuming that society cannot as yet solve this problem, since the occupation is measured in terms of money, the housewife as a member of the family is a pivotal lever round which the productivity effort of the nation depends. Moreover, in modern society occupation should be interpreted in terms of money wage. In Austria, before the advent of Hitlerite regime, the Supreme Court of that country gave a decision recognising that housewives should carry on an occupation. That was, however, an exception.

In India we are now following a programme of industrialisation, and gradually the society is getting organised in a modern set-up. Social insurance, therefore, is one of the concomitant of the new social set-up. The principle that anyone working for the nation is entitled to be cared for in time of sickness, old age or invalidity is a most revolutionary idea of the century. An employed woman, whether in government service or in private employment, is taken care under medical benefit scheme of the Government or of Employees' State Insurance or Maternity Benefit Scheme. Even some medical benefit is given to her, although not employed, but by

way of a benefit of employment accruing through her husband. The extension of this benefit is most necessary. In this case the housewife, not employed, shall be indirectly insured, and shall be entitled to a medical attendance and medicines in the case of sickness, but also to obstetrical care in the case of child-birth. This should take account of the fact that mother's illness throws the whole family out of gear, the unpaid person is not so unimportant after all.

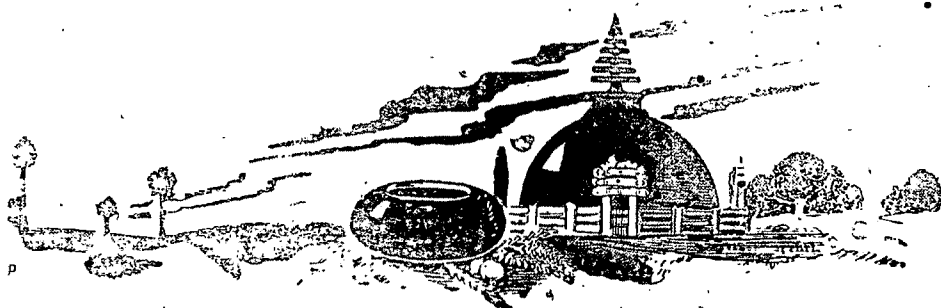
Who is going to pay for this indirect insurance? It should be shared by the State and the earning member. The wage of a worker should include the fraction of his earning, the services of a housewife or mother or any dependent who looks after the family, since the housewife, or the mother or the dependent does not look after the earning member alone but also serves the interest of the community to which she belongs. Therefore, the basis of wage determination should also include this aspect of the question. In India several hospitals, governmental and non-governmental, have a free ward for obstetrical cases. This is regarded as a charity. Nothing could be so reprehensible as to think like that. A child born to a mother is a new citizen born to the State. Its care must be the charge of the State.

Unless there is a strike, the argument or force of it will never be understood by the society or the employer. Similarly, if for one day housewives were to stop work it would be interesting indeed to see and feel the impact of it. Our elders would agree

that it is only then the household would feel the effect of services rendered by a housewife when it is left undone. This is not to suggest that a nationwide strike should be planned to solve the problem.

So far as women's participation in agriculture is concerned any insurance scheme will be able to cover this problem easily, as their participation in work in the field or farm is in addition to their household duties. In industrial establishments, women are already covered by medical and maternity benefits, the hospitalisation needs to be taken care of. But still millions are left unaccounted for. Care for a housewife is of paramount importance and although there may be some who like their relegation in the society, yet, if the society has to move forward it cannot do so unless the second half is taken care of by measures suited and commensurate to their needs and as a matter of equal justice.

In India, the drudgery of domestic life is hard and burdensome. This is due to the method of cooking, use of the particular type of utensils and the method of washing, involving housewives in domestic service. A drastic change is called for if social security of women have to bear fruit. The success of an industrial society depends upon the degree of effort we make to adapt ourselves to the changes that are inherent in the growth of industrialisation. Unfortunately it is not realised that feudal mode of living cannot co-exist with modern industrialisation and a cosmopolitan view of human life.





Book Reviews



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Authors and publishers of Gujarati books, desirous of having them noticed or reviewed in *The Modern Review*, should send them direct to, Shri Rangildas Kapadia :

Gandevi, Dist. Surat,
instead of sending them to the Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

HADRIAN : By Stewart Perowne. Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1960. Pp. 193 and 31 plates, 25 shillings.

This is a thorough and detailed account of the life-history of a Roman Emperor who, reigning for a little over twenty years (117-38 A.D.), left a deep impress upon the history of his own and later times, and who is still best remembered for his monuments scattered over Asia, Africa and Europe. The author has the qualifications of a good historian—a wide and deep reading of the original and the secondary sources, insight into the working of historical forces extending over long periods of time, capacity for vivid portraiture of a wide range of scenes and characters, accurate chronology and topography and so forth. His descriptions of the military works as well as works of art of the great emperor are given with technical skill and success. He writes in a peculiarly attractive style marked by free use of surviving records of the emperor's daily life. His use of parallels from the political and military history of the regions in modern times is always instructive. His judgments are usually sound. While the emperor is given full credit for his love of Hellenism, he

is censured for his antipathy towards un-Greek and un-Roman ideas and peoples (p. 15). The list of the emperor's achievements is balanced by that of his failures (p. 181). Occasionally, the author's pronouncements appears to be one-sided. Thus the claim is made for Hadrian that he was one of the principal architects of the world as we still know it in the course of its transition from the metal to the nuclear age (p. 15). Again, we are told by way of contrast between British and Roman imperialism that England did not take a long time to adopt as a principle the aim of elevation of the colonials and their establishment as independent states (p. 132). A list of plates (including maps, drawings and illustrations of sculpture and architecture), a bibliography and index are the other useful features of this interesting and instructive volume.

U. N. Ghoshal

RUSSIA AND THE WEST UNDER LENIN AND STALIN : By George F. Kennan, Hutchinson & Co. (Publishers) Ltd., 178-202, Great Portland St., London, W.1, 1961, pp. 411. Price Rs. 32/-.

More than any other intellectual in the United States, Mr. George Kennan has contribu-

ted to the difficult and yet compelling task of rationalizing the struggle between the two power systems, the Communist and the Capitalist, which is commonly known as the Cold War. He has brought his personal knowledge of the Soviet system and his great erudition to bear upon a scintillating study of the issues involved in this grim combat. Unlike the common run of cold war writers, his purpose has been to put things in the historical perspective so that Western Governments, particularly the Government of the United States, can take a more rational and maturer view of things. Mr. Kennan has discarded the theory that the cold war should, or can, be fought to a finish. He has also discarded the premise that the two power systems are mutually exclusive or parallel and that one must destroy the other in order to be able to survive. The conclusion he has reached is that since the two power systems must co-exist, if they are not to commit co-suicide, they must discover a rational philosophy of the nuclear age's struggle for power.

Mr. Kennan spent many years in the American Embassy in Moscow becoming his country's Ambassador to the Soviet Union in 1952. But differences arose shortly between him and the Republican Government over Soviet policy, particularly with Mr. Dulles' crusading opposition to the Soviet power system. Mr. Kennan left foreign service and took up the study of diplomatic history, working for three years as permanent professor at the School of Historical Studies at the Institute for Advanced Studies, Princeton. His Reith lectures over the B.B.C. in 1957 aroused world-wide interest, particularly his bold, imaginative and rationally argued proposal for disengagement in Europe. For trying to work for co-existence he was curiously declared *persona non grata* by the Soviet Government. When President Kennedy took over the Presidency in the White House, Mr. Kennan was called from retirement to advise the American Government on Soviet affairs. He was given the Ambassadorship in Moscow, but the U.S.S.R. Government would not have him. Now he is American Ambassador in Belgrade.

This book is a study of the relationship between the Soviet Union and the major Western countries from the inception of the Soviet regime in 1917 till the end of the Second World War. Through a series of discussions of individual episodes and problems it presents a remarkably authoritative study of how the present Soviet State has come to be shaped and how its relationship with the Western world have developed. Mr. Kennan has taken a longer and deeper historical

view of the cold war which he rightly says began as soon as the Soviet State was born. The international community was very much different before the birth of a socialist state. Predominantly Western, it has a large aggregate of common values. Although it clashed oftentimes, it stood united whenever these basic values were challenged. With the creation of the Soviet Union an entirely new situation arose. The world was divided into two opposing systems, the newly-born Soviet system pledged to destroy world capitalism and usher in a global socialist order. Mr. Kennan has presented an interpretation of the main events occurring in the Soviet Union and its relations with the outside world till the Second World War. The Allied intervention against the young Soviet State, its first hesitant efforts at survival, the treaty with Germany and the Soviet performance at the Peace Conference, the approach to normal relations in the 'Twenties, the role of Stalin as a builder of socialism in one state and as an international statesman, his understanding of, and approach to, China, the European metamorphosis as a result of the rise of Hitler, the Soviet Union's struggle against Hitler and the purges that followed, and the events during the Thirties leading to the war, as well as Soviet performance during the war and its relations with the wartime allies are brought out in their essential details, all lending support to the general thesis that the Soviet State, like all other states, has passed through a long and difficult period of formative development and, after the war, has emerged into a really great power.

Having offered historical interpretations of the tumultuous events of three decades and more, Mr. Kennan comes to the basic question of our time: How to keep the world intact? He shows that the Soviet Union in recent years has grown into a responsible power. There have been profound changes within Russia since the death of Stalin, all pointing to the restoration of normalcy. The Soviet Union is no longer a lonely power, it has an ally and a rival in China. It has a number of friends in Eastern Europe whose interests "it cannot dismiss in a cavalier fashion." It has built up a system of complex relations with a host of Asian-African nations. All this has made it a responsible country. It still has a revolutionary gospel to preach and its declared objective is to convert the entire world to Communism. But Mr. Kennan says that Soviet leaders have "never contemplated military measures as the primary instrument for the spread of the Communist revolution." The Soviet

Union is out to exploit the weaknesses and contradictions of the capitalist system. There are several elements in its favour, particularly the teeming millions of Asia, Africa and Latin America who, for various political and economic reasons, clash with the Western powers. But the Soviet Union has come to stay and so has the world of Communism. It will be futile for the United States to think in terms of its liquidation. The wise policy for America, therefore, is to devise a programme of co-existence so that the two systems may discover a *modus vivendi* and live together.

Mr. Kennan says that the United States must accept the obligations of maturity and consent to operate in a world of relative and unstable values. "If we are to regard ourselves as a grown up nation—and anything else will henceforth be mortally dangerous—then we must, as the biblical phrase goes, put away childish things; and among these childish things the first to go, in my opinion, should be self-idealism and the search for absolutes in world affairs: for absolute security, absolute amity, absolute harmony. We are a strong nation, wielding great power. We cannot help wielding this power. It comes to us by virtue of our sheer size and strength, whether we wish it or not. But to wield power is always at best an ambivalent thing, a sharing in the guilt taken upon ourselves by all those men who, over the course of the ages, have sought or consented to tell others what to do. There is no great American error than the belief that liberal institutions and the rule of law relieve a nation of the moral dilemma involved in the exercise of power."

The picture of the world struggle that Mr. Kennan presents is that of an "international life in which not only is there nothing final in point of time, nothing not vulnerable to the law of change, but also nothing absolute in itself: a life in which there is no friendship without some element of antagonism; no enmity without some rudimentary community of interest; no benevolent intervention which is not also in part an injury; no act of recalcitrance, no seeming evil, from which—as Shakespeare puts it—"some soul of goodness may not be distilled." And finally he says, "A world in which these things are true is, of course, not the best of all conceivable worlds; but it is a tolerable one and it is worth living in. I think our foremost aim today should be to keep it physically intact in an age when man have acquired for the first time the technical means of destroying it."

Most people will agree with this conclusion and it will be extremely profitable, before agreeing, to go through Mr. Kennan's interpretation of the history of the contemporary world.

Chanakya Sen

DIARY OF A TIBETAN PILGRIM TO INDIA: BIOGRAPHY OF DHARMASVAMIN : *Chag lo-tsaba Chos-rje-dpal : A Tibetan monk pilgrim. ORIGINAL TIBETAN TEXT : Deciphered and Translated by Dr. George Roerich, the Academy of Sciences, Moscow, U.S.S.R. Introduction by Dr. A. S. Altekar of K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna. Published by the same, pp. 119. Price Rs. 8/-.*

There is a valuable introduction by Dr. Altekar and makes the reading of the original text intelligible and an integral one. Like Fa Hian, Yuan Chwang and I-tsing, *Dharmasvamin* was a Buddhist. He came from Tibet and not from China. There was a great deal of travel between India and Tibet during the period of 600 A.D. to 1300 A.D. Monks went from India to Tibet and no account of India (so far) is available from their services. Similarly number of monks studied in Nalanda or Vikramasila. It is in the biography of *Dharmasvamin* written by *Upsaka Chos-dar* that we get an account of India, her people, customs and institutions.

The biography, for the first time, makes available an account of India of the 13th century, principally Bihar, apart from the fragmentary account of India from the Chinese sources, in the works of Fa Hian, Yuan Chwang and I-tsing. This small book is non-the-less very important. The History of Northern-India is so far available from the muslim historians. This is an account of India, principally Bihar, during the first half of the 13th century from a non-muslim impartial source. It is thus significant and highly important.

The Indo-Tibetan intercourse which begun in the 7th century is partly revealed in this document. The muslim conquest and the destruction of Nalanda and Vikramasila by them created a great set-back to the Indo-Tibetan intercourse. At the time of *Dharmasvamin's* visit in 1234-36, Buddhist manuscript libraries had been mostly destroyed. *Dharmasvamin* did not get any. Only the copies he carried with him were from Nepal monasteries. From his account we find the monks flying from India taking shelter in Nepal monasteries. The biography gives an account,

of how monks lived in India, which continued to be a place of higher learning. The pilgrims lived mostly on alms, or free food and accommodation in exchange for some work, literary or otherwise.

Dr. Roerich in his translation gives an account of Dharmasvamin's life. How he educated himself for 22 years before embarking on his journey to India. He had to study the contemporary script in Bihar, the proto-Bengali-cum-proto-Maithili script, as known by this appellation. Dharmasvamin was not only interested in Indian scholarship but also in Indian scholars. He gives an account of the legendary life of Kalidasa and also of the Sastras of Chandrakirti and Chandragomin. Before coming to India he spent some time in a monastery on the border of Nepal and Tibet. His preceptors were Indians, Ratnakshita and Ravindra. When he came to India in 1234 A.D. he was 37 years old. The province had been over-run by the muslim invaders, an orderly administration had not yet taken place. No precise account of his journey is available as to how he arrived in Bodh Gaya. When he arrived he fled again due to an apprehended muslim attack. He, however, returned again. He seemed to have visited Varanasi and in the temple of Kali Devi, therefore, he got an account of Kalidasa, the servant of Kali.

Dharmasvamin also furnishes a light on the political history of the country, until now shrouded by distortions and meagre facts. Useful material is provided by him to fit in the jigsaw puzzle of the period.

But his account in assessing the effect of the moslem conquest in Bihar, for example, when he reached Vaisali on his way to Bodh Gaya, the town was deserted because of the apprehended muslim attack. Often the people deserted the town at day to come back at night. Vikramasila had been completely destroyed and its foundation stones were thrown in the Ganges. There were not more than four monks in Bodh Gaya.

Nalanda had not been destroyed when he arrived there. He was there for six months and he gives an eye-witness account of it. Out of seven temples, 14 big and 84 small monasteries, only two Viharas were in serviceable condition. Thousands of monks had fled away. There is a superstitious story about the destruction of Nalanda. The depredations had begun and the stones were being brought to Bihar Shariff to build a mosque there. One of the soldiers threw filth in the temple but died the same evening. It produced a fear and Nalanda is said to have been spared for sometime. The literatures seem

to have been destroyed earlier to his visit. He did not find any MSS there.

He also gives an account of religious and social conditions. We find from his account that the Buddhist and Hindu Sanayasin's lived side by side and were equally respected in society. The procedure of worship in the Buddhist and Hindu temples was very similar. Dharmasvamin furnishes an interesting account of the religious history of the period, the way the worship was performed and the different background of Ceylonese priests, Hinayanists and Mahanayanists and Tantriks. We get an account of the topography of Bodh Gaya.

In publishing this book K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute has done a great service in the field of historical research about Indo-Tibetan relations, the pattern of the muslim conquest and the cultural and religious destruction of them in the hands of a religion very remote from India. It fills a gap in Indian History.

RAJANI MUKHERJI

BENGALI

MANABATABAD : *By Basudha Chakrabarti, Published by Dipayan, 20, Keshab Sen Street, Calcutta-9. Pages 227. Price Re. 7/-.*

The book has been written on the background of the history of human evolution. This is a product of intensive study and national thinking and scientific outlook and the conclusions have been arrived at by an untrained reasoning. The author does not intend to force his conclusions on the readers but requests them to apply reason and reason only to understand his points of view.

According to the author, 'humanitarianism' and 'humanism' are two different things. In the former there is no recognition of a man as a man. He is looked upon with a compassion. By the latter the man is taken as the supreme being. He is the reality and there is no other reality or truth beyond him. There is no God beyond man. He has a soul indeed but it is inseparably connected with his body. Man is a product of evolution through millions of years and his soul evolved with him and it is nothing independent or separate from his physical existence. There cannot be any soul separated from the body. Call it materialism but it is not immoral. The very nature of man is moral—morality also evolved in the process as also his conscience. God need not be supposed as a moral order of things. In the words of the author "when matter reached a certain stage of evolution 'Life'

appeared in the ordinary course. When man discovered this truth, he really discovered the truth about man."

The author in course of his discussion presented his own interpretations of the Greek thought, oriental philosophy, Christianity, Renaissance, Reformation, Sanskrit literature, French Enlightenment and French Revolution and Marxism to arrive at his thesis. Even Marxism—a pure nationalism could not arrive at the pure theory of humanism as expounded by late M. N. Roy in his "Neo-humanism". This Neo-humanism has its life-breath in knowledge derived from free thinking and free thinking is its only support.

The author calls on the people who are religious and believers in God or other supernatural objects to consider his thesis of 'humanism' or 'Neo-humanism' as named by Roy, with a mind unshackled and free. This is very noble offer and as such the book deserves to be widely read. The book indeed is a first of its kind in Bengali so far as we are aware.

A. B. DUTTA

SANSKRIT-TIBETAN

ARYABHADRA CARIPRANIDHANARAJA.

With Introduction and Notes.: By *Suniti Kumar Pathak*. *Namgyal Institute of Tibetology*. Gangtok, Sikkim. 1961. Price Rupees Five or Ten Shillings.

This is an edition of the text composed in Buddhist or hybrid Sanskrit as well as an old Tibetan translation of an ancient and very popular North-Indian Buddhist prayer book. The edition which is primarily based on a Nepali Xylograph has utilised other editions and noted vari-

ants as existing in the different editions of the Sanskrit portion. Peculiarities of the Tibetan text will be, it is stated, dealt with in a supplement. The work which has enough popular appeal even for non-Buddhists will be highly welcome in a popular edition accompanied by a translation in a modern language. The proposed multi-lingual edition is expected to be one in this line.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

HINDI

HAMARE SIKSHA-PRATIVEDAN : By *Bansagopal Jhingaram and Vedaram Sarma, Aligarh*. With a Foreword by *Dr. K. L. Shrivastava*. 1959. Price Rs. 12/50 nP.

It was a very happy idea which prompted this book. The authors wanted to present before the public in general the recommendations of Radhakrishnan Commission and Mudaliar Commission in Hindi—prefaced by the recommendations of the Dr. Zakir Hussain Committee and Sargeant's Post-war Educational Reconstruction. The translations are not their renderings in Hindi, but the recommendations have been grouped under different headings to facilitate comprehension. The technical terms have not yet been assimilated by the language, why should staff be translated as (Karmachari-Vrinda) and not (Karmi-Vrinda)? Most of the renderings of technical terms do not appeal, though sanctioned by Dr. Raghuvir, and this a handicap to the enjoyment of the book.

P. R. SEN



Indian Periodicals

Industrial Troubles

The following is extracted from *Chowringhee*.

An employee expects that justice is done to him. In all organisations, there should be a machinery for receiving and redressing complaints. There is no doubt that those in the top tier of an organisation still derive inspiration through practice of racialism, provincialism, casteism, favouritism and nepotism which are so many obstacles in the path of rendering justice. No human being is infallible. It must be the endeavour of all executives, high or low, to see that facilities are given to employees for redress of grievances.

The general interest of an organisation requires that all grievances should be redressed justly and promptly. Such a representation will result in one of the two cases. The authority for appeal will give its verdict in favour of an employee in which case a boss should feel happy that a wrong inadvertently done by him to one of his subordinates has been put right. If the representation is rejected, the boss gets moral support for his act, a reputation for fair play and greater prestige among his subordinates.

The labour and the junior supervisory staff get their grievances redressed through the intervention of their union. The executive staff—first and second line—in virtue of their high status and the power and influence they wield, have easy access to the directorate which listen to and redress their grievances. Barring above, there exists unfortunately in every factory a small section of the supervisory staff in the third and the fourth line with no union backing who have grievances but no dependable procedure for getting quick redress. They put their grievances to their bosses but there is no guarantee that any will be communicated at all or quickly. The executive staff in the first and second line have appeared to have evolved and followed a new procedure in dealing with complaints of their senior supervisory staff. This consists in sitting tight over a representation, all reminders concerning it with the aggrieved person leaves the

firm or loses his interest in its affair. Such callousness would be impossible, if this staff were allowed to have their own union. It is a sad reflection on the ability of management with *de jure* but not *de facto* administrative control over labour, etc., that there should be a sense of frustration among the small senior supervisory staff.

This senior staff forms a buffer between the top management on the one hand and the labour on the other. Besides, in virtue of this position, they can interpret the policy and views of management to labour and *vice-versa*. They can make or mar the production depending upon their attitude. Because of their frustrations, they have been, in recent years, a very weak link in the chain which snaps easily at the slightest stress or strain in the labour-management relationship. This new attitude and approach of the top management towards the legitimate grievances and aspirations of their senior staff is on the increase and is to be highly deplored as coming from people who preach one thing to labour and practise in dealings with their senior staff just the opposite. Loyalty is a two-way traffic—ascending and descending—in all organisational tiers.

Of late, there has been a lot of talk of scientific management. In fact, the Government of India and some of the eminent industrialists are busy in drawing plans to establish management schools at Delhi and Madras in addition to those already established in Bombay and Calcutta.

One of the essential conditions of scientific management is that men of abilities should man nearly all positions in an organisation. The importance of this can be easily seen if it is remembered that industrial institutions are almost perpetual in the sense that they last for centuries. It is but natural that they should be provided with organisational set-up which would enable them not only to meet immediate needs but also function ably and meet the needs of expansion in some distant future. For the manning of an organisational set-up ever-changing in form and its aim it is necessary, therefore, to have very able men.

About the necessity of manning organisation

with first-class men, Fayol, the eminent Director of one of the largest coal and iron combine in France says, "Make careful selection of staff; each employee where he can be of most service." Again Andrew Carnegie, one of the American millionaires said that if fate were unkind to him and were to take away all his assets, his credit and everything but his men, he would guarantee to be a millionaire again within five years. J. Glenmoore of Great Britain stated that there were six ways of improving production, but they all needed men of abilities to implement them.

In fact, employers in the United States look upon men of ability as their best investment. They send scouts in search of 'talents' and offer them the best possible term to join their organisation. Contrast this picture in America with what is seen in India where our 'industrialists' (?) derive their inspiration from racialism, provincialism, casteism, favouritism and nepotism. This retrograde trend amongst the employers in India is on the increase, and no one should be deceived by their tall talk of scientific management in industrial establishments in India.

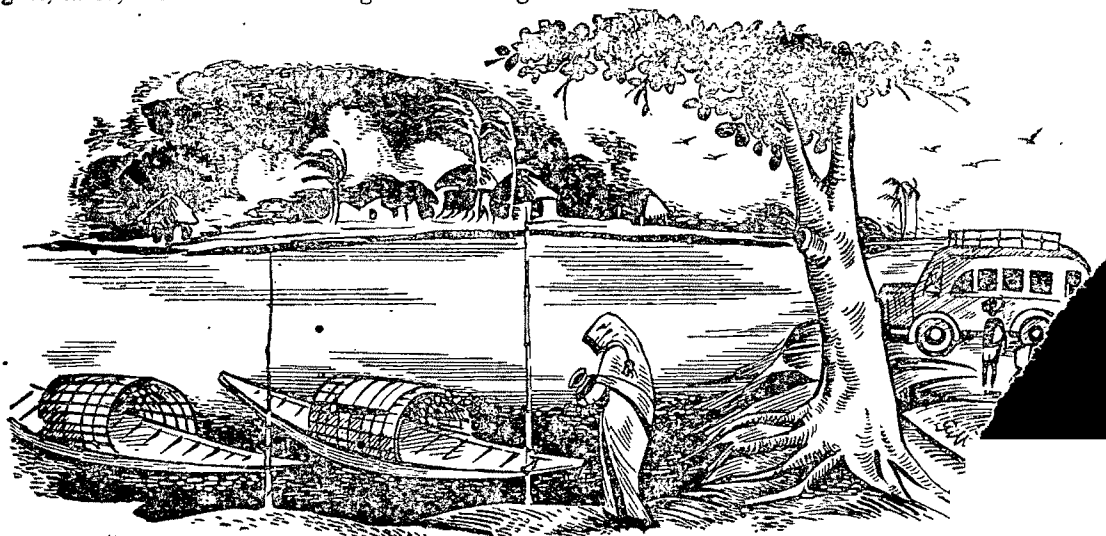
It is not possible without able men in an organisation to expect purity in administration, a freshness of outlook and a feeling of efficiency among all staff for which industrial establishments, such as that of Fords, in foreign countries are famous.

I have said something about racialism above. Such a thing should be unknown in an independent country like India. Unfortunately, even after ten years of independence, racial discrimination against the sons of soil is worse today than what it was in August, 1947. On 15th August, 1947, the number of foreigners in foreign

firms were 7,623 against 7,526 on 1st June, '55. In other words, during the 7½ years in spite of Government persuasion, legislative measures and what not, the reduction of foreign personnel was only 0.48 per cent.

The fact is that foreigners in Indian or non-Indian firms are against Indianisation. For the last ten years, they have been manipulating and manoeuvring if necessary, by offer of bribes or *sinecures* to put off effective Indianisation. Who can deny that they have been successful so far in fooling our Government and our watch-dog, the Parliament?

High morale among works staff is the most important among the various factors which contribute to the success of an organisation, the tone of which comes from its head. If he is just, painstaking, broad-minded and approaches all staff problems with sympathy and understanding, the impact of his personality on the first line executives gives birth to morale of the executive team, which in its turn is carried down to the last strata both by impact of personality and example. On the other hand, if the top-man is unjust, high-handed, greedy or has no policy or is ignorant of correct interpretation of policy, the morale among the workers will be found to be very low. If our executives tell lies, if they take recourse to questionable practices because of their greed for more money or if they take the credit to themselves and pass all blame to staff lower down the hierarchy, they cannot be expected to set-up a high morale in a factory. Unfortunately, such executives are on the increase in recent years. This is one more retrograde trend of recent origin.



FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The "End" of Mankind

News from France of October, 1961, contains the following :

In that monumental edition of the *Apocalypse*, an article which was published in the June issue of this Bulletin and which is valued at one hundred million Francs, there is, among the seven texts by different authors commenting frankly on the teachings of the Holy Bible, one which to all appearance surpasses the others in importance. It is to be hoped that this essay will one day become more widely known than merely by a privileged few. The writer of this is, Jean Rostand. As a biologist trying to imagine what the "end of all time" might be, he raises the question of how a scientist conceives of the "disappearance of man." Moreover, the mere fact that these conclusions are advanced by a name, such as his, gives them great significance.

What, then, does this famous biologist say?

How can mankind conceive of its own "end"—his material, temporal and terrestrial end, since these are the only ones referred to in this text? After reviewing the different hypotheses formulated on this subject, Jean Rostand rejects them one after the other.

Will the human race, i.e., *Homo sapiens*, become extinct through loss of internal vitality as other species have done during geological time? This is not very probable, because the human genius can detect any signs of degeneration and take steps to counteract them, and, in particular, because it is now admitted by most biologists that the disappearance of a species is not due to the phenomenon of senility but rather to modifications of the climate and attacks from other, and better armed species.

Could it then be possible to imagine any change in the climate to which man would fall victim? Not possibly, because his genius enables him to adapt himself to extremely varied living



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conditions; he lives at the Poles as well as at the Equator; he would survive in a world covered with ice. But could not there be attacks from other species which would undermine the existence of man? That is hardly probable in the present state of the planet, because there is no sort of adversary, large or small, before which man is disarmed.

Jean Rostand then goes on to ask whether the "end of mankind" might not be due to the appearance, produced either by natural or deliberate causes, of a "superman" who would be more advanced in the general scale than man? Again, the hardly probable supposition, due to the fact that "mutations" tend to lead more to a decrease of the faculties rather than to an increase. And even if the Faustian dream of the famous "superman" can be realized, would it not be, in effect, merely a being which would possess all of the highest virtues of man, and, consequently, would it not in the end be a man?

As for the other hypotheses which have been put forward such as, for example, the disappearance of the human species through lack of nourishment caused by over-population of the planet, it appears that this, too, is inadmissible inasmuch as there are types of nourishment which have not yet been used and also inasmuch as a social and ethical effort would be able to avoid the danger of excessive population.

Can it be, then, that man is destined to continue for ever? No, answers the scientist, because of the simple fact that he lives on the earth and is thus tied to its destiny. And if there is one point on which most scientists are in agreement, it is that the earth and the solar system, and even the entire galaxy we are in and the adjoining galaxies, are destined to undergo a sidereal cataclysm, from which other shapes, other systems and other galaxies will be born. This very fact in itself would be sufficient to create utter despair, if it were not so terribly far off in the extreme future that it is almost unimaginable to the human mind, and thus we are left to work as if such an eventuality did not exist.

Then, is there no menace to the human species, no "end in sight?" Yes! And it is with regard to this that the thoughts of a man such as Jean Rostand, whose philosophical views are well known, appear to be of particular importance. There are grave dangers menacing mankind, but these dangers come from man himself.

The most obvious and the most immediate is that of an atomic catastrophe, of a worldwide conflict in which the human species would most probably threaten its own existence. We live under the menace of this terrible horror, but in the final analysis we do not give it a great deal of thought. However, it is there watching over us, and no one can affirm that it will not descend on us tomorrow if passions of violence and hatred prove to be stronger than those of justice and love.

Even if this catastrophe does not occur, is it not possible that the uncontrolled use of certain means of action which science has placed at the disposal of man will not prove to be mortal perils? "The mere use of intra-atomic energy for peaceful purposes," says Jean Rostand "will in the long run affect the hereditary fertility of man," meaning that there is a danger of unnatural progenies. And in launching himself through the cosmos and, perhaps tomorrow, in making contact with unknown worlds, it is entirely possible that man will encounter unknown forces, perhaps in the form of virus, in the face of which he will find himself disarmed. There is a certain pride in the exercise of science which in itself is a menace.

And even if all these dangers are averted, the direction in which mankind seems to be heading is such that we have reason to despair and think that it can be the veritable "end of mankind." It would be a good idea if everyone were able to read the words with which Jean Rostand evokes the possibility of a universe—one exactly like Aldous Huxley's "Brave New World"—in which the human species would be reduced to nothing but a society of insects, controlled by a technological dictatorship and empty of all spiritual content. "For my part," he says, "I have many times thought with a sort of terror of this future world dominated by biology and chemistry . . ." in which the human consciousness would no longer have any meaning, where it would be forbidden and impossible to love, to admire and to suffer. If this were to come to pass, it would really be the "end of mankind;" we would have destroyed ourselves.

"I believe," he goes on, "that it is in the world of ethics that man's greatest peril lies. It comes from the soul and not from the body." Such a conclusion from the pen of such a man is worth our attention.

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